

## HARIJAN

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## SHRIRAMPUR DIARY

9-1-47

Gandhiji addressing the prayer meeting at Daspara, said that the Muslims of the Noakhali District should tell the Bengal Government, which was their Government, that no police or military protection was required for Gandhiji and that they themselves would protect him in his tour.

10-1-47

Gandhiji spoke about conversions during his prayer speech at Jagatpur. He said he had been hearing for some time — and more insistently since Friday — that if the Muslims asked the Hindus to accept Islam, if they wanted to save themselves or their property and if the latter responded, there was no compulsion. Gandhiji said he was not concerned for a moment with the truth or otherwise of that statement. What he wanted to say was that this was acceptance of Islam under the threat of force.

Gandhiji said that he had carefully studied, as much as he could in his busy life, Islam's history written by Muslim divines and he had not found a single passage in condonation of forcible conversion. Real conversion proceeded from the heart and a heart conversion was impossible without an intelligent grasp of one's own faith and that recommended for adoption.

Concluding Gandhiji said that he was not going to be satisfied without a heart understanding between the two communities and this was not possible unless the Hindus and the Muslims were prepared to respect each other's religions, leaving the process of conversion absolutely free and voluntary.

12-1-47

The All-India Congress Committee by its Delhi resolution had accepted the December 6 statement of the British Government and had gone to its "farthest limit consistent with its principles" to declare its friendly attitude to the Muslim League, Gandhiji told an interviewer, a former army officer, according to the *Hindustan Standard* special correspondent.

Gandhiji is reported to have added that he could not say what would be the League's attitude to this friendly gesture, but he could only hope that they would reciprocate.

A visitor asked which of the two alternatives for a solution of the present situation in India would be preferable — Pakistan or civil war? Gandhiji is

reported to have said that he would approach the problem differently. Neither of the two suggested solutions would be good. It was wrong to think that Pakistan could be achieved through civil war.

The interviewer asked what kind of Government would be good for a free India. Gandhiji's reply to this was that it was not a question for him to answer. The question would be ripe for answer after freedom had been achieved.

14-1-47

Some Muslim young men who met him at Bhatialpur this evening asked him what his objection was to the setting up of a separate Muslim State after the events in Bihar.

Gandhiji replied he had no objection to the setting up of a separate Muslim State. In fact, Bengal was so. But the question was: what was going to be the character of such a separate Muslim State. That had not been made clear so far and if a Muslim State implied freedom to make hostile treaties with foreign powers to the detriment of the country as a whole, then that could not be a matter for agreement.

Gandhiji thought that no one could be asked to sign an agreement granting liberty to others to launch hostilities against him.

On the young men asking whether Gandhiji did not think it advisable to concede Pakistan since it was holding back the issue of Indian independence, Gandhiji said: Only after independence has been won can there be a question of granting Pakistan. To reverse the process was to invite foreign help.

"Azadi" Gandhiji said, "and Pakistan require the exclusion of all foreign powers. Until and unless India is free, there cannot be any other question."

## FREEDOM FROM ALL FOREIGN RULE

Freedom as envisaged by him, said Gandhiji, was freedom not merely from British rule but from every foreign rule.

The last question put by the Muslim young men was: Now that there was neither Pakistan nor peace, what would be Gandhiji's solution?

Gandhiji's reply was: "That is exactly what I am here for and what I am trying to find out in Noakhali." He assured the youths that the moment he found it, he would announce it to the world.

15-1-47

Gandhiji told a meeting of Narayanpur Gram Seva Sangha that it was their primary duty to remove untouchability. Unless this virus was removed from their society, there could not be any real progress in this country. Secondly, Hindu-Muslim unity should be effected. Both the Hindus and the Muslims should be eager to achieve this end. They took water from the same tank and rice from the same paddy fields. For the time being, they should forget politics and devote their sole attention to improve villages, spread education, develop industries and other constructive works. For this purpose, workers must be prepared to die.

#### RETURN HOME EARLIER

Replying to a question whether the refugees should now return home, Gandhiji said that they must return home earliest. They must, however, shed fear. Spinning also should form a main part of the duty of the workers. If they span at least one hour a day, they may supply yarn to weavers who were now looking up to the Government for such supply for their handlooms. The cloth problem would consequently be easier in this way.

#### HAPPY ABOUT HIS HOST

At the beginning of his prayer speech at Narayanpur Gandhiji expressed his happiness at having been able to spend another night under the roof of a Muslim friend in the course of his walking tour. In spite of the fact that he had been trying to reduce the size of his entourage, his efforts in that direction had so far not been very successful. And he was glad that his host had proved equal to the occasion and had not been baffled by the number of his party.

Then Gandhiji referred to an incident that had occurred a short while ago. The elders of the house wanted him to meet the *zanana* ladies. He had made an attempt, but without success. It was true, he continued, that Hindu women attended the prayer in a large number. In this respect they were more advanced. But as such it became their duty to fraternize with their Muslim sisters and rescue them from the thralldom of the *purdah*. If they neglected this neighbourly duty, there was obviously some defect on their part.

India, Gandhiji said, was aspiring to be free. But if half the population was to remain in a paralysed condition, the type of freedom the people would attain could never be perfect. Therefore, with utmost humility, he once more appealed to the elders among the audience to examine the effect of the *purdah* system and do away with it in the shortest possible time. For, in his opinion the system, as he saw in his peregrination, was quite contrary to what the Prophet had preached.

16-1-47

Addressing the prayer gathering this evening, Gandhiji said that he had received certain questions from some Muslims while he was in Narayanpur yesterday.

How could he advise Assam and the Sikhs in the Punjab to stay out of groups if his aim was Hindu-Muslim unity and how, after this, was it possible for the Muslim League to join the Constituent Assembly? Gandhiji said there was no "if" about his aim. Hindu-Muslim unity had been his aim from his youth upward, that is for an unbroken period of 60 years. He saw no contradiction between his aim and his advice to the people of Assam, the Sikhs and, for that matter, the Frontier and those who felt like it, to stay out of groups or from the Constituent Assembly. The Cabinet Mission's Paper was of a voluntary nature and no party could be compelled to join the Constituent Assembly. They had no force to back their resolution or wishes except the force of public opinion.

#### CONGRESS STAND

He had, therefore, given no advice which should make it impossible for the Muslim League to join the Constituent Assembly. So far as he had read the resolution passed at the recent A. I. C. C. meeting, the Congress had completely identified itself with the Cabinet Mission's Paper.

Gandhiji hoped that the Muslim League would join the Constituent Assembly in which it was open to it to make good its position by an appeal to reason. Otherwise the Constituent Assembly, because it was a voluntary organization brought into being by the only party that had force behind it, was like a house of cards. It could only become a solid structure if it was backed by the opinion of the Indian masses. Staying out by certain provinces or groups could not and should not be a hindrance to the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, if it was otherwise good.

Gandhiji would ask, "Why should Assam be absorbed in Bengal against its will or the Frontier Province or the Sikhs into the Punjab and Sind?" The Congress or League, as the case may be, should make their programme and policy intrinsically attractive so as to appeal to the reason of the recalcitrant province or groups.

#### FRIEND OF BOTH COMMUNITIES

The second question put to him was: Gandhiji claimed to be a friend of both the communities, but he had been nursing back his own community for the last two months in Noakhali. What about the Muslims of Bihar, who have lost their all? Gandhiji said he would say the question ignored facts. He was not "nursing back" his own community. He had no community of his own except in the sense that he belonged to all communities. His record, Gandhiji said, spoke for itself. He freely admitted that he was trying to bring comfort to the Hindus of Noakhali, but not at the expense of the Muslims. If there was a sick member in his family and he seemed to attend to the sick member, it surely did not mean that he neglected the others.

He had had repeated and insistent advice from Muslim friends that his place was more in Bihar, where the Muslims were in point of numbers much greater sufferers than the Hindus in Noakhali. He was sorry that he had hitherto failed to make his Muslim critics see that he had sufficiently affected the Hindus of Bihar in favour of the Muslim sufferers. If he listened to his critics against his own better reason and went to Bihar, it was just likely that he might injure the Muslim cause rather than serve it.

Thus, for instance, he might not find corroboration for the many charges brought against the Bihar Hindus and the Bihar Government and, in order to be able to make such a declaration, he had accepted the better course, namely, to advise the Bihar Ministry, which had accepted his advice that they should jointly with the Bengal Government or by themselves, appoint an impartial Commission of Inquiry.

17 and 18-1-47

A short while before prayer on the 18th instant, the Muslim friend at whose house Gandhiji had halted on his way to Badakot approached him and said that if there was a settlement between Mr Jinnah and him, peace would be established in the country. Gandhiji's answer was that he did not maintain illusions and never ascribed to himself any superior powers. He had met Mr. Jinnah many times, as they knew, and their meetings had been marked by nothing but friendliness, yet the results were negative as they all knew.

The fact was, continued Gandhiji, that a leader was made by his followers. He reflected in a clearer manner the aspirations lying dormant among the masses. This was true not only of India but of all the world. What he would, therefore, suggest to both Hindus and Muslims was that they should not look to the Muslim League or the Congress or the Hindu Mahasabha for the solution of their daily problems of life. For that they should look towards themselves; and if they did that, then their desire for neighbourly peace would be reflected by the leaders. The political institutions might be left to deal with specifically political questions but how much did they know about the daily needs of individuals? If a neighbour was ailing, would they run to the Congress or the League to ask them what should be done? That was an unthinkable proposition.

On the previous evening Gandhiji had quoted Mr. Jinnah's advice that women should rapidly be rescued from illiteracy. But Gandhiji said that that was not enough. Was the condition of the literate men any better for their literacy? Were they not, he asked, subject to the passing fashions of the political world? Germany, which had lain so long under Hitler, proved what he meant; as all knew it was in a sorry plight today. It was not literacy or learning which made a man, but education for real life. What did it matter, questioned Gandhiji, if they knew everything but did not know how to live in brotherliness with their neighbours?

Gandhiji continued that if some people had committed grievous mistakes in their dealings with their neighbours, they should repent and ask the pardon of God. If He granted it but the world did not, even then it did not matter to a man who had learnt to depend on God; such punishment nobly borne serves to elevate a man. Gandhiji then said that in a book of sayings of the Prophet he had found that a man should never leave an error uncorrected. If they did, they would be hauled up on the Day of Judgement and find no favour in the eyes of God.

It was not enough that they acquired the art of reading, writing etc., but it was necessary that they should learn the art of living on friendly terms with neighbours. They should rescue the womenfolk, who formed half their numbers, from the thralldom of ignorance and superstition. Men should live in cooperation and work for the common good. For this, they should not look up to political parties for direction, but to their own souls or God.

Personally, Gandhiji said, he had addressed himself wholly to that task. He would not leave this part of the country alive if the work remained unaccomplished. If he succeeded in overcoming the distrust of his Muslim brethren, and in establishing the fact that, after all, it was the daily things of life such as he had mentioned which mattered most, then its effect would be felt not merely in this part of the country but over the whole of India; and as such might even deeply affect the future peace of the world.

### GANDHIJI'S PRESS STATEMENT

A correspondent writes to me to say that the strained relations between the Hindus and the Muslims bid fair, if timely warning is not taken, to replace Nagari and Urdu scripts with Roman. There are undoubtedly protagonists of the Roman as the universal script. It seems to me that it would be a great human tragedy if such a result comes about. Time saving devices are good upto a certain point. But they take the form of a mania when they destroy human relations and desirable restraints. I must not tarry to examine what they are. Suffice it to say that lovers of the Nagari script which is scientifically almost perfect, and the Urdu script, which is so graceful, will not be carried away by the lazy craze for the Roman script. Would that both the communities will be sane enough to realize that the mutual dislike is not allowed to replace the two Indian scripts. But if that happy consummation does not take place, let those few or many who have regard for sacred human understanding assiduously learn both the scripts and thus enrich the Indian national language Hindustani as the easy fusion of Hindi and Urdu. Let the Provincial Governments beware of the lure of the Roman script. Let it not be said of India that it is so degraded as to become the blotting sheet of civilization.

Kheturi (Noakhali), 24-1-47



# HARIJAN

February 2

1947

## COMMUNAL MURDERS

1

The situation in Bombay regarding communal murders does not appear to be much improving. Occasionally there are also mob fights and Government is often obliged to resort to firing. This is extremely disturbing. In the light of these incidents grand and expensive schemes for further development and enlargement of the city do not enthuse one. If the social life of the people is getting more and more disintegrated and the relations between the various communities are getting more and more strained, of what worth are outwardly more beautiful and up-to-date cities and all the creature comforts and conveniences, which modern science might make available?

The Peace Committees, and the joint appeals of the Congress, the League and the Scheduled Class leaders do not seem to exert much (if at all, any) influence upon the perpetrators of the murders and their patrons. The police does not seem to lay its finger on real abettors, even if it does arrest actual assailants.

Certain inferences seem irresistible:

(i) The Peace Committees, and those who sign the appeals, consist of men who either do not work earnestly or have not much influence over the people who create disturbances or include men who are themselves either abettors or at least look upon the murders and disturbances with a sense of communalist satisfaction and stand upon the Committees or sign the appeals insincerely.

(ii) The Police is either corrupt, or communally split, or for some strong reasons does not dare to touch the real principals working behind the crimes.

(iii) Economic rivalry, unemployment, want of residential accommodation, difficulties in getting adequate food and clothing, high prices, black-marketing, the extremely big hiatus between the very rich and the very poor, the loss of moral sense which generally follows great wars, and communal propaganda combine together to drive the half-awakened working classes on communal lines, so that the workers of one community look upon those of another as the cause of their economic difficulties and having become desperate readily resort to violence. Political leaders, for their own ends, exploit their ignorance and fan mob fury.

The Government is making frantic efforts to meet the situation by tightening up punitive legislations, arming itself and the Police Commissioner with wide powers for removing "bad characters" (i. e. *de facto* perpetrators of crimes) and by promptly bringing out the armed police or the military.

I have no faith in punitive legislations. Not the severest punishment has ever put an end to crimes. An extremely small fraction of crimes, actually committed, is detected and a still smaller fraction is punished. Hardened criminals can, therefore, always take the risk incidental to their habitual vocation. Extermination of "bad characters" does not remove the evil any more than throwing the sweepings of my house before the door-step of my neighbour's does. Putting them into jails for a period is like throwing the sweepings into the dust-bin, and, when it is full, emptying it again on the streets, to get once again into the houses with the wind in a more contaminated form.

But governments, — capitalist or socialist, responsible or irresponsible — with their unshakable faith in force as the ultimate preserver of law and order, are not expected to devise anything better than punitive laws and militarism for combating evils. And in this respect governments simply reflect the faith of the majority of the people whom they govern. I do not, therefore, blame governments for their punitive measures. But while I may not blame them, I need not hesitate to say that these measures are not going to stop the evil from which society is suffering.

2

What shall we do, then, is a pertinent question. I shall attempt to answer it.

To my mind it is essential in the first place to realize that establishing peace is a constructive activity and not merely a preventive, resistive or retaliatory one. Peace is not ending hostilities by forcing the opponent to surrender and accept whatever terms might be imposed upon him. It is the creation of friendly feelings where bitterness and enmity reigned before. A lesser goal than this will not bring success where communities residing in one country have become mutually estranged.

Being a constructive activity, political party organizations and their prominent leaders are not well fitted for building peace. By their very nature these organizations and their leaders — whether in the official group or in opposition within their own parties — have their eye firmly set on the capture of the administrative machinery. In none of their activities can they forget their god, the voter. A constructive activity or a grand public scheme is more important to them for the reward it will bring to them in the shape of success at the next election than for the benefit it might confer upon the people. Their rivalries in the political field being very much responsible for arousing communal feelings, they will not allow them to work whole-heartedly in building peace. Even when they meet in common committees for a common purpose, they cannot resist the temptation of having a fling now and then against an opposite party, with the result that when they part, they often find themselves more hostile towards one another than before.



The work of creating peace must, therefore, be undertaken by an independent non-political organization. Individual leaders, temperamentally suited for it, in spite of their particular political associations, might stand on its committees, but the organization itself should be conducted by persons who remain scrupulously aloof from politics and consider the building of peace amongst various communities their principal life-work. Its organizer must be a person, who even though he had the capacity of entering politics or taking interest in several activities simultaneously, would single-mindedly and selflessly make the building up of friendly feelings and peaceful relations amongst the various communities the sole task of his life. Of course, in executing this mission, he would have to attend to and organize a good many activities. For instance, he would have to find ways and means for the creation of social virtues and civic sense amongst the ordinary hard-working folk; he would have to study the domestic and economic problems of people classed "bad characters" and of orphans and neglected children likely to join that camp, to find those maladjustments in their life, which engender anti-social tendencies; he must be an extremely social person—a man of the people; he would not talk politics to the people among whom he works; he would keep aloof from election campaigns, from debating the *pros* and *cons* of joint and separate electorates, of Pakistan and Akhand Hindustan etc; nor would he discuss the merits and demerits of the various religions and political 'isms' and one who, like, say, Shri Ravishanker Vyas of Gujarat or Appa Saheb Patwardhan of Ratnagiri (the present President of the Gandhi Seva Sangh), did not know fear in moving among all types of people; he would only stress the necessity of cultivating good morals, social virtues, duties of citizenship and a spirit of friendliness and cooperation among all the communities, and devise social and economic activities which would bring out and foster these qualities in the people.

Of course, he would need the active sympathy and cooperation of the common citizens. But a large part of the citizens, who work with him, would be persons who, though they might at the time of elections vote for a party standing high in their esteem for the time being, are otherwise not too strongly party-mad in their every day life. They are people who either do not presume to understand very clearly, or even though they do, do not feel over-interested in the issues which divide the various parties. What they understand and value above everything else is the supreme importance of peace and security in the city and friendly relations among all, irrespective of their caste, creed or political associations. It is a mistake to consider such people as unintelligent or uninformed. Rather, they are often very wise and shrewd and do not fall too readily into the traps of dogmas. They understand very well what they themselves want,—namely, freedom to move about in the city and to pursue their daily vocations without fear or

hindrance,—and are willing to contribute actively for that objective.

I believe that it would be possible to find a good number of people of this type. An attempt should be made to secure their help and cooperation. The volunteers for organizing the work of the Peace Committees should come from this class rather than from various Volunteer organizations affiliated to particular political parties. Students would do well to spend a good part of their youthful vigour in such work, instead of becoming at too early an age fanatic adherents of particular religious or political 'isms' or parties, and taking practical lessons, in all the evil practices of the elderly political leaders, for strengthening their respective party machines.

### 3

So much about unofficial endeavour. I shall now discuss how Government may help communal peace in a constructive manner.

Much though I may wish, I do not expect it to discard its powers of punishment and resorting to 'stern measures'. But since they feel that this has to be done, it should be done at least efficiently. The real financiers, brains and suppliers of weapons working behind the murderous activities must be caught hold of, however great their position and influence may be; trials must be speedily ended; and in making arrests, scores of men must not be driven to the police station and detained there for hours to find out if there was a culprit or two among them.

But more important than punitive measures is the removal of the grievances and hardships of the class of people from which criminals grow. In my opinion, their grievances arise from two distinct causes: one, economic and the other, psychological. The economic grievances are, as mentioned earlier, the unsatisfactory position regarding food, clothing, fuel, residential requirements etc. and employments not paying enough to meet their essential wants. That there is a general scarcity of these things is not a cogent argument with them. For, they see with their own eyes that those who have the means and are unscrupulous enough to adopt any efficacious method are able to procure more than their reasonable needs,—even to live lavishly. They cannot but carry the feeling that all the hue and cry raised about scarcity is a trick to starve the poor. If the poor man can see that it is not only he, but the rich man also, in spite of having a thousand rupees cash always on hand, who suffers want of enough food, clothes, fuel, oil, match-boxes, quarters etc., he would not carry a feeling of anger. Being unable to show his anger against the rich, he lets it out against his nearest rival, much as a daughter-in-law who is unable to punish her mother-in-law thrashes her child or smashes her pots to give vent to her resentment. Heroic efforts must, therefore, be made to ensure that, in respect of the essential needs, the rich and the poor feel the pinch of scarcity equally.

The second cause is psychological. The persons available for murderous projects belong to a class which generally does not hunger so much for money as for adventure and for sensuous pleasures when available. They are not thrifty and do not want money to lay by. Ordinary vocations are not attractive enough for them. But they will readily take to jobs which have an element of risk and adventure. If these people are to be reclaimed from their anti-social pursuits, useful but risky employments must be found for them. Of course, the employment must be accompanied with adequate rewards, which need not necessarily be pecuniary. This is a work, which Government alone can devise and execute.

Another important thing, which Government and the Municipal Corporation must realize, is that the aspiration to make Bombay a second London or a second New York is a false idea. What is needed is not a carefully prepared plan for Greater Bombay, but a carefully prepared scheme for breaking up Bombay into 15 or 20 towns, situated at a distance of 50 to 100 miles from one another,—a scheme for small towns, scattered all over the province, instead of a few highly congested cities. Cities attract not only millionaires, speculators and seekers of well-paid employments but also a majority of habitual offenders that are discharged periodically from the Central Prisons of Nasik Road, Yeravda, Sabarmati etc. Perhaps because all of them have one thing in common, namely, that they want more than they deserve, and that, too, very quickly. Goondas and absconders are safer in cities than in villages or small towns. I doubt whether the attempt to banish them from the cities succeeds much. I believe that most of them return to the city, or go to another city, within a few days, perhaps under a different name and religion. I would not be surprised if it were discovered some day that the Muslim assassin of a Hindu and the Hindu assassin of a Muslim were identical persons. Indeed it might even turn out that some of the Hindu, Muslim and Scheduled Caste criminals belonged to a common gang working under, and paid by a common captain.

If communal politics are amicably settled, perhaps communal murders might cease; but that will not be the end of murders and incendiarism. They existed and tended to increase before communal troubles started and will do so again. New York and London do not appear to be free from them. Communal differences are only a convenient lever for the time being, the real causes being economic, psychological and the congestion of the city.

May I hope that the public as well as those who govern will seriously consider the constructive part of this problem?

Sabarmati, 16-1-'47

K. G. MASHRUWALA

#### Out of Stock

Dr. A. K. Bhagwat of Uruli-Kanchan reports that his publications have already gone out of stock and no more orders can be executed.

Sabarmati, 22-1-'47

K. G. M.

## PLANNING WITH VILLAGE BIAS

### II

#### FOOD, FODDER AND AGRICULTURE

##### 1. AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT

The ways and means to improve India's agriculture are mainly: (1) To prevent fragmentation and to fix economic holdings; (2) Country-wide tapping and harnessing of our water resources; (3) Improvement of soil and its productivity through natural as well as scientific treatment of manures, seeds, crop-diseases, prevention of soil erosion etc.; (4) Co-operative effort; (5) State aid and protection; (6) Reclamation of waste-lands inland and along the sea-coasts and the creeks.

Each one of these subjects has been discussed threadbare time and again by experienced men who have devoted their lifetime to their study, without having an opportunity uptill now to put their suggestions and solutions to practical working. Though, therefore, they are vital and important, I may not discuss them here beyond mere enumeration.

##### 2. CATTLE, FODDER, MILK

The breeding of draught animals, which are the mainstay of Indian agriculture, must be encouraged on large-scale scientific lines. Laboratory experiments on Government farms or military establishments would not meet the urgent need. The present draught cattle with the Indian farmer are utterly uneconomic and a veritable burden. All promiscuous breeding must be prohibited and castration of all male calves, save those certified by the Veterinary Department as fit for breeding purposes, must be made compulsory by law, even like vaccination of children.

It will be news to many that unbelievably vast areas of private-owned lands, even in an agriculturally advanced province like Bombay, are lying waste. In only two out of the ten *talukas* (Pardi and Bulsar) of the Surat district which is noted for its fruit orchards and gardening, 80,000 and 64,000 acres of private-owned lands grow nothing but grass, *babul* or brambles. It may be noted here that in these *talukas* annual rainfall is about 75 inches. Besides, excellent rivers flow at distances of every 5 or 7 miles and empty out fresh water by millions of gallons in the Arabian Sea throughout the year.

In a neighbouring village the other day a visiting government officer found that of the entire holdings covering some 1200 acres, no more than 350 acres were under cultivation as against 851 acres consisted of grass lands only! These grass lands are not what is called the "village common", i. e., pastures for village cattle to graze. Far from it, they are owned mostly by absentee landlords—the *soucars* who cut, cart and carry away every blade of grass duly bundled and baled for the Bombay stables! In spite of all the "Grow More Food" Campaign by Government and other public agencies, these landlords successfully contrive to make hay literally while the countryside starves and lives on depleting

rations of foodgrains imported from America and elsewhere. They will not allow their tenants to grow on these lands foodgrains—which none-the-less yield equal quantities if not more of fodder—lest they may have to share the produce with them and keep vigil during harvest to prevent pilfering! Millions of acres of such lands are lying waste in our country in the hands of such owners who pursue the proverbial 'dog in the manger' policy. These owners should be made to lease out their lands to landless peasantry on easy terms for growing foodgrains, vegetables, etc., and irrigation facilities should be provided by Government. High prices of grass and tobacco have induced many landlords in the districts of Gujarat to by-pass the Government and convert considerable food-growing acreage into grass or tobacco growing areas in the teeth of Government propaganda for food growing. This must be stopped effectively without delay.

While such vast grass areas abound in our province, milk is produced in the heart of cities like Bombay and sold at a rupee a seer and above. All stables in cities and suburban areas round Bombay, Ahmedabad, Poona, Sholapur, Hubli etc., should be abolished and prohibited by law and cattle-keeping and rearing should be allowed only in rural areas in natural surroundings where grazing, stabling, credit and transport facilities should be provided by Government by pooling together, on popular lines, the resources of charitable trusts and institutions, intended for these purposes, such as *panjrapoles*, *goshalas* etc.

### 3. RECLAMATION OF COASTAL LANDS

Thousands of acres of salty lands are lying along creeks in the coastal districts of Surat, Thana and Konkan. These have been washed off and gone waste but could be reclaimed under Government encouragement and help through a system of bunding and would yield thousands of tons of coarse "salt-paddy" as it is called. I think some years ago a survey was made to such an end in the Thana district by a special officer appointed by Government.

I also remember an instance in which years ago a whole adult population of a salt-making village in the Thana district, who were engaged in a labour dispute with the employers, embarked upon a joint venture of rebuilding an old bund as a constructive substitute for their enforced unemployment, and succeeded in reclaiming vast lands which were washed off by the creek and totally lost to the village for more than a generation. This first-rate constructive effort proved a guarantee against possible acts of violence, which the organizers feared, on the part of some of the idle strikers and a veritable boon to the whole village in as much as it brought an additional annual yield of several hundred *khandis* of 'salt-paddy' for the village to the permanent benefit of every family.

The problem, however, of reclaiming such areas may be said to be beyond the capacity of any

private agency, but under State initiative much could be achieved in the direction.

### 4. VEGETABLE GROWING

Our people's diet is hopelessly low and ill-balanced being highly deficient in fats, proteins and other nutritives. The grass lands above-mentioned can grow excellent fresh vegetables, in abundance, on which poorer people can greatly rely during certain seasons, as they do, for instance, on *mowra* flowers in the Panch Mahals or on jackfruit in parts of the Konkan. Today fresh vegetable is an item of luxury to be found in the menu of the well-to-do classes only. The growers market every ounce of their produce to the cities and towns where it is sold at 4 to 12 annas a lb. And yet the grower hardly gets 1 or 2 annas out of it, the lion's share going to the railways and the city broker or the middlemen. Years ago this writer had reproduced in these columns figures of sale proceeds against expenditure from the account books of a renowned garden owner of the province who faced virtual ruin having had to distribute as much as 87% of his income between the railway and the middlemen. Only a couple of years ago certain military camps near Wardha compelled village farmers to grow huge quantities of fresh vegetables for them but decamped suddenly to a distant front plunging that whole countryside in total economic ruin. I saw with my own eyes cart-loads of bewitching cauli-flowers selling at one pice a lb. for a whole season and bullocks being fed with maunds upon maunds of beautiful tomatoes which could easily compare with those seen in the coloured advertisements in the American journals. Only the other day I met a big grower of excellent vegetables in my own neighbourhood who supplied some few thousand lbs. of fresh vegetables daily to the military establishments and then to Government ration-shops in Bombay, but who now finds himself—and along with him 11 small villagers whom he encouraged to grow—utterly stranded as a result of a sudden stoppage of Government purchase owing to a change of policy.

All this maladjustment must stop and wise planning follow which would protect the growers against such calamities. Village growers should be discouraged to grow for big and distant cities, but helped to cater local needs within the district and a fair return ensured to them by fixing minimum prices, as in the case of milk, for their undertaking to grow for well-defined restricted areas.

### 5. SEWAGE WATERS

In vegetable growing for big cities like Bombay, Ahmedabad etc., and for raising green fodder for city stables utilization of night soil and sewage water could be thought of with advantage. If drinking water could be brought to cities from distant catchment areas, the city sewers may be as well diverted for manuring and irrigating vast areas in distant suburbs. It may be relevant to say here that the Ahmedabad Municipality has been utilizing part of its sewage system in this manner



for years and has been making a decent income. In Delhi, Allahabad, Karachi and elsewhere too, I think, this is done more or less.

Vapi

SWAMI ANAND

(To be continued)

## RESOLUTION

[The following resolution, defining the objectives of the future constitution of India, was moved by Pandit Nehru in the Constituent Assembly of India on Friday, the 13th of December, 1946, and was unanimously passed by the Assembly on the 22nd of January 1947 after a full discussion.]

1. This Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a Constitution;

2. wherein the territories that now comprise British India, the territories that now form the Indian States, and such other parts of India as are outside British India and the States as well as such other territories as are willing to be constituted into the Independent Sovereign India shall be a Union of them all; and

3. wherein the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter according to the law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting therefrom; and

4. wherein all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government, are derived from the people; and

5. wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India justice, social, economic and political; equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action subject to law and public morality; and

6. wherein adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes; and

7. whereby shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the Republic and its sovereign rights on land, sea and air according to justice and the law of civilized nations; and

8. this ancient land attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.

## GANDHIJI'S APPROACH

Speaking at a students' meeting at the Ashutosh Hall on the 13th January, Dr. Amiya Chakraverty expressed his belief that there was in Gandhiji's historic march an impelling drive of spiritual faith in the neighbourly goodness of a common people which communal passion could obscure but never destroy. Gandhiji had gone to the interior of Bengal to restore this intrinsic trust without which no society could function. He sought to prove to the victims and the so-called victors of Noakhali that the recent man-made calamity did not even help the majority community. On the contrary, the latter stood to lose materially just as much as they had lost in honour and reputation. Rural life depended on cooperative welfare and any rude shock to mutual trust and any dislocation of the economic and political life was bound to shatter, as it had already shattered, the total agrarian security. The majority population misled by communal leaders had forgotten this fact but they were now realizing it mainly under the truthful light torches by Gandhiji's words and unsparing analysis.

Another factor that Gandhiji's programme included was rehabilitation with or without Government help. That the stricken and outraged conscience of the nation must take up the challenge of Noakhali was what Gandhiji wanted.

(From the A. B. Patrika, 15-1-'47)

## ECONOMICS OF KHADDAR

(Second Revised Edition)

By

Richard B. Gregg

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Cast light on v. रोशनी डालना । روشنی ڈالنا  
Cast loose v. अलग करना । الگ کرنا  
Cast net or hook or fly etc. v. बाज डालना वा फेंकना, फाँस डालना, बंसी डालना ।

جال ڈالنا یا پھینکنا, کال ڈالنا, پسی ڈالنا

Cast off v. छुटारना, छोड़ना, अलग करना ।  
اتارنا, چھوڑنا, الگ کرنا

Cast pearls before swine v. पधोको अंगूठी बाध, झेन्धेके बाले रोना ।  
گدھوں کو انگوری باغ, اندھے کے آگے دروا

Cast out v. निकाल देना, निकाल बाहर करना ।  
नकाल देना, निकाल बाहर करना

Cast to the winds or to the dogs v. अलग करना, फेंक देना, रख कर देना ।  
الگ کرنا, پھेंक देना, روک देना

Cast the die v. घोंस फेंकना, बीस लगाना ।  
बाँस फेंकना, बार लگانा

Cast iron n. डका जोड़ा ।  
ڈکلا لڑा

Cast of features n. चेहरा का नक्शा ।  
چہرے کا نقشہ

Castanet n. कबजा ।  
कबजा

Caste n. जात, जात-वर्ग, वर्ग, जाति ।  
जात, जात-वर्ग, वर्ग, जाति

Caste, to lose v. जात बाहर होना, जात खोना, नखरोसे गिरना ।  
जात खोना, जात बाहर होना, नखरोसे गिरना

Caste, put out of v. जातसे बाहर करना, हुस्का-पानी बन कर देना ।  
जातसे बाहर करना, हुस्का-पानी बन कर देना

Castigate v. दण्ड या सजा देना, लातना, फोंसे मारना ।  
डण्ड या सजा देना, लातना, फोंसे मारना

Castle n. किला, क़द, कोठ; दक ।  
किला, क़द, कोठ; दक

Castles in the air, to build v. मनके लहू छोड़ना, खयाली पुलाव पकाना ।  
मनके लहू छोड़ना, खयाली पुलाव पकाना

Castor n. नमक वा निर्बलानी; खिरकी, देव वा कुखीका पत्तिया ।  
नमक वा निर्बलानी; खिरकी, देव वा कुखीका पत्तिया

Castor oil n. खीरका तेल ।  
खीरका तेल

Castrate v. जस्सी वा बधिया करना, खोना बनाना ।  
जस्सी वा बधिया करना, खोना बनाना

Casual adj. आकस्मिक, अचानक; बे-परवाह ।  
आकस्मिक, अचानक; बे-परवाह

Casualty n. घटना, हादसा, बरबाद ।  
घटना, हादसा, बरबाद

Casualties n. मरे हुए और घायल ।  
मरे हुए और घायल

Cat n. बिल्ली; कबुजे सिखायकी औरत ।  
बिल्ली; कबुजे सिखायकी औरत

Cat and dog life, to live a v. बिल्ली-कुत्तेकी तरह रहना ।  
बिल्ली-कुत्तेकी तरह रहना

Cat call n. खीरी, खोर, हुल्ला ।  
खीरी, खोर, हुल्ला

Cat may look at a king, a मेक गवा (हकीर) भी बरबादहोके सिद्धक सकता है ।  
मेक गवा (हकीर) भी बरबादहोके सिद्धक सकता है

Cathead n. लंगर लहरी ।  
लंगर लहरी

Cat o'-nine-tails n. कैत, चीठकोवा ।  
कैत, चीठकोवा

Cat's eye n. मेक लौमली परवर ।  
मेक लौमली परवर

Cat's paw n. हकीकी हवा; घोसा-कावा ।  
हकीकी हवा; घोसा-कावा

Cat, to bell the v. सुखीबत वा विपत्तिका बामना करना ।  
सुखीबत वा विपत्तिका बामना करना

Cat, care killed the विपत्ता वा सिद्धर हावीको भी डुबा देती है ।  
विपत्ता वा सिद्धर हावीको भी डुबा देती है

Cats, fight like kilkenny लड़ते-लड़ते बाध है देना वा लड़ते लड़ते जान दे देना वा लड़ते लड़ते

Cat out of the bag, to let the मक्का खोखना, मेह खोलना ।  
मक्का खोखना, मेह खोलना

Cat, not room to swing a तंग जगह ।  
तंग जगह

Cats and dogs, to rain समानास पाणी बरसना, खोरसे बरसना ।  
समानास पाणी बरसना, खोरसे बरसना

Cat, tom n. बिल्ला ।  
बिल्ला

Cat in pan, to turn दो रंग होना, दो मेसिया ।  
दो रंग होना, दो मेसिया

Cat jumps, see which way the } देखो झूट किस करबट  
Cat to jump, wait for the }  
देखो झूट किस करबट

Cat v. लुक्की वा लौ करना ।  
लुक्की वा लौ करना

Cataclasm n. खोरसे फट पकना ।  
खोरसे फट पकना

Cataclysm n. पानीकी बाढ़, सेनाब; लुत्तान; कान्ति, भिन्निकान; पानी की बाढ़, सेनाब; लुत्तान; कान्ति, भिन्निकान

Catacomb n. कबरिस्तान; खमीनके खोखे ।  
कबरिस्तान; खमीनके खोखे

Catalepsy n. बेहोशी, मूर्च्छा ।  
बेहोशी, मूर्च्छा

Catalogue n. नामावली, सूची, जेवरिस्त ।  
नामावली, सूची, जेवरिस्त

Catapult n. गोकन, मोपिया, पुकेल ।  
गोकन, मोपिया, पुकेल

Cataract n. झरना (बहा); पानीकी बाध; मोपिया ।  
झरना (बहा); पानीकी बाध; मोपिया

Catarrh n. कुकाम, खर्षा, नाक बहना ।  
कुकाम, खर्षा, नाक बहना

Catastrophe n. आरत, विपत्ता; बरबादी ।  
आरत, विपत्ता; बरबादी

Catch n. पकड़; शिकार; सोनेकी चिड़िया; घोसा; बिल्ली; चिटकनी; पकड़; शिकार; सोनेकी चिड़िया; घोसा; बिल्ली; चिटकनी

Catch, no n. डुरा या मिछमा घोसा ।  
डुरा या मिछमा घोसा

Catch v. पकड़ना, पकड़ लेना; काँसना; छुटना; समझ लेना; मारना; लगना, लगा जाना ।  
पकड़ना, पकड़ लेना; काँसना; छुटना; समझ लेना; मारना; लगना, लगा जाना

Catch a cold or a fever v. सर्दी लग जाना; डुगार हो जाना ।  
सर्दी लग जाना; डुगार हो जाना

Catch at v. हाथ मारना, लपटना, लपकना ।  
हाथ मारना, लपटना, लपकना

Catch a Tarter v. अपनेसे खबरदस्त हो वा शिकना ।  
अपनेसे खबरदस्त हो वा शिकना

Catch fire v. आग लगना वा पकड़ना ।  
आग लगना वा पकड़ना

Catch it v. पकड़ पाना, डुरा-भला छुटना, शिकरी जाना ।  
पकड़ पाना, डुरा-भला छुटना, शिकरी जाना

Catch on v. पकड़ पाना, डुरा-भला छुटना, शिकरी जाना ।  
पकड़ पाना, डुरा-भला छुटना, शिकरी जाना

Catch one's breath v. साँस रोक लेना ।  
साँस रोक लेना

Catch out v. भूल करके पकड़ लेना ।  
भूल करके पकड़ लेना

Catchpenny n. मिछमी वा दिवानेकी चीज — चाफकर मिछमी पुस्तक जो सिके रुपया कमालेके सिक्के बनावी जाती है ।  
मिछमी वा दिवानेकी चीज — चाफकर मिछमी पुस्तक जो सिके रुपया कमालेके सिक्के बनावी जाती है

Catch up v. पकड़ लेना, वा लेना, बराबर हो जाना ।  
पकड़ लेना, वा लेना, बराबर हो जाना

Catch time by the forelock v. समय वा बरतसे हाथसे बाँधे न देना ।  
समय वा बरतसे हाथसे बाँधे न देना

Catchword n. बल्ला कितारा, बल्लेकी बात; मिछारा; काह बोल ।  
बल्ला कितारा, बल्लेकी बात; मिछारा; काह बोल

Catechise v. बल्ला-बल्लाके सीखना, पूछ-पूछ करना, भिन्निकान वा परीक्षा लेना ।  
बल्ला-बल्लाके सीखना, पूछ-पूछ करना, भिन्निकान वा परीक्षा लेना

Catechise v. बल्ला-बल्लाके सीखना, पूछ-पूछ करना, भिन्निकान वा परीक्षा लेना ।  
बल्ला-बल्लाके सीखना, पूछ-पूछ करना, भिन्निकान वा परीक्षा लेना

Catechise v. बल्ला-बल्लाके सीखना, पूछ-पूछ करना, भिन्निकान वा परीक्षा लेना ।  
बल्ला-बल्लाके सीखना, पूछ-पूछ करना, भिन्निकान वा परीक्षा लेना





Cell n. خلیہ، خانا | کمرہ، خانہ  
 Cellar n. گودا، گودام | گودا، گودام  
 Cellular adj. خلیاتی | خلیاتی  
 Cement n. سیمنٹ (پتھر یا اینٹ جوڑنے کا مادہ) |  
 سیمنٹ (پتھر یا اینٹ جوڑنے کا مادہ)  
 Cement v. جوڑنا، ملانا، باندھنا; پتھر کا کرنا، جوڑنا  
 Cemetery n. قبرستان | قبرستان  
 Cenotaph n. یادگار، گورہ، سادھی | یادگار، گورہ، سادھی  
 Censor n. سانسور، سانسورنگ | سانسور، سانسورنگ  
 Censor n. سانسور | سانسور  
 Censor v. سانسور کرنا، سانسورنگ کرنا; سانسور کرنا (پتھر یا اینٹ جوڑنے کا مادہ)  
 Censorious adj. سانسورنگ، سانسورنگ | سانسورنگ، سانسورنگ  
 Censure n. سانسور، سانسورنگ | سانسور، سانسورنگ  
 Censure, vote of n. سانسور، سانسورنگ | سانسور، سانسورنگ  
 Census n. سرشماری، سرشماری | سرشماری، سرشماری  
 Cent n. سینٹ، سنی | سینٹ، سنی  
 Cent, per فیصد، فیصد | فیصد، فیصد  
 Centaur n. سنٹر (سینٹر) | سینٹر (سینٹر)  
 Centaur n. سنٹر (سینٹر) | سینٹر (سینٹر)  
 Centenarian n. سانسور، سانسورنگ | سانسور، سانسورنگ  
 Centenary n. سانسور، سانسورنگ | سانسور، سانسورنگ  
 Centennial adj. سانسور، سانسورنگ | سانسور، سانسورنگ  
 Centipede n. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Central adj. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Centralize v. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Centre n. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Centre v. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Centrifugal adj. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Centripetal adj. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Century n. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Cephalic adj. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Ceramics n. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Cereal n. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Cerebral adj. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر

Ceremonial adj. n. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Ceremonious adj. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Ceremony n. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Certain adj. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Certainly adv. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Certainty n. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Certificate n. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Certify v. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Cerulean adj. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Cervical adj. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Cess n. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Cessation n. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Cession n. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Cesspool n. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
 Chafe v. سینٹر، سینٹر | سینٹر، سینٹر  
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# HARIJAN

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T. A.

## A WOMAN'S DILEMMA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

**Q.** What is a woman to do when attacked by miscreants? To run away, or resist with violence? To have boats in readiness to fly or prepare to defend with weapons?

**A.** My answer to this question is very simple. For me there can be no preparation for violence. All preparation must be for non-violence if courage of the highest type is to be developed. Violence can only be tolerated as being preferable always to cowardice. Therefore I would have no boats ready for a flight in emergency. For a non-violent person there is no emergency, but quiet dignified preparation for death. Hence whether it is a man or a woman he or she will defy death even when he or she is unassisted, for the real assistance is from God. I can preach no other thing and I am here to practise what I preach. Whether such an opportunity will occur to me or be given to me I do not know. If there are women who when assailed by miscreants cannot resist themselves without arms they do not need to be advised to carry arms. They will do so. There is something wrong in this constant enquiry as to whether to bear arms or not. People have to learn to be naturally independent. If they will remember the central teaching, namely, that the real effective resistance lies in non-violence, they will model their conduct accordingly. And that is what the world has been doing although unthinkingly. Since it is not the highest courage, namely, courage born of non-violence, it arms itself even unto the atom bomb. Those who do not see in it the futility of violence will naturally arm themselves to the best of their ability.

In India since my return from South Africa, there has been conscious and constant training in non-violence with the result we have seen.

**Q.** Can a woman be advised to take her own life rather than surrender?

**A.** This question requires a definite answer. I answered it in Delhi just before leaving for Noakhali. A woman would most certainly take her own life rather than surrender. In other words, surrender has no room in my plan of life. But I was asked in what way to take one's own life. I promptly said it was not for me to prescribe the means and behind the approval of suicide under such circumstances was and is the belief that one whose mind is prepared for even suicide will have requisite courage for such mental resistance and such internal purity that her assailant will be

disarmed. I could not carry the argument any further because it does not admit of further development. It requires positive proof which, I own, is lacking.

**Q.** If the choice is between taking one's own life or that of the assailant, which would you advise?

**A.** When it is a question of choice between killing oneself or the assailant, I have no doubt in my mind that the first should be the choice.

Palia, 27-1-'47

## SELF HELP TO AVOID FOOD CRISIS

Representatives of the Krishak Samiti, Hashnabad Peoples' Relief Committee met Gandhiji on January 24th at Murayam and informed him about the way in which Hindus and Muslims of Hashnabad raised a volunteer corps of about twelve hundred strong to defend the area from an onslaught of communal riots.

Gandhiji remarked, "I have heard of Hashnabad sometime ago as the bright spot of Hindu-Muslim unity during the riot period."

The interviewers then told him of a food crisis developing in this area and asked him if he would say something about it in his speeches so as to draw the attention of the Bengal Government.

Gandhiji replied, "Though I am not saying anything about the coming food crisis, I am aware of the situation. I am trying to solve it in my own way. I do not see why the people should depend upon Government or other agencies for help. We hear nowadays people trying to secure foodstuffs from foreign countries. As a matter of fact if people will help themselves, then Government is bound to move and this is what I will call real democracy, which is built up from below. Bengal possesses rich lands. They can produce edible roots. But again it is difficult to induce people to revise their tastes and old habits. Look at these cocoanut trees. Cocoanut makes a good nutritious food. I am trying to accustom myself to it. Of course, I extract the oil from it and the remaining portion as you know, contains good protein. Then take the many kinds of roots in the soil of Bengal which belong to the potato tribe and these can be used as good food. Then again, you have abundance of fish. Fish, cocoanuts and these roots can easily take the place of rice." Incidentally Gandhiji mentioned the general supineness of the people. As an instance he mentioned the water hyacinth which, if the people en masse volunteered their services for a week without any aid from Government, they could get rid of within a week's time, causing a saving of thousands of rupees.

Gandhiji was asked his opinion about the Tebhaga Movement in Bengal. Gandhiji confessed his



ignorance about the movement and asked for a note on the subject which the questioners have undertaken to supply.

Gandhiji was asked, "Can we not build up Hindu-Muslim unity through a concrete political programme?"

Gandhiji replied, "Probably you can. But I have got my own ways. I think if people help themselves, then politics will take care of themselves."

Q. "This *Tebhaga* Movement of the Bengal Kisans expects blessings from you."

Gandhiji: "Yes, yes, all good movements have my blessings."

### SHRIRAMPUR DIARY

[Up till now we were giving extracts from Gandhiji's after-prayer speeches from press reports, but Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, who is accompanying Gandhiji in his village to village tour is now sending us corrected versions of his prayer speeches, so the reader will henceforth get authenticated versions. —Mg. Ed.]

Before proceeding with the diary we give below some extracts from his former speeches left out.

A question was put to Gandhiji at Narayanpur on the 15th January: Why cannot the apostle of non-violence, the modern Buddha stop internecine war and blood-bath in the country?

Gandhiji replying to this question, acquitted himself from the charge of being the modern Buddha. He was and claimed to be a simple man having extensive experience at his back, but on that account claimed to be no better than any member of the audience. He was an equal servant of both the communities or all the communities of India. He wished he had the power to stop 'internecine war' and consequent 'blood-bath'. Buddha or the prophets that followed him had gone the way they went in order to stop wars. The fact that he could not do so was proof positive that he had no superior power at his back. It was true that he swore by non-violence and so he had come to Noakhali in order to test the power of his non-violence. As he had repeatedly said ever since his arrival in Bengal, he had no desire to leave Bengal unless both the communities showed by their action that they were like blood-brothers living together in perfect peace and amity.

Gandhiji also dealt with a question that was raised by the Muslim friends who had seen him before the prayer meeting. They had asked him how he expected friendly relations between the two communities when the Hindus agitated for the arrest and trial of those who were guilty of murders, arson and loot during the disturbances. The speaker confessed that he did not like these complaints. But he sympathized with the complainants so long as the wrong-doers avoided arrest and trial and so long as Muslim opinion in Noakhali did not insist upon guilty parties disclosing themselves. He would be glad to see Muslim opinion working actively to bring the offenders not before the courts of justice but before the court of public opinion. Let the offenders show contrition and let them return the looted property. Let them

also show to those against whom offences were committed that they need fear no molestation, that the days of frenzy were over. Muslim public opinion should be such as to guarantee that miscreants would not dare to offend against any individual and only then Hindus could be asked to return safely to their villages. The speaker was sure that such purging before the court of public opinion was infinitely superior to a trial before a court of law. What was wanted was not vengeance but reformation.

At Parkot, on the morning of the 17th Gandhiji had read a speech delivered by the Quaid-e-Azam on the occasion of the foundation ceremony of a Girls High School by his sister Miss Fatima Jinnah. During the after-prayer speech in the evening, he translated a portion of that speech in which Mr. Jinnah is reported to have said that Muslims should develop a high sense of responsibility, justice and integrity. Wrong was not to be imitated. If after consulting one's conscience one felt that a contemplated action was wrong, one should never do it irrespective of any consideration or influence. If people acted up to this rule, no one would be able to prevent them from attaining Pakistan. Commenting upon this, Gandhiji said that as there was no question of force here and if Pakistan was going to be established by sterling qualities of character, everybody would welcome such a State, no matter by what name it was called.

Gandhiji added that they ought to remember Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's advice and act upto it; for it was an advice confined not to any particular community but was of universal significance. The qualities which he had advised people to develop were not combativeness but a sense of justice and truth; and this implied that whenever justice was at stake, people ought to appeal to reason instead of taking recourse to barbarous methods of settling disputes whether private or public.

19-1-'47

It was Gandhiji's day of silence, so he wrote out the following on a few slips of paper:

"Whatever I have been trying to say in these days, is contained in the sayings of the Prophet. The following passages are therefore culled for our benefit:

No man is a true believer unless he desireth for his brother that which he desireth for himself.

He who neither worketh for himself nor for others will not receive the reward of God.

He is not of me, but a rebel at heart who when he speaketh, speaketh falsely, who when he promiseth, breaketh his promises and who when trust is reposed in him, saileth in his trust.

Muslims are those who perform their trust and fail not in their word and keep their pledge.

Whoever is kind to His creatures, God is kind to him.

A perfect Muslim is he from whose tongue and hands mankind is safe.

The worst of men is a bad learned man and a good learned man is the best.

When a man committeth adultery *man* leaveth



He is not a woman who committeth adultery or stealeth, or who drinketh liquor or who plundereth or who embezzleth; beware, beware.

The most excellent *sahad* is that for the conquest of self.

Assist any person oppressed, whether Muslim or non Muslim.

The manner in which my followers become eunuchs is by fasting and abstinence.

Women are the twin halves of men.

Learned are those who practise what they know.

The most valuable thing in the world is a virtuous woman.

Give your wife good counsel; if she has goodness in her, she will soon take it; leave off idle thinking and do not beat your noble wife like a slave.

21-1-'47

Gandhiji explained the reasons which actuated the twenty-five days' fast of Bibi Amtul Salam and the reasons which actuated its end. The fast was broken at 9-30 last evening after the recital of the *Al Fata* in a powerful and melodious voice by a Muslim gentleman who happened to be in the meeting. My Muslim friends including Abdulla Sahab and his lieutenants exerted themselves during the day to find out how the fast would be ended while Gandhiji was present in Sirand. It was common cause that the *khada* for which the fast was said to have been undertaken could not, in spite of strenuous and honest effort by many persons, be tied. And if Amtul Salam Behn persisted in wing the production of the *khada*, she must do it. Gandhiji had explained to her that that could not be the real object of the fast; it must be a symbol of something behind it. Gandhiji then said that the lady's whole life was devoted to a harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims. Therefore if there was a real prospect of such unity at least within the area where she was working, there was every prospect of the fast being ended. After full and complete deliberation a document was signed laying down the principle that to a man his religion was equally dear with any other person's and that therefore different religions should be mutually respected. To this end the signatories pledged themselves. Naturally any withdrawal of the promise would implicate the speaker the pact. On the document being interpreted Amtul Salam Behn, the lady broke the fast and before

Gandhiji assured signatories that he would help to the best of ability in the matter of preserving the rights of each community even as he expected them actively to implement their promise.

22-1-'47

The gathering at Pala in the evening of the 22nd instant was not orderly but of the largest size so far encountered by Gandhiji in the course of his tour from village to village. There were no less than five thousand people. A few weeks ago the villagers had eaten an inter-communal dinner in which the Hindus including the so-called

Untouchables and the Muslims had participated. Gandhiji had originally desired to attend that celebration but it had not been possible on account of inaccessibility. He was happy, therefore, that after all he had been able to visit the village of Paniala. But that was not enough; he would feel happier still if the Hindus and the Muslims succeeded in establishing unity and friendship among themselves.

Amtul Salam had undertaken her fast, as they all knew, with the same object. And the assurance that the villagers in her neighbourhood had given to her should go a long way in healing the wound which tore the face of Bengal.

One problem, continued Gandhiji, which had been recently existing in Sirand was in connection with the families of those who had lost their all in the course of the disturbances. There were many families which had lost their earning members. The survivors had to be looked after; while the children had to be educated and given adequate protection. That undoubtedly was the duty of the Government. Both he and they if they wanted heart-peace should look at the question from a broader standpoint. In his humble opinion, where the wrong was done by some Muslims, reasonable arrangements for the above purpose should be made by the Muslims of the neighbourhood.

Government would only act through force while the common citizen would act through persuasion and agreement. Through the establishment of good human relations, citizens should try to tide over the disasters which might overwhelm the social body. It was not good to depend on an organization based on force like the State for the above purpose.

Gandhiji then referred to two more matters, namely, the duty of volunteers and the rehabilitation of artisans. With regard to the volunteers his advice was that they should never discriminate between one type of duty and another, have no preferences, but should stick to their post even at the cost of their lives. It was the quality of discipline and sacrifice which made small things great in organized action. Then referring to the problem of the artisans, he continued, they ought not to depend upon charity however well-intentioned but on their own resources in order to tide over their present difficulties. In this connection he referred to his view supported by the Scriptures of the world that he, who ate his food without returning its equivalent by means of body-labour was no more than a thief. Permanent peace would come in the world only when the bond of labour shared in common held together different units of the social body.

During prayer meeting at one time rain threatened to break up the meeting. Happily it subsided and the meeting was continued in order to enable Gandhiji to deal with the questions addressed to him by Muslim Leagues in Bengali and English.

The first question was: You said that Muslim majority provinces if they so chose had Pakistan already. What did you mean by this?

Gandhiji replied that he fully meant what he had said. Whilst there was an outside power ruling

(Continued on p. 18)

# HARIJAN

February 9

1947

## INDIA IN ACCOUNT CURRENT WITH GREAT BRITAIN

A delegation led by Sir Wilfrid Eady, the Second Secretary to the British Treasury and Mr. C. F. Cobbold, Deputy Governor of the Bank of England along with Mr. K. Anderson, head of the Financial Department of the India Office and Mr. P. S. Beale of the Exchange Control Department of the Bank of England are visiting India to have "talks" on India's sterling balances with the representatives of the Government of India and the Reserve Bank. It would, therefore, be interesting to look at the background of the history of the financial obligations between Great Britain and India. It may be mentioned that the sterling balances, which are at present engaging the attention of this delegation, is the resultant balance of various items that have been debited to us since the British occupation, and items placed to our credit mostly within the last 7 years, in regard to goods supplied by India for the last war. This credit in itself amounts to over Rs. 3,700 crores, of which about 430 crores have been 'set off' against our so-called old public debts and another Rs. 1,700 crores have been debited to India as her share of the cost of this war. Balance at the present time under discussion is about 1600 crores which are presumed to be represented by sterling securities in London.

### WAYS OF ACQUIRING "CREDIT"

If an individual wants to take advantage of another man's possessions and casts his eyes greedily on property which does not belong to him, he usually resorts to a number of devices according to the circumstances in which he is placed. (1) The simplest is the "Hold up" method. By merely terrifying the victim, the victim is made to part with his wealth. (2) The next one is "embezzlement" by which a person misappropriates amounts belonging to another which have been given to him for keeping. (3) Often cashiers resort to "Falsification of accounts", i. e. by placing expenditure under capital items or debiting expenses to long term costs. The moneys that have been withdrawn, or wrongly dealt with, are kept out of the scrutiny of the proprietor. (4) Again an employee may take the valuables of his employer and pawn it for a song or (5) a trustee may commit misfeasance by utilizing the trust property for his own personal use. These are some of the types of financial crimes committed by crooks in the history of private property.

### HISTORY

The British connection in India will reveal that full advantage has been taken of all these types of dishonest methods and they have forged some novel

ones besides. In the days of Clive the "hold up" method was rampant. According to William Digby's computation between Plassey and Waterloo probably about 1000 million pounds sterling were transferred from Indian boards to British banks.

Then we come to the period of "embezzlement" by the honourable East India Company. The company was too honourable to make use of the "hold up" method. What they did was they bought Indian goods out of tax revenues and exported them to Europe for sale on their own account. According to the "Minutes of Evidence on the Affairs of the East India Company" the revenues so embezzled between 1793 & 1812 amounted to 260 million pounds sterling.

As we approach the Victorian age, Great Britain was again too respectable to stoop to the bare-faced loot of Clive or to the commercial dishonesty of the East India Company. They wished to have the booty but were anxious to appear honest and above board. Here, they resorted to a wholesale falsification of accounts. Several items of expenditure unconnected with India such as the costs of wars in Afghanistan, Burma, China, Persia and far away Egypt and Abyssinia, were debited to Indian revenues to the extent of over 700 crores. One need only delve into the Welby Commission's Report to find several disgraceful records of many such false debits.

In old Jewish tradition there was a custom by which a son may keep his property from being used by the parents if he ded it "corban"—i.e. a gift. From that time forwards the son will be released from all obligations of supporting the parents. This is a kind of self-constituted release from obligations. Some devices had to be found by Great Britain to meet the possibility of exposure in the lime light of the twentieth century. During the world War No. 1 Great Britain had to incur enormous expenditure in India but the British Treasury was not pained to shoulder the burden. So they asked the subordinate agents at Delhi to declare that amount as a gift from India to Great Britain. This alleged "gift" has been challenged by the Congress Select Committee on the financial obligations between Great Britain and India on which two distinguished ex-Advocates General of the Bombay Government served. In their opinion, according to the report published in 1931, the Government of India under the statutes by which it is regulated no power whatsoever to make a gift to Great Britain out of the revenues of India. Therefore, such were illegal transactions. But then what order can deter Great Britain from doing what she wants? Is she not a first class world power maintaining world security and collaborating in America the atom bomb maker? Hence it is that she is above all law, and she can do wrong!

### STERLING SECURITIES

In the last war she went one step further. She wanted resources for waging a most destructive world war. Great Britain sold away thousands



of millions of her assets already and was drifting rapidly towards bankruptcy. Hence it was a great temptation to cast greedy eyes on the resources of India. It was not long before they stretched out their powerful arms and carried away crores worth of food grains and other exchangeable commodities and left behind waste paper in the form of I. O. U. which they were pleased to term "sterling securities". This again was a legal and a moral fraud. Under the Reserve Bank of India Act Section 33, sub-section 2 dealing with the currency backing, it is provided that "of the total amount of assets not less than two-fifths shall consist of gold coin, gold bullion or sterling securities." Here, it would appear that when the Reserve Bank Act was passed in 1934 the framers had in mind sterling securities which were more or less as good as gold, i. e. which had marketable value realizable at about par. But the present so-called sterling securities have no backing at all and they are "sterling securities" simply because they are termed such. If England had been on the Gold or the Gold Exchange Standard and the Treasury bills had been deposited against notes issued in India, there would have been some value attached to the sterling securities. That this view is correct is borne out by a provision under section 41, an intelligent reading of which would carry the idea that the intention was that no person shall be entitled to receive payment in India unless an equivalent purchasing power had been deposited in sterling in London. This being so, by no stretch of imagination can we say that the kind of sterling securities deposited by His Majesty's Government possessed any purchasing power at all. This is definitely a moral fraud though the position may be legally and literally maintained. It would seem that one of the first acts that a free national government of India should do is to rectify section 33 by deleting the words "or sterling securities".

#### TYPE OF CURRENCY WE NEED

India is an agricultural country. Any currency suitable to our needs must represent non-fluctuating purchasing power both for exchange and hoarding. An agriculturist harvests his production once a year and the purchasing power that he gets at that time will have to stand him in good stead for the next 12 months. Therefore not being speculative, he is not interested in the enhancement or depreciation of his purchasing power. He is perfectly satisfied if he gets back what is due to him even without any question of interest. Our future currency, therefore, will have to take this aspect of the question into consideration. It is necessary for the agriculturist to have a reliable and stable medium of exchange and at the same time a means of storing his purchasing power. In our country banking habits have not reached the remote villages. Hence it is necessary to resort to gold which, through the ages, has shown very little fluctuation in its exchange value. Hoarding of gold in India, therefore, is not due to the perversity of

the farmer but it is a financial necessity of the prudent. Our currency has to provide gold backing and reserves sufficient to meet any contingency. Worthless paper, from whoever it may be, should not be accepted as adequate security.

#### THE DOLLAR POOL

Not satisfied with pledging their waste paper as sterling securities and drawing to the extent of 3700 crores Great Britain had also resorted to misappropriating all dollar and non-sterling assets held by private individuals in India. These were all compulsorily taken over to put into a dollar pool in London for the benefit of Great Britain. To this day we are not aware of the extent of the commandeered dollar finances ransacked from India.

#### SPONGING

Apart from these financial relations Great Britain which holds herself as a trustee for India has been attempting to use the trust property to serve her own ends. The I. C. S. and the I. P. S. have been the Imperial Government's agents in India. They have all been paid a salary in keeping with the emoluments got by the ransackers of Clive's regime. These enormous salaries are altogether out of keeping with the income of our people in our land, but now, when there is a national government in the offing, these agents of British Imperialism are getting nervous and are unwilling to serve the Indian National Government. Their principals from Whitehall wish to compensate them for losing the patronage of imperial Great Britain! But again, in keeping with their tradition, such compensation as they may decide on they are striving to make India pay rather than bear it themselves. The last war was one from which India desired to keep out, yet millions of our men were enticed away to fight under the British flag. These men are now being demobilized—who should reward them, Great Britain or India? But India is powerless before its mighty "trustee" and therefore, Indian lands are being given in exchange for services rendered to Great Britain by these soldiers. One wonders why the extensive lands of Canada and Australia cannot come in as a source of reward rather than the over-populated strips of holdings in India itself.

#### CAPACITY TO PAY

In regard to the capacity of Great Britain to pay we may point out that there is no comparison between impoverished India's ability to bear this enormous burden as she has done in the last 7 years and Great Britain's capacity to repay. Great Britain's income is over 9000 million pounds per annum and her debt to us will only be a fraction of this. We have got to remember that these credits of 3700 crores have been built up by their own British agents at their own valuation and controlled rates much below the market rates prevailing in India. In many cases, the goods have been merely commandeered by the autocratic



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power vested in the Governor General during the war period, and it also does not take into account the tremendous wear and tear of capital goods, such as railways used by the Government during the war period. When the goods were compulsorily taken even the mere necessities of the people in India were not provided for. The Bengal famine of 1943, in which over three million lost their lives, will bear witness to this. If a poor country like ours can be made to build up a credit, at the lowest values of commodities and under compulsion, to the extent of 3700 crores at the lowest computation in the course of 7 years, how can Great Britain with its national annual income of 9000 million pounds claim for a long term settlement? As Professor G. D. H. Cole says, "it is a strange world in which a rich and advanced country had to plead with a much poorer country to scale down its debt or even to spread the payment over a long period of years."

#### INVESTIGATION CALLED FOR

This short survey will show that Great Britain had resorted to dubious ways in her financial dealings with India and that the so-called sterling securities amounting to 1600 crores sought to be settled now, is not a determined and liquidated balance at all. It is the balance on a current account kept by Great Britain away from the scrutiny of our people in India. Therefore, before any financial responsibility for this account can be assumed, it will be essential for this running account itself to be thoroughly scrutinized by an impartial tribunal. This current account starts from the days of Clive and has never been subjected to popular scrutiny. Hence, we hope that a free national government of India, before it takes over any assets from Great Britain or agrees to any further liabilities in connection with the Imperial Services, will appoint an impartial tribunal to scrutinize this current account thoroughly. The appointment of such an impartial tribunal was the recommendation made by the Congress Select Committee of 1931.

The amounts finally decided upon as due to India can be liquidated by transfer of some or all of the gold that was taken from India within the last 20 years and by partially making over some of the British owned assets in India. There are great many irrigation schemes totalling up to about 450 crores, a good deal of machinery and material may have to be imported. These may be also supplied by Great Britain. At all events, we must take care that whatever credits we get, such are held in trust for the villages of India. The money should be spent, not in building enormous industries in the cities, but for relieving the distress of rural India in the form of irrigation schemes, drinking water supply, building canals, waterways, etc. These and other such points arising out of the terms of settlement may also be referred to the above suggested impartial tribunal.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

#### SHRIRAMPUR DIARY

(Continued from p. 15)

India there was neither Pakistan nor Hindustan but bare slavery was their lot. And if anybody maintained that the measure of provincial autonomy they enjoyed was equal to independence, they were unaware of the contents of independence. It was true that the British Power was certain to go. But if they could not patch up their quarrels and indulged in blood-baths, a combination of powers was certain to hold them in bondage. Those powers would not tolerate a country so vast and populous as India and so rich in potential resources to rot away because of internal disturbances. Every country had to live for the rest. Days when they could drag on the frog-in-the-well existence were gone. Even before the Congress had taken up non-violent non-cooperation as the official policy for the whole of India, that is, before 1920, a resolution to that effect was passed in Gujarat under the chairmanship of the late Abbas Tyebji Saheb. The speaker had said that it was open even to one province to vindicate its position and become wholly independent of the British Power. Thus supposing that following the prescription Bengal alone became truly and completely independent, there would be complete Pakistan of his definition in Bengal. Islam was nothing if it did not spell complete democracy. Therefore there would be one man one vote and one woman one vote irrespective of religion. Naturally, therefore, there would be a true Muslim majority in the province. Had not Jinnah Saheb declared that in Pakistan minorities would, if possible, be even better off than the majority? Therefore there would be no underdog. If Pakistan meant anything more, the speaker did not know and if it did, so far as he knew, it would make no appeal to his reason.

The second question was: How did your *ahimsa* work in Bihar? Gandhiji said that it did not work at all. It failed miserably. But if the reports received by him from responsible quarters were to be relied upon, the Bihar Government was making full amends and that the general population in Bihar also had realized the heinousness of the crimes committed by large masses of Biharis in certain portions of that province.

The third question was: Why are you silent about the eviction of Bengalis by the Assam Government? Gandhiji said that he was not deliberately silent. The question was not new for him. When some years ago he went to Assam he was taken to the very spot where Muslims from Mymensingh had migrated and taken possession of vacant lands. He had then given his opinion and held it even now that it was not open to persons to usurp vacant land wherever it may be, that is, whether in their own province or in another. For him it was not a Hindu-Muslim question. What he had said was of universal application. If Assam attempted to evict lawful possessors, it would be guilty of crime against humanity. What he had heard was quite the contrary. But if there was a question of unlawful eviction, the Assam Government would not be above law and it was

open also to the Bengal Government to vindicate the position of evicted Bengalis, here happening to be Muslims.

The next question was : What in your opinion is the cause of communal riots ? Gandhiji said that in his opinion the riots were due to the idiocy of both the communities.

The fifth question was : Do you think that you would be successful in bringing peace at Noakhali without having it at the Centre ? Gandhiji replied that if by the Centre was meant a pact between Jinnah Sahab, President of the Muslim League and Acharya Kripalani, President of the Indian National Congress, he certainly held that such a pact was not necessary in order to bring about harmonious relations between the Hindus and the Muslims in Noakhali. So far as he knew neither the President of the Congress nor the President of the Muslim League desired discord between the two. They had their political quarrel. But the disturbances in India whether in Bengal, Bihar or elsewhere were insensate and hindered political progress. He, therefore, felt that it was open to the Hindus and the Muslims in Noakhali to behave like men and cultivate peaceful relations among themselves.

The last question was : Who according to your opinion have saved the Hindus and Hindu property in Noakhali ? Do you not think that Muslim neighbours saved them ? Gandhiji replied that the question assumed a subtle pride. What was wanted was a spirit of humility and repentance that there were enough Muslims found in Noakhali who had lost their heads to the extent of committing loot, arson and murder and resorting to forcible conversions etc. If more mischief was not done, God alone was to be thanked, not man. At the same time the speaker was free to confess that be it said to their honour, there were Muslims who afforded protection to Hindus.

23-1-'47

Gandhiji announced at the prayer meeting at Delta that the Chowdharis of the village had decided to give him the plot of ground on which the meeting was being held. He congratulated the Chowdharis on their generous action. The gift to him carried no meaning beyond this that it was presented for public use irrespective of caste or party. Naturally there would be a proper document setting out the grant. He hoped that the donors would carry out the full purpose of the gift. The further cause for congratulation was that he was accommodated in the house of Rai Mohan Mali. He did not consider himself to belong to any caste. He belonged to the lowest rung of the Hindu ladder. In reality there was no ladder; no high, no low. All were equal in the eyes of God as of law and it was a happy conjunction of events that it happened to be Netaji's birthday. What could be happier than that on the auspicious day the Chowdharis were actually to make their gift and that a Scheduled Class friend, Rai Mohan Mali, had chosen to give him habitation ? In the speaker's opinion the great and most lasting act of Netaji was that he abolished all distinctions

of caste and class. He was not a mere Hindu, not a mere Bengali he never thought himself to be a caste Hindu. He was Indian first and last. What was more, he fired all under him with the same zeal so that they forgot in his presence all distinctions and acted as one man.

No doubt, there was much else to be credited to Netaji. Thus he had sacrificed a brilliant career for the sake of the country's service and enlisted himself under the late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. He suffered various imprisonments, twice became President of the Congress and at last by great strategy gave the slip to the guard put over him by the then Government of Bengal and by sheer courage and resourcefulness reached Kabul and passed through European countries and finally found himself in Japan, collected from scattered material an army of brilliant young men drawn from all communities and from all parts of India and dared to give battle to a mighty Government. A lesser man would have succumbed under the trials that Netaji went through, but he in his life verified the saying of Tulsidas that "all becomes right for the brave".

Gandhiji ended by saying that the Hindus should progress by forgetting all distinctions of caste and both the communities should develop unity of heart. He was reminded of a saying of the Prophet in which it was said that a man would be judged on the Day of Judgment not by what he professed by his lips nor by whom he followed, but by what he had himself done to implement the teachings received by him.

24-1-'47

In the prayer meeting at Muraim the District Magistrate was present, having walked for two hours and having the prospect of walking for another two hours. Gandhiji and party were housed in the Badi of Habibullah Sahab Patwari. He therefore began by saying that he felt much pleasure in being housed in a Muslim house. He and his party had received every attention. The Muslim friends went so far as to find a *madan* large enough to hold the largest number of visitors possible. And it so happened that the meeting was the largest of all during his pilgrimage. He attributed the increasing largeness of the meeting to the fast of Bibi Amtul Salam which had a happy ending because of the sincere labours of Abdullah Sahab and his assistants and the leading Muslims of the villages concerned. Whether his inference was justified or not, he flattered himself with the belief he had expressed.

He was sorry that there was poison administered to the public by some newspapers. Newspapers today had almost replaced the Bible, the Quran, the Gita and the other religious scriptures. It was wrong but the fact had to be faced. Such being the case, he held it to be the duty of newspapermen to give nothing but facts to their readers.

He was also of opinion that the movement of minorities to the majority provinces was an impracticable proposition. He knew the time when

the late two Imam brothers and the late Mazharul Haq Sahib led both the communities and the leading Hindus, such as the late Brajkishor Prasad and Dr. Rajendra Prasad gladly worked under them. Muslims of that Bihar must not leave Bihar. It was true that some Bihar Hindus had acted inhumanly but that aberration ought not to deflect the Muslims from their clear duty bravely to stick to their homes which were theirs by right. And the Bihar Hindus had to make all possible amends for the misdeeds of the Hindus who had become insane. Similarly he would say to the Noakhali Hindus and Muslims. It was therefore a good omen that there were Muslims in the village to harbour him. It was their duty to make even a solitary Hindu absolutely safe in their midst and Hindus should have faith enough to stay in Noakhali.

25-1-47

In the prayer meeting at Hiranpur Gandhiji first drew attention to the fact that the tal given was out of tune. He suggested that all they did in the name of God should be in tune. If they were out of tune outside, they were likely to be out of tune within. He then alluded to two telegrams received from the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam* in Madras and Bombay respectively. They said that he an unbeliever had no right of interference in the Islamic law. He submitted that the telegrams were based on ignorance of facts. He had not interfered at all in the practice of religion. He had neither the right nor the wish to do so. All he had done was to tender advice and that based on his reading of the Prophet's sayings etc. What was more, he had observed in many cultured Muslim families total disregard of the *purdah* as it is observed today. But that did not signify less observance of the *purdah* of the heart, which was the reality, in his opinion, aimed at by Islam. Whatever it was, it was open to the Muslim hearers to reject his advice if they felt that it was in conflict with the tenets of Islam. The critical telegrams received by him betrayed, in his opinion, grave intolerance of other opinion than that of the critics. Let them not forget that the Courts of Law including the Privy Council, which were often composed of non-Muslims, interpreted the Islamic law and imposed its interpretation on the Islamic world. He, on the contrary, sought merely to give an opinion. If he could not do so for fear of criticism or even physical punishment, he would be an unworthy representative of non-violence and truth.

26-1-47

The day of the prayer meeting at Bansa being Independence Day, Gandhiji devoted his speech to the question of Independence. The song sung was the famous song composed years ago by the late Rabindra Nath Tagore. He briefly traced the history of the Independence Movement. It took definite shape with the birth of the Congress. It began to

penetrate the villages after 1916 and after, till at last the Independence Resolution was taken and ever since, 26th January has been celebrated all over India. Lakhs of people had taken part in the movement. If the fates were not against India and she was not divided within, the present meeting would have seen the tricolour flag proudly flying in their midst. But he asked his friends not to fly it as they were divided amongst themselves. It was a flag that belonged to the whole of India. But today unfortunately their Muslim brethren did not take pride in it. They even resented it. He would not flaunt it in their face. The fruit was almost within their grasp. But if they were foolish, they would let it slip out of their hands. Not even the Constituent Assembly would be able to vindicate Independence if ultimately all Indians did not wish and were not ready to fight for Independence. It was true, he held, that even one Province could seize Independence. He had in mind the Independence of the whole of India. He, therefore, hoped that the whole of India with one mind would yearn and work for Independence. He mentioned too that whilst the flag was not in evidence at the meeting, it was flown in the morning in the quarters that were assigned to him. Let them remember the great Netaji and many others who had devoted their lives to the glorious work of Independence.

#### Behn Amtul Salam

The reader would like to know a few details about Behn Amtul Salam, referred to in the Shrirampur Diary under date 21st January.

She belongs to a distinguished Muslim family of the Patnala State. Her widowed mother is still alive and her brothers are all well-occupied. She lost one of them only recently in the person of Rashid Khan, the late Chief Justice of Indore and, at the time of his death, Confidential Secretary of the Maharaja. One of her nieces married the Nawab of Chhatari's son. Behn Amtul Salam joined the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati years ago when Gandhiji was serving his imprisonment in the Yeravda Jail and has never wavered in her faith. She is a staunch believer in non-violence and Hindu-Muslim unity.

She is a devout Muslim, never omitting the yearly *Ramzan* fast, and never sleeps without the *Quran* by her side, some portion of which she reads every day. During her fast she had always both the *Quran* and the *Gita* read to her every day. Her Islam is broad enough to cover respect for Hinduism, Christianity and other great faiths of the world.

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## HARIJAN

16 Pages

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INDIAN ANNA

## WHERE IS THE OBSTRUCTION?

The papers say that the Government was considering a cut in the ration for cloth by one-sixth. The reason assigned was that owing to communal disturbances in Bombay and Ahmedabad, the mills could not get enough hands to work fully, resulting in the diminution of cloth-production.

Just imagine! Seven lakhs of villages scattered all over India must suffer cloth-famine, because two of her cities were involved in riots!

The cotton from which cloth is manufactured grows in those very villages, and yet they cannot turn it into cloth in their own homes! Why? The answer is on account of the dullness of the masses, the muddled heads of the learned and the inertia common to both. Owing to dullness, the masses are unable to move unless stimulated from outside. Owing to want of clear thinking, the learned are filled with doubts. "Can it be seriously urged," they ask, "that we should in this age of scientific progress personally spin and ask people to spin on the *charkha* of the middle ages? Is it conceivable that we could ever clothe ourselves sufficiently without the mills? We concede that the *charkha* can produce some yarn. But what is it good for?" Learned as they are, they are unable to see that it is good enough for covering their bodies! To add to both these causes, there is the inertia common to all, born of age-long slavery.

But then should people go naked? The Government seem to say that for the time being there was no alternative. They had made a scheme for starting new mills in the province. It would take some years to implement it. Till then, people would have to feel the pinch of scarcity. The provincial quotas were fixed by the Central Government and all that the Provincial Government could do was to distribute its share equally among the people.

But I don't see even equal distribution. All around me, I find that it is only the poor who go in rags; the others are more than fully clothed.

However, let me assume that the Government will bring about equal distribution. Still I do not see why the people should feel the pinch of scarcity until new mills are built and they begin to work. Is there any want of time to spin? Is it difficult to manufacture spinning implements? Or is it want of sufficient cotton?

The ancient logicians said that three factors were essential in order to produce a thing, say cloth: the basic material i. e. cotton; the instrument of production, i. e. spinning implements; and the efficient cause, i. e. a capable man. But here

we are faced with the situation that cloth cannot be produced, though all the three factors are present. Were the logicians wrong? If not, where is the obstruction?

The obstruction is with the efficient cause — the capable man. The agriculturist has enough time and capability to spin, because he does not possess more land than three-quarters of an acre. But the capable men who rule over him, are unable to see this. Most of them do have *khadi* on their heads, but it has not yet entered into those heads.

Perhaps they might deny this. They might say, that I was unjust to them. True, they were not convinced about the potentiality of *khadi* that I ascribe to it. But they were not unwilling to encourage it while the mills were insufficient. Indeed, they invited the Charkha Sangh to give them a scheme. But Gandhiji advised the Sangh not to submit any scheme to the provinces, which wanted to establish mills also. The obstruction, therefore, lay in Gandhiji's advice.

Let us examine this piece of logic. It might take about two or three years to start new mills. Even assuming that *khadi* is needed only during the time the mill production is insufficient, is it seriously intended to encourage hand-spinning during the interval? If it is, has it been considered whether it is physically possible to introduce the wheel in every village in a period of two or three years? Has it been realized that before the spinning wheel can be usefully plied, it will be necessary to give the people training in spinning and the ancillary processes? This means that an intensive and country-wide scheme for giving this training will have to be planned out and executed. If the Government is serious it might say, of course, they would be prepared to do all that. Well, if measures are taken to introduce the *charkha* in so thorough a manner, then by the time the plan is executed, the mills will have begun to work and the mill-cloth will begin to be dumped upon the villages. Are the two positions consistent? If the scheme to set up the *charkha* in every home is to be seriously implemented, why should the mills be brought in to dislodge it again? If, on the other hand, the setting up of the mill-industry is a settled programme, why should there be all this waste of energy to introduce the *charkha*? Encouraging the *khadi* during the interval does not surely mean putting in a few lakhs of rupees into hand-spun and hand-woven cloth for the satisfaction of the *khadi* complex, which Congressmen have developed to a certain extent by long association!

And after all this expenditure of energy and public funds, what will be the net result? The present ration of cloth in this province (C. P.) is 12 yds. per head. Of these six yards are meant to be mill cloth wholly and six yards of hand-loom cloth. This is practically unavailable. Taking the minimum need to be as low as 16 yds. per head, it is no joke to supply the deficit on the *charkha*. It cannot be done by doling out a few lakhs of rupees into the *khadi*-made charity-bag.

Therefore, let there not be any loose thinking about *khadi*. The ministers must think it out in a serious manner. Gandhiji cannot be so irresponsible as to allow tax-payers' money to be spent on a programme in which the ministers have no clear faith. You cannot encourage both *khadi* and the mills. The mills that be, must disappear with the wearing out of their machinery and no new mills must come in to displace hand-spun cloth.

The Madras Cabinet alone has ventured to chalk out a *Khadi* scheme. It has been made the target of severe attacks by the vested interests. Some have prophesied the failure of the scheme; a few are hopeful. And the irony of it is that several of those who attack the plan clad themselves in *khadi* top to toe!

I may be again told that this was an unjust criticism. It was not that those whom I had criticized did not want *khadi*. But they were realists. In a case depending upon hard facts mere will to believe cannot generate faith and in the case of *khadi* facts did not show that it could be universalized. The A. I. S. A. had been after it for these twenty years. The Congress had encouraged it. But they had not succeeded in installing it in the place which *khadi*-lovers wanted for it. That was the reason for their want of full faith in *khadi*.

The answer is that up till now the *khadi* movement had to be carried on under a Government hostile towards it. So many times, it actually burnt the wheels, confiscated *khadi* Bhandars and imprisoned people simply because they put on *khadi*. It even had the tyrant's heartlessness to burn stocks of *khadi* in the face of actual cloth-famine in the country. If, under such adverse circumstances, *khadi* succeeded in becoming the symbol and the uniform of Swaraj, and has actually brought the country to the threshold of Swaraj, and placed people, who could, if they wished, make it universal, in possession of the power to carry out that wish. It cannot, therefore, be said that it has not fully rewarded the efforts made for it during all these years. *Khadi* can now justifiably say to the Congress Governments that it was now for them to decide whether it should hereafter stay or quit along with the Government, which by its assistance, had been brought to the stage of quitting. The Congress was in power now and it was for them to retain or discard the weapon which gave them that power.

Pavnar, 24-12-46

VINOBA

(Adapted from the original in Marathi)

## ONE MORE FEATHER IN THE CAP

In most economic activities both the long range programme and short time measures must go hand in hand and must be well co-ordinated if they are to function satisfactorily. If the carpenter wants seasoned wood for his cabinets, the long range counterpart of this is the forest policy of the Government. When the farmer needs to water his fields the Government has to lay out long term irrigation schemes to answer the purpose. These items are complementary but the long term policies are based on the demand of the short range policies. It is the function of the Government to provide the long term measures to supply the needs of the short range economic activities. A maladjustment between these two aspects causes waste. For instance, the Government will be foolish to go on building irrigation works where there are no fields to irrigate!

During the feudal days England was an economy based on horse power. The horse was the beast of burden. It provided the motive force for the farmer on the fields, the mount for the wayfarer, the charger for the warrior, the draught power for the post chaise, etc. At that time the feudal lord functioned partially in the place of the State in a modern democracy. So it fell to his lot to take care of horse-breeding which was a long range programme. Because of this the institution of horse racing came into being to set the required standards of quality and to reward the successful breeder. Since the advent of power machinery, coal and oil have ousted the horse, leaving us only its long range counterpart, horse breeding and racing as an anachronism for the indulgence of the gambler and wastrel. This phenomenon of an economic long range item outliving its partner has developed into a monstrosity destroying the lives of hundreds of simple city clerks and petty traders who are enticed away by betting booths and has become a carbuncle on the body politic. This disease has invaded our country too. Many of our Princes and wealthy men are wasting crores on this pastime. The ever wasteful spendthrift governments, instead of ending this meaningless rudiment of an ancient economy, have made capital of it by making it a source of income. The magnitude of its operations can be gauged from the fact that the Bombay Government pools nearly a crore from its betting taxes, while Calcutta makes about three fourths of it. It is high time for any rational Government not driven by its greed to put an end to this nefarious occupation.

The Madras Ministry has again given the lead by legislating against wagering or betting at horse races. While some types of horses for the tonga, etc. have yet to be bred, the kinds that are found in the races are of no use for the ordinary man. Under the circumstances all racing of such animals should be completely banned. We trust the other Provincial Governments will follow this example.

Besides, our country being in a cow-centered economy, which badly needs long schemes in cattle-

breeding, poultry rearing, sheep-breeding etc., we would commend that the energies now running waste in horse-breeding may well be profitably channelized into these activities which will fit into the economic life of the country

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## Notes

### Orissa's Suicide

One of our poorest provinces is Orissa. As a consequence of the last war it has been impoverished further. When we talk of the economic condition we have in mind the common farmer and the villager. It does not at this stage require any exposition of the fact that centralized production accumulates profits to the "haves" and creates unemployment and distress for the "have nots". To relieve poverty and unemployment, therefore, we need to spread industries which distribute wealth and bring employment to the largest number. Such is *khadi* production to relieve shortage of cloth as quickly as possible.

The ill-advised Orissa Government is the first to take the bait of the provincial spindle quota scheme and has obtained an over-riding priority for the import of plant and machinery for the new company, "Orissa Textile Mills Ltd." for its 25,000 coarse and 19,000 fine spindles. They are awaiting permits for steel, cement and coal to start construction work at Cuttack

For this company, under the most favoured terms, to start production it will take about three years. In the meanwhile the cloth shortage will grow from bad to worse; and by the time the mill begins functioning, the U. S. A., Great Britain and other countries which are pushing forward their export trade with all their might and main will be comfortably settled in the market. Will the Orissa Textile Mills be powerful enough to oust them?

We are sorry that the Orissa Government has taken this short-sighted view and has introduced a scheme which will bring greater distress for the masses than the one they are suffering from now

### A Share in the Booty

Nadir Shah invaded India for booty. This booty was in the form of boards of precious metal, jewellery and gems. Such is not the booty our moderns look for. They want instruments of production, raw materials and markets. It was the search for such booty that brought in the global wars.

After the first world war the "conquerors" unburdened Germany of her colonies and claimed reparations to compensate for the loss caused by the wars.

Now again Germany has been "vanquished". The international vultures have foregathered where the carcass is. An assembly of delegates from the Principal Allied Countries have drafted a "Final Act and an Accord" to pool all German Patents in Allied countries. India has also been dragged into this arrangement, by whom we do not know.

When we buy a stolen article knowing it to be such we become morally responsible for the stealing that had preceded the transaction. India refrained from entering this war. To that extent she is free from the blood guilt of this war. Can we now ask for a share in the booty consequent on this war without assuming moral responsibility for the carnage?

Can we buy and bring into our country German plants taken over by the allies as "reparation"? There is a list of 51 German war plants, which are for sale, circulated among the Indian Chambers of Commerce. These are stained with injustice, cruelty, avarice and human blood. Are we prepared to take these on our hands? If we do, we become imperialists no less than the British or the Americans. If India stands for the freedom of all suppressed nations, Germany being one such today, our National Government should protest against such loot and ban such tainted property

J. C. K.

## THE PROPHET'S CONVENTION FOR ALL TIME

A Muslim friend sends the following quotation from the Bengali book *Mustafa-Charit* by Maulana Akram Khan. He has been circulating it in the form of a handbill

"After arrival in Medina Hazrat Muhammed turned his attention towards the peace and welfare of the country. Medina with its neighbourhood was the seat of three independent tribes. The thoughts, tastes and religion of the Jews, the Idolaters and of the Musalmans were incompatible with one another. The Prophet realized the need of bringing them together under one common plan of action — they were to be fused politically into one 'nation'. They had to learn that different religious communities who inhabited the same country could preserve their religious independence fully intact and yet could work together in the service of their common motherland. Such a State was possible and also desirable.

'For the first time in the history of the world this ideal was preached by an inhabitant of the desert of Hejaz, viz., the unlettered Muhammed Mustafa. The latter gathered together the Jews, the Idolaters and the Mushms of Medina and made them sign the first international agreement and created a republic out of the various religious communities and mutually hostile factions. We give below a few items from that convention.

1. Jews and Idolaters belong to the same *Ummat* (Nation) as the Muslims.

2. They will fight unitedly for preserving the country's freedom.

3. Jews, Muslims and other communities are free to follow their own religious practices; none shall interfere with the religious freedom of another.

4. Muslims should generally behave with affection towards other communities and work for

the latter's welfare. They should never harbour thoughts of injuring them in any way.

5. This promise taken in the name of Allah is for all time. He or they who break it will suffer from the wrath of Allah."

## HARIJAN

February 16

1947

### WANTED CORN, NOT CURRENCY

It is usual to say that India is an agricultural country. If one understood thereby that India had plenty of agricultural land, it would not be correct. For, it has only 4ths of an acre of land per head. The proposition, therefore, must be taken to mean that the Indian village and the life, habits and thought of the Indian people are more suited to agricultural pursuits than to non-agricultural ones. It can also be understood to mean that at present India has not much left of avocations other than the agricultural one. There is a third sense also for treating India as an agricultural country, namely, that the country having far less agricultural land than necessary, it must concentrate its main attention and energy on the improvement of agriculture. No prosperity could be expected otherwise.

Indeed, this was realized as early as the time of the *Upanishads*. One of them says, "Grow more corn. Regard this as your pledge." During the war period the Government also began to repeat this phrase, but it failed to create more corn. Instead, it created more currency. As a result, thirty lakhs of people died of want of corn.

Ultimately, the British Government handed over its failing concern to the leaders of the people. With the full knowledge of the risk involved in taking over a failing concern, the leaders have accepted the responsibility. Hence, keeping people alive is the most important problem that faces the country at present.

Businessmen say that agriculture is not a profitable avocation in India. But, since life depends upon agriculture, where agriculture is not profitable, life itself cannot be profitable. This result is not, cannot be, natural; it is the result of an artificial civilization. Currency is the symbol of this artificiality. The false prestige given to the possession of currency has become the cause of the destruction of so much life.

The people of India live in *bhedas*—fields (remember that one of the synonyms for 'village' in several Indian languages is *kheda*, which also means a field). If we can undo in the *bhedas* the false importance given to currency, agriculture cannot but improve. The importance given to the possession of currency is the cause of the frenzy for raising 'money-crops'. Why are so much tobacco, a considerable part of cotton and similar other

crops raised? Why should there be so much need for currency? Because, the villager has to obtain all his wants by purchase. He must bring his cloth and the oil-take and several other necessities from the market; hence his need for money. Hence he raises crops not needed by him or his comrades in the village, but those wanted by a far away exporter or industrialist. And so, food is scarce. The village itself has no industries of its own. The villager cannot supply himself with his essential needs from things manufactured locally. The deduction is clear. Sufficient food is not grown in the fields because sufficient industry is not carried on in the villages.

Of course, our agriculture needs considerable improvement, and there is no gainsaying the fact that improved agriculture will be more profitable. It will need all our talents, energy and years of patient endeavour to do this. While all this must be done, it must also be realized that the population will also increase along with the years of effort and the results of improved agriculture alone may not be proportionate to the needs of an enlarged population. Therefore an agriculturist should not be defined merely as one who lives by tilling land, but one who both tills the land and produces from the raw produce of his land articles needed for his own use. This idea is at the root of the Khadi and Village Industries movement. In the immediate future, the miseries of the poor will not end without a simultaneous impetus to Khadi and Village Industries.

Government is busily engaged in making calculations of the deficiency in the quantity of food needed for the country and devising ways and means of meeting it. But, if you think hard, you would realize that the 'Grow More Food' movement must not be limited by calculations of deficiency. Indeed, there should be no limit to the amount of food to be grown. It must not simply meet the annual needs of the country, but there must be plenty of surplus left for the next year. Like air and water, there must be plenty of food too. And food should not mean merely various corns, but also vegetables, fruits, roots and tubers. Nor should they be raised with an eye on their price in money; they must be consumed by the producer himself. He himself must become the principal buyer of his produce; the unneeded surplus alone should be for sale. This is Swaraj. "I salute the eater of his own produce," said Tukaram. No one would desire to put up his own son for sale in the market! He can never feel that he got full value for him. Hence, he cannot afford it. But he produces milk and butter, fruits and vegetables, and puts them up for sale! He says that he cannot afford to consume them himself! Why should it be so? My answer is—for want of village industries. Possibly some people might feel I am obsessed by this idea. But as long as I have not been given any other explanation for it, I must adhere to this view.

Pavnar, 13-1-'47

VINOBA

(Translated from the original in Marathi)



## GANDHIJI ON TRUSTEESHIP

Gandhiji deliberately referred to his private life because he had never thought the private life of individuals did not affect the course of the public activities of those individuals. Thus he did not believe that he could be immoral in private life and yet be an efficient public servant. His public conduct was bound to be affected by his private. He held that much mischief was made throughout the world by divorce between public and private conduct. And when he was engaged in the supreme test of non-violence in his life, he wished to be judged before God and man by the sum total of his activities, both private and public. As he had said years ago, non-violent life was an act of self-examination and self-purification whether by the individual, group or a nation.

This led him to the answers of some questions addressed to him and arising out of his remarks on trusteeship.

*Q.* Is it possible to defend by means of non-violence anything which can only be gained through violence?

*A.* It followed from what he had said above that what was gained by violence could not only not be defended by non-violence but the latter required the abandonment of the ill-gotten gains.

*Q.* Is the accumulation of capital possible except through violence whether open or tacit?

*A.* Such accumulation by private persons was impossible except through violent means but accumulation by the State in a non-violent society was not only possible, it was desirable and inevitable.

*Q.* Whether a man accumulates material or moral wealth he does so only through the help or co-operation of other members of society. Has he then the moral right to use any of it mainly for personal advantage?

*A.* No, he has no moral right.

*Q.* How would the successor of a trustee be determined? Will he only have the right of proposing a name, the right of finalization being vested in the State?

*A.* As he had said yesterday, choice should be given to the original owner who became the first trustee, but the choice must be finalized by the State. Such arrangement puts a check on the State as well as the individual.

*Q.* When the replacement of private by public property thus takes place through the operation of the theory of trusteeship, will the ownership vest in the State, which is an instrument of violence or in associations of a voluntary character like village communes and municipalities, which may of course derive their final authority from State-made laws?

*A.* That question involved some confusion of thought. Legal ownership in the transformed condition vested in the trustee, not in the State. It was to avoid confiscation that the doctrine of trusteeship came into play retaining for the society the ability of the original owner in his own right. Nor did he, the speaker, hold that the State must always be based on violence. It might be so in theory but the

practice of the theory demanded a State which would for the most part be based on non-violence.

Satgharia (Noakhali), 2-2-'47

## SUPPRESSED CLASSES AND CONGRESS WORKERS

Until recently disturbances like strikes etc., were confined mostly to labourers of large-scale industries and city areas only. But now we see even workers like *bhangis* in small towns going on strike for an increase in their salaries. So also *halis* in the Surat district and the *adivasis* and the *vamparas* (aborigines and forest-tribes people) have become restive and are offering resistance to land-owners and money-lenders. When this happens, instead of examining the merits of the case we are disposed to ascribe them to the instigation of the Kisan Sabha or Red-flag people or communists. Our stock argument against them is that they are totally unscrupulous and take resort to any means regardless of truth or justice and take advantage of the illiteracy and ignorance of the people, mislead them into violence and thus do harm to the poor masses. We also argue that it is not the whole or even a majority of these communities that takes part in such disturbances, but that these are stage-managed with the help of the fifty or hundred hooligans, who terrorize and coerce the rest to join the strike and take part in the disturbances. We feel that under the circumstances, nothing could be done except suppressing the agitators and their hired hooligans. I accept that there is some truth in these allegations. But that fact does not satisfy me much. For the question is, how is it that these people instead of going to the Congress for advice and for removal of their grievances, run to those mischievous agitators? We have been working amongst them for more than two decades now. We claim to serve them and give them the correct lead. Our institutions are older and ably organized and the government machinery has also come into our hands. How is it that even then we have not been able to generate such strength and understanding amongst the masses that they would not fall a prey to the lures of unscrupulous agitators and to the intimidation of the hooligans? Let us, therefore, probe deeper into the matter and do a bit of hard heart-searching. If the result of such heart-searching proves our attitude to be erroneous, I am prepared to take my own share in the blame as a worker. Thus what I write here is not to accuse my co-workers in the Congress, but to make an attempt to find out the truth. I request my readers in the Congress to take this article in that light.

To resume the thread, let us enquire how many of us have gone to these extremely suppressed and down-trodden people and to what extent have we been helpful to them in removing their miseries and sorrows? It cannot be gainsaid that the upper class people actually live on the toil of these people. They derive undue benefit from every variety of economic relationship with them. They consider themselves as a socially superior people and do not let go a single opportunity of insulting them and

keeping them in their present suppressed condition. We workers do not have the courage to tell this fact plainly to the upper class people. We are afraid that we shall incur their displeasure, they might discontinue monetary and other help for our public activities or withdraw their cooperation. So we are inclined to maintain silence over these things and thus compromise our fundamental principles. We take shelter under the hackneyed maxim, 'hasten slowly', it being a safer course than antagonizing such people. If the elections of Local Boards or Municipalities or legislative assemblies are imminent, we think it advisable to postpone all such programmes, as are from the point of view of justice and urgency very important, but are likely to be unpopular with our constituencies and affect the vote. In selecting candidates for such bodies we attach more importance to their social influence amongst the voters and their possibility of success at the polls than to their capacity, their devotion to principles or loyalty to our programmes. Consequently, in practice we attach greater weight to castes and communities, which in principle we are out to abolish. Such candidates when elected are naturally found to be wanting in their zeal or devotion in discharging their duty towards these suppressed sections of our countrymen. For example, though the government resolution is clear regarding admission of Harijan students in Local Board Schools, the Harijan Sevak Sangh has to face a number of difficulties in getting students admitted to them. Hardly any School Board takes an active interest in this work. Similarly, we find some legislative assembly members elected on Congress tickets criticizing adversely even such a mild measure as the Bombay Tenancy Act. The tenants are accused of dishonestly defrauding the landowner of his legitimate half share of the crops by clandestinely removing the crops, so that the land-owner or the money-lender is hardly able to recover more than one third. The following extracts from a letter written by an old and experienced worker in the Surat District will show how flimsy the accusation is:

"A majority of villages on our side are so firmly in the clutches of the *sowcar* that 95 per cent of the tenants have to give away the whole produce of rice, *jowari*, pulses and cotton to him. Tenants are required to thrash their rice, *jowari* and pulses in the *sowcar*'s farm. From the produce the *sowcar* first deducts the value of his advances and usurious interest thereon, leaving hardly one fourth of the produce for the tenant. The tenant should consider himself fortunate if he gets 1/8th share in the produce of the pulses. As regards cotton the whole produce is taken away by the *sowcar* in lieu of his old claims. If the tenant has grown wheat, he is not allowed to keep even a grain of it. 'Surely the beggar of a tenant does not need wheat' is an expression which you may often hear from the creditor's mouth.

"And as if this was not enough the tenant is called a thief if he eats some green *jowari* or some

green beans while he is watching the fields. The *sowcar* on the contrary might legitimately take a cart-load of friends and relatives on a picnic in the fields and use any amount of green *jowari* or take away any amount of green beans! But then he is rich and the tenant is poor and that makes all the difference!

"As a matter of fact this tenancy legislation is likely to benefit more the *sowcar* than the tenant. The protection given to him will create for him permanent interest in the land and will induce him to make improvements therein as also to work with greater zeal. As a consequence the produce will be doubled or at least increased by more than one half. Thus even with the one third share, the *sowcar* will be getting more than what he used to get as his half share. Increase in national wealth will be a further advantage. Yet the *sowcars* have been agitating against this legislation!"

Let us also consider the *hali* system prevailing in the Surat District. The *halis* (agricultural labourers) have been reduced to the condition of serfs and are so much degenerated under this unjust and crushing system that they have reached the stage of an almost sub-human species. Their labour output has gone so low that it is no longer economically advantageous to the employers. Yet the latter are so much accustomed to this system that when attempts are made to improve the lot of these *halis*, local Congressmen who happen to be owners are enraged and make bitter complaints against our own workers. When such is the mentality of persons calling themselves Congressmen both 'active' and general, if a very large part of Congress workers remain complacent and discourage or run down those few from amongst us who take up this work, is it surprising that these suppressed people should eagerly listen to the counsel of the Kisan Sabha and other workers who believe disturbances and violence to be the *sine qua non* of any revolution?

The Congress has always claimed to stand for the poor, the down-trodden and the exploited. The Constituent Assembly has also put its seal on this objective. But we the Congress workers have not the courage to displease the exploiters, black marketeers or such other traitors to society, whose sordid interests are surely to be affected if we carry on our just and necessary activities of helping the poor on right Congress lines. If the poor and toiling people who have been either fully or partly awakened to their grievances fall a prey into the hands of mischievous agitators, it would be due to our default and we shall have no cause to complain. Even Churchill who led his country so ably during the war was almost unceremoniously thrown out when he began to resist the new spirit and used his advocacy to promote or maintain the interests of the exploiting classes. Even so, we calling ourselves Congressmen, if we begin to play the role of the Conservatives, we shall lose our prestige and our hold on the people.

NARHARI PARIKH

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

## SUGGESTIONS FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SCHEME OF COW-BREEDING

Eleventh February is the death anniversary of Sheth Shri Jamnalalji. It reminds us of his single-minded devotion to the service of the cow. The memory of that devotion awakens us to our sense of duty towards the cow. Five years have already passed in mere wishing. Others have had their five years' plans and have executed them, thereby changing the face of their countries. We are not in a position to show to our credit any substantial work during these five years. But during these years we have fought a great battle for Swaraj and that has won for us some political power which we can utilize for preparing and executing a country-wide programme of cow-service. Ours is not a small achievement and it compensates for the want of progress in cow-service. But what about the coming five years? We must prepare a plan and gird up our loins to put it into execution.

Even during the period of turmoil the Go-Seva Sangh has put in some substantial work though in a very limited sphere. The quantity of achievement is small, but it is very valuable. It can give some guidance to the country in preparing a plan for the future. The small experiments in Sevagram and the Gopuri goshala have demonstrated that we can improve both the milk strain and the draught strain of our local cows. From the point of view of cow-service it is essential that we should make improvements in the local breeds. This has been done by these institutions without any fuss and without spending large sums of money. Of course there is much yet to be done and we are far from reaching our goal. But what has been achieved is doubtless noteworthy.

With Congress Ministries in the Provinces our responsibility for improving the condition of our cows and bullocks increases immensely. It is necessary that we should definitely chalk out the lines on which the work should now proceed. The necessity of supplying good and sufficient milk to the cities at once comes to our notice. I offer some suggestions in this respect as well as in respect of cow-breeding in general.

1. As soon as the question of milk-supply is considered, we start with the idea of importing cows giving plenty of milk. In my opinion this is not necessary. We should select for our work local breeds as far as possible. A little reflection will help to make my point clear. Our purpose cannot be served by ignoring local breeds. We cannot betray the agriculturists. It is essential that we should show them a way to improve the condition of the cows that they have. It will be harmful to neglect these animals in our enthusiasm to supply milk to the cities.

2. It will be wrong to concentrate on the milk yielding quality of the cow and neglect its draught-strain. To have good bullocks for agriculture is one of the chief aims of breeding. To get good milk is another. Both these aims should well be kept in mind. We will not be able to save the cow if we concentrate only on the milk strain. And the

cow will not be economic if we totally neglect the milk giving quality and concentrate only on getting good sturdy bullocks. We have to make the cow serve the dual purpose. The cow should give us good bullocks useful for agriculture and also a good supply of milk. Only those countries, where agriculture does not depend upon bullocks and where calves form an item of food, can afford to say that we care only for more milk, we do not mind if we do not get sturdy bullocks. In India only that cow has a future which is able to give us a fairly good supply of milk as well as fairly sturdy male animals.

3. It is certainly no duty of the villages to supply milk to the cities. The village people should themselves drink plenty of milk and may sell only the surplus. This aim can be achieved only if milk in villages is so abundant that the villages find it within their means to drink plenty of it.

4. Agriculture, cow breeding, oil-pressing by the bullock-ghani, tanning hides, and preparing good manures; all these make one single unit and must go together. Agriculturists and their children will get sufficient milk only if all these industries are carried on together. In any scheme of cow-protection all these should be carried on simultaneously.

5. Cow-breeding cannot be separated from other village industries. If arrangement cannot be made to engage the agriculturist in essential industries in his own home, he will have to depend upon outside markets for his essential requirements and would be in need of cash to buy them. So long as this state of things continues, he will always have to sell his milk and milk products for cash.

6. The villagers need not purchase bullocks from outside. It should be possible to breed fine bullocks in every village. For this Government will have to provide proper facilities such as stud bulls. This should be considered as of primary importance.

These are the minimum conditions that I suggest for cow-breeding. I have not gone into details. In preparing any plan for cow-breeding, if these suggestions are kept in mind it will do good to the country. But if we begin our work on wrong lines no good will come out and our labour and money will be wasted.

In preparing a comprehensive scheme these points have therefore to be borne in mind.

Pavnar 3-2-47

VINOBA

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

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## CINEMAS

Thus writes Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru :

I beg to add a word in support of the appeal, made by a correspondent for the restraint over the modern talkies by our National Governments, published in the *Harizan* of 5th January.

I am not a frequent visitor of cinema pictures but the little I have seen of them has convinced me that whatever she has said, about the evil effects of these pictures on the morals of young men and women, is perfectly true.

The cinema habit is fast growing and the real danger lies in the fact that it is penetrating the villages. These pictures are taking the place of the healthy entertainments of former days. Recital of *kathas* and playing of *rastilas* and other semi-religious salutary entertainments, which built up the moral calibre of the people, are getting out of vogue. Instead, cinemas are becoming more and more popular every day. The country, therefore, stands in great moral danger which we should make all possible efforts to combat. Using Shri Mashruwala's simile I would say that these pictures are big boulders on the path of the Nation's moral progress and the strength of the mighty elephants is certainly needed for their removal. It is by no means a trifling matter which can be left to the people to deal with as they choose. The danger springs from the fact that the production of cinema pictures lies in the hands of money-making men who, with a few exceptions, run the industry with the profit motive. Thus an innocent instrument, which science has placed in our hands, is vitiated. With a little control by the Government it can become the best means for the educational and cultural advancement of the people.

The cinema industry is one of the most prosperous industries in India today and as is the case with all industrial mass production, cheapest articles, which bring highest return are produced. It happens that in this case the largest audiences are drawn to sensational pictures which have a sex appeal. Thus it is that private individuals, for personal profit, spoil the taste of the public. The demand does not precede the supply; it is the supply which creates the demand.

There is a great deal of talk about Nationalization these days. In my opinion nationalization of the cinema industry is needed more than anything else. In any case, strict control by the Government is essential. Control is already exercised and all provinces have Cinema Censor Boards.

I myself was a member of the Punjab Provincial Censor Board some time ago. It was a foreign Government then. Censor was exercised from the point of view of that Government. All reference to the movement for the liberation of the country or to its national leaders was seditious and had to be expunged. The moral and cultural level of the pictures was of no concern to the Board. No standards were observed for the maintenance of these. I had to resign from the Board

because I could not reconcile myself to this method of censoring. But now things are different. We have our own Governments. There is no reason why they should be apathetic about it. I strongly feel that all Provincial Governments should take up the matter and exercise a very strict control on pictures released for public view. Particularly, the education departments should take a lead in the matter.

I have also received other similar communications rebuking me, gently or severely, for not fully stressing the duty of the National Governments to take action in the matter complained of. As the majority of the new correspondents refer only to the cinemas, I have omitted in this article the other evil, though the same could be said with regard to it also. The original correspondent was from Central India. Those who have supported her represent the Punjab, Gujarat, C. P. and Madras. It shows that the dissatisfaction regarding the movies is shared by a thoughtful section of the people, all over India.

In my article I had by no means absolved governments from their duty in the matter. Acting on the maxim, 'a word to the wise is enough', I contented myself by saying that there was much truth in what the correspondents said and that the popular governments should take note of it. As I write this I read in a local newspaper a report that the Bombay Government has already taken some action in the matter and contemplates some further legislation for making the cinema shows more educative in the right direction and improving their moral quality. I hope other governments will also take, if they have not already done so, steps in the same direction.

But having said this, I wish to re-emphasize the duty of the public in the matter. More can and should be done by the moulders of public opinion, than they do, or expect governments to do, in respect of entertainments and habit-forming indulgences and if they do not discharge their part of the duty, even at the risk of becoming unpopular with the entertainers and entertainment-seekers, they must not expect the government ploughs to furrow sufficiently deep.

I may further develop this subject at some other time if I have to continue this office long.

Sabarmati, 22-1-'47

K. G. MASHRUJWALA

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पादरियों की सभा का कमरा

Char **v.** कोयला बनाना, सुलस देना वा सुलसाना, बनाना, ऑखि बनाना हो जाना ।

करोह पाला, जोलस देना वा जलसाना, जलाना, अल्लि से काला हो जाना

Char or chare **n.** चरकी सत्ताभीका काम । काम ।

Charwoman **n.** चर धात्र करनेवाली सख्तद्वित ।

कर सान्ध करने वाली सख्तद्वित

Char-a-bang **n.** चर गाड़ी, लम्बी बस ।

Character **n.** चरित्र, बस-बस; सुभाव, गुण; निश्चय, निश्चयी, रूप, मेस, स्वभाव; हितव्यता, अनोखा, निराला; हरक, अक्षर ।

चरित्र, बस-बस, सुभाव, गुण, निश्चय, निश्चयी, रूप, मेस, स्वभाव; हितव्यता, अनोखा, निराला; हरक, अक्षर

चरित्र, बस-बस, सुभाव, गुण, निश्चय, निश्चयी, रूप, मेस, स्वभाव; हितव्यता, अनोखा, निराला; हरक, अक्षर

Characterize **v.** चरित्र देना, गुण बताना, बखाना ।

चरित्र देना, गुण बताना, बखाना

Characteristic **adj., n.** चरित्र गुण, चरित्र; चरित्र वा विशेष बत ।

चरित्र, गुण, चरित्र; चरित्र वा विशेष बत

Charade **n.** चरित्र वा चरित्रका नाटक ।

चरित्र वा चरित्रका नाटक

Charcoal **n.** लकड़ीका कोयला ।

Charge **n.** चरणी, धारा; चर, लकड़, मेहनताना; भार, बोस; जिम्मा, जिम्मेदारी, अधिकार; देवता, रक्षकाली; भित्तकाम, दोष; चर; अक्षर, हुकम ।

चरणी, धारा, चर, लकड़, मेहनताना; भार, बोस; जिम्मा, जिम्मेदारी, अधिकार; देवता, रक्षकाली; भित्तकाम, दोष; चर; अक्षर, हुकम

Charge, to give in **v.** सोपना, सुपुर्द करना ।

Charge, to hand over **v.** काम सोपना, सुपुर्द करना ।

काम सोपना, सुपुर्द करना

Charge **v.** धारा वा हयका करना; लगाना, हितव्यमें लिखना, हाम देना और बॉगना; भरना, लादना; सोपना, सुपुर्द करना, जिम्मे करना, अधिकारमें देना; हुकम वा आज्ञा देना; भित्तकाम वा दोष लगाना ।

धारा वा हयका करना; लगाना, हितव्यमें लिखना, हाम देना और बॉगना; भरना, लादना; सोपना, सुपुर्द करना, जिम्मे करना, अधिकारमें देना; हुकम वा आज्ञा देना; भित्तकाम वा दोष लगाना

धारा वा हयका करना; लगाना, हितव्यमें लिखना, हाम देना और बॉगना; भरना, लादना; सोपना, सुपुर्द करना, जिम्मे करना, अधिकारमें देना; हुकम वा आज्ञा देना; भित्तकाम वा दोष लगाना

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धारा वा हयका करना; लगाना, हितव्यमें लिखना, हाम देना और बॉगना; भरना, लादना; सोपना, सुपुर्द करना, जिम्मे करना, अधिकारमें देना; हुकम वा आज्ञा देना; भित्तकाम वा दोष लगाना

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Charge to jury, judge's **v.** चरित्र बताने के लिये ।

चरित्र बताने के लिये

Charge oneself with **v.** अपने जिम्मे देना, किसी चीजका बोस बनाना ।

अपने जिम्मे देना, किसी चीजका बोस बनाना

Charge d'affaires **n.** छोटा मेसजी वा दूत ।

Charger **n.** चरणी वा लकड़ीका धोका; चरणी, धारा ।

चरणी वा लकड़ीका धोका; चरणी, धारा

Chariot **n.** चर, गाड़ी ।

Charioteer **n.** चरवाला, लकड़ी, गाड़ीवाला ।

चरवाला, लकड़ी, गाड़ीवाला

Charitable **adj.** दाना, दयाकारी, दयाहीन; अना, प्रेमी, गरम और मेसविल ।

दाना, दयाकारी, दयाहीन; अना, प्रेमी, गरम और मेसविल

Charity **n.** मेस, दाना, प्रेम, हसदही, मेसविल, दान, दयाकारी ।

मेस, दाना, प्रेम, हसदही, मेसविल, दान, दयाकारी

Charity begins at home **v.** चरित्र बताने के लिये ।

चरित्र बताने के लिये

Charlatan **n.** चरित्र, नीम हकीम; ठग, लुका ।

चरित्र, नीम हकीम; ठग, लुका

Charm **v.** चरु करना वा चरु देना, मोह देना, लुभा देना ।

चरु करना वा चरु देना, मोह देना, लुभा देना

Charm **n.** चरु, चरु, मोह, चर ।

Charm away **v.** चरुके बससे दूर करना ।

चरुके बससे दूर करना

Charmed life, bear a **v.** जिसपर बोसों वार न बन सके ।

जिसपर बोसों वार न बन सके

Charming **adj.** मोहन, सुन्दर, हितव्य ।

Charnel house **n.** चरणी, चरणी ।

Charon **n.** चरणी, देवता, जो आत्माओं वा स्वर्गको मोहके बाद भावमें हरिया वार के आता वा ।

चरणी, देवता, जो आत्माओं वा स्वर्गको मोहके बाद भावमें हरिया वार के आता वा

चरणी, देवता, जो आत्माओं वा स्वर्गको मोहके बाद भावमें हरिया वार के आता वा

Chart **n.** चरणी, चरणी ।

Charter **n.** चरणी, अधिकार-चरणी, लकड़ ।

Charter **v.** अधिकार, वा हद देना; लकड़ देना, चरणी देना; चरणी देना, चरणी देना ।

अधिकार, वा हद देना; लकड़ देना, चरणी देना; चरणी देना, चरणी देना

अधिकार, वा हद देना; लकड़ देना, चरणी देना; चरणी देना, चरणी देना

Chary **adj.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी

Chase **n.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी

Chase **v.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी

Chasm **n.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी

Chassis **n.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

Chaste **adj.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

Chasten **v.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी

Chastise **v.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

Chastity **n.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

Chat **n.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

Chat **v.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

Chateau **n.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी

Chattel **n.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

Goods and Chattels **n.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी

Chatter **v.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी

Chatter box **n.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

Chauffeur **n.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

Chaw up **v.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी

Cheap **adj.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी

Cheap and nasty **adj.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

Cheap jack **n.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

Cheap, dirt **adj.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी

Cheap, feel **v.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

Cheap, hold **v.** चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी ।

चरणी, चरणी, चरणी, चरणी

**Chenpen** *n.* धान चढ़ाना, सत्ता करना; भिरकृत कम कर देना ।  
 دام گنهانا، سٹا کرنا، حوث کم کرنا

**Cheat** *n.* ठग, धोखेबाज, छली ।  
 دھوکہ دہندے، دھوکا دینا، چلتا

**Cheat** *v.* ठगना, धोखा देना, सत्ता ।  
 دھوکा دینا، धोखा देना، सत्ता

**Check** *n.* चेक, अटकाव, इकावट, रोक-बाध; चौक-बड़ताल; छाह (सतरंगमें); बारबाना ।  
 روک، اٹکال، رکاوٹ، روک تھام، چال (طریق میں)؛ چاربان

**Check** *v.* रोकना, बाधना, अटकाना, बन्द करना, रोक रकना, डोकना; चौक-बड़ताल करना; छाह देना ।  
 روکنا، تھامنا، اٹکانا، بند کرنا، روک روکنا، روکना؛ छाह देना

**Check, keep in** *v.* रोके रखना, बंधाये रखना, रोकने रखना ।  
 روکے رکھना، باندھے رکھना، रोकने رکھना

**Checkmate** *n.* शाहमती (सतरंगमें) ।  
 شہادت (طریق میں)

**Cheek** *n.* गाल; गुस्ताखी ।  
 گال، گستاخی

**Cheekbone** *n.* गालकी हड्डी ।  
 گال کی ہڈی

**Cheek tooth** *n.* दाढ़ ।  
 दाढ़

**Cheek by jaw** पास-पास, साथ-साथ ।  
 پاس پاس، ساتھ ساتھ

**Cheer** *n.* 'ताली', बाह-बाह; खाना-मीना; हल, हसना ।  
 ताल, तालना, बाह-बाह, खाना-मीना, हल, हसना

**Cheer** *v.* दिलावा देना, बाहव बंधाना, हिल बंधाना, जी खुश करना, ताली बजाना, बस पुकारना ।  
 दिला देना, तालना, बंधाना, हिल बंधाना, जी खुश करना, ताल बजाना

**Cheer, be of good** *v.* दिल सजवत रखना, जी न हारना, धारा रखना ।  
 दिल सजवत रखना, जी न हारना, धारा रखना

**Cheer, make good** *v.* खूब काजो ।  
 खूब काजो

**Cheer?, what** शुद्धता क्या हाल है ?  
 शुद्धता क्या हाल है ?

**Cheerfully** *adv.* खुशी से ।  
 खुशी से

**Cheerless** *adj.* शुदाव ।  
 शुदाव

**Cheery** *adj.* खुश, प्रसन्न ।  
 खुश, प्रसन्न

**Cheese** *n.* पनीर ।  
 पनीर

**Cheese cake** *n.* नान पनीर, पनीर रोटी, पनीरकी मिठसली ।  
 नान पनीर, पनीर रोटी, पनीरकी मिठसली

**Cheese-mite** *n.* पनीरका कीड़ा ।  
 पनीरका कीड़ा

**Cheese monger** *n.* पनीर, सक्कान बोरा बेचनेवाला ।  
 पनीर, सक्कान बोरा बेचनेवाला

**Cheese-paring** *n.* काट-छैंट; क्यूटी, तंगदिली ।  
 काट-छैंट, क्यूटी, तंगदिली

**Cheese-straws** *n.* पनीरके तमकीन बिस्कुट ।  
 पनीरके तमकीन बिस्कुट

**Cheese, bread and** *n.* छावा काला, बाल-रोटी ।  
 छावा काला, बाल-रोटी

**Cherac, chalk and** गंधे-सोबेच-सा फरक ।  
 गंधे-सोबेच-सा फरक

**Cheese, the** *n.* ठीक बात, अच्छी बात; ठीक, अच्छा ।  
 ठीक बात, अच्छी बात; ठीक, अच्छा

**Cheese it!** *v.* जोड़ दो, जाने दो, बन्द करो ।  
 जोड़ दो, जाने दो, बन्द करो

**Chaf** *n.* बरतार (बावर्चीकाले का रसोबीबरका) ।  
 बरतार (बावर्चीकाले का रसोबीबरका)

**Chef d'oeuvre** *n.* महाकाव्य, उम्मा काव्य ।  
 महाकाव्य, उम्मा काव्य

**Cheirromancy** *n.* हाथ देखकर किस्मत बतानेकी विद्या का किस्म ।  
 हाथ देखकर किस्मत बतानेकी विद्या का किस्म

**Cheiroptera** *n.* चिकिड़ों की किस्म ।  
 चिकिड़ों की किस्म

**Chemical (-s)** *n. adj.* कीमियाबी या रसायनी; कीमियाबी या रसायनी चीजे; रसायन ।  
 कीमियाबी या रसायनी चीजे; रसायन

**Chemical affinity** *n.* रसायन भेक, काम-काज ।  
 रसायन भेक, काम-काज

**Chemical warfare** *n.* कीमियाबी या रसायनी लड़ाई, गैसकी लड़ाई ।  
 कीमियाबी या रसायनी लड़ाई, गैसकी लड़ाई

**Chemise** *n.* कुदती, कमीज (औरतोकी) ।  
 कुदती, कमीज (औरतोकी)

**Chemist** *n.* कीमियाग, रसायनी ।  
 कीमियाग, रसायनी

**Chemist, dispensing** *n.* औषधि या दवा बनाने का बेचनेवाला, दुस्ते बाँधनेवाला, अस्तर ।  
 औषधि या दवा बनाने का बेचनेवाला, दुस्ते बाँधनेवाला, अस्तर

**Chemistry** *n.* जिन कीमिया, रसायन विद्या ।  
 जिन कीमिया, रसायन विद्या

**Chenille** *n.* सक्कानकी धावर या बोरी ।  
 सक्कानकी धावर या बोरी

**Cheque or check** *n.* चेक, हुक्मी ।  
 चेक, हुक्मी

**Cheque, blank** *n.* कोरा चेक, छली छुरी ।  
 कोरा चेक, छली छुरी

**Chequered** *adj.* रंग-बिरंगा, बारबानेदार; बड़े छतार-बनावक ।  
 रंग-बिरंगा, बारबानेदार; बड़े छतार-बनावक

**Chequer board** *n.* शतरंज खेलनेका बोर्ड या तबला ।  
 शतरंज खेलनेका बोर्ड या तबला

**Cherish** *v.* पालना-पोसना, प्यारा समझना, जी वा दिलमें रखना ।  
 पालना-पोसना, प्यारा समझना, जी वा दिलमें रखना

**Cherish vain hopes** *v.* सखी मास बगलाना ।  
 सखी मास बगलाना

**Cheroot** *n.* चुरह ।  
 चुरह

**Cherry** *n.* आलू-बालू, शहबाना ।  
 आलू-बालू, शहबाना

**Cherry red** *adj.* लाल रंगक ।  
 लाल रंगक

**Cherry, make two bites at a** *v.* सितकना ।  
 सितकना

**Cherub** *n.* फरिश्ता, देवदूत; भोला भोला और सुन्दर बाला ।  
 फरिश्ता, देवदूत; भोला भोला और सुन्दर बाला

**Chesa** *n.* शतरंज ।  
 शतरंज

**Chess board** *n.* शतरंज खेलनेका तबला या बोर्ड ।  
 शतरंज खेलनेका तबला या बोर्ड

**Chessmen** *n.* शतरंजके मोहरे, शतरंजकी गोटी ।  
 शतरंजके मोहरे, शतरंजकी गोटी

**Chest** *n.* सन्दूक, पेटी; छाती ।  
 सन्दूक, पेटी; छाती

**Chest of drawers** *n.* दराबवाली अलमारी ।  
 दराबवाली अलमारी

**Chestnut** *n.* शाहबलूक पेड़ का फल ।  
 शाहबलूक पेड़ का फल

**Cheval glass** *n.* बड़ा आरिना ।  
 बड़ा आरिना

**Chevalier** *n.* वीर, बहादुर, योद्धा ।  
 वीर, बहादुर, योद्धा

**Chevy or chivy** *v.* पीछ करना ।  
 पीछ करना

**Chew** *v.* चाबना, चबाना; सोच-विचार करना ।  
 चाबना, चबाना; सोच-विचार करना

**Chew the end** *v.* जुगली करना ।  
 जुगली करना

**Chic** *adj.* सुहीन, खजीला, सुस-सिवाय ।  
 सुहीन, खजीला, सुस-सिवाय

**Chicane or Chicanery** *n.* धोका, फरेब, छल ।  
 धोका, फरेब, छल

**Chick or chicken** *n.* चूहा, बिलिया या घुरीका बच्चा ।  
 चूहा, बिलिया या घुरीका बच्चा

**Chicken-hearted** *adj.* कायर, डरपोक ।  
 कायर, डरपोक

**Chicken pox** *n.* छोटी चेचक ।  
 छोटी चेचक

**Chickens before they are hatched, count one's** *v.* मक्के लहू फोड़ना ।  
 मक्के लहू फोड़ना

**Chide** *v.* बौटना, सिद्धना, फटकारना ।  
 बौटना, सिद्धना, फटकारना

**Chief n., adj.** नेता, सरदार, मुखिया, बोधवी; वरला, बढ़ा, मुख्य, सर।  
**Chiefly adv.** بالخصوص, بالخاص, विशेष کر کے۔  
**Chieftain n.** کمانڈر سرदार, سپہ سالار۔  
**Chiffon n.** ریشم کا لٹا-لاٹا ہوا کپڑا۔  
**Chifonier n.** خانے دار کلماری, سالن کا۔  
**Chignon n.** بالوں کا جھڑا۔  
**Chublain n.** پیدائش۔  
**Child n.** بچہ, بچی, بچہ, بچی, بچہ, بچہ۔  
**Child's play n.** بچہ کا کھیل; آسان کام۔  
**Child widow n.** بچہ کی بیوہ۔  
**Child wife n.** بچہ کی بیوی۔  
**Child, to be with v.** بچہ یا بچوں سے ملنا, بچوں سے ملنا۔  
**Child-bed fever n.** بچہ کی بستر۔  
**Childhood n.** بچپن, بچپن کا زمانہ۔  
**Childish adj.** بچہ کی طرح۔  
**Children n.** بچے, بچے-بچے, بچے, بچے۔  
**Chill n.** ٹھنڈ, ٹھنڈی, ٹھنڈ۔  
**Chill v.** ٹھنڈانا; دھڑکا یا آگ سے ٹھنڈا کرنا۔  
**Chill, catch a v.** سر سے ٹھنڈا پانا, سر سے ٹھنڈا پانا۔  
**Chill off water, take v.** پانی کو ٹھنڈا کرنا, پانی کو ٹھنڈا کرنا۔  
**Chilli n.** لال مرچ۔  
**Chine n.** چینی کی برتن۔  
**Chime in with v.** ہنسنے یا ہنسنے سے ملنا۔  
**Chimerical adj.** خیالی, خیالی۔  
**Chimney n.** دھواں گاہ, دھواں گاہ۔  
**Chimney pot n.** دھواں گاہ۔  
**Chimney stacks n.** دھواں گاہ۔  
**Chimney sweep n.** دھواں گاہ۔  
**Chimpanzee n.** چمپنزی۔  
**Chin n.** چہرہ, چہرہ۔  
**Chin, to the or chin deep** چہرہ تک ڈوبا ہوا۔  
**China** چین (دیس, چین); چین کے برتن۔  
**Chine n.** چین کی برتن۔  
**Chinese n.** چینی, چینی۔  
**Chinese lantern n.** چینی کی برتن۔  
**Chink n.** چنگ, چنگ۔  
**Chintz n.** چنٹ۔  
**Chip n.** چپ, چپ۔

**Chip v.** چپ, چپ۔  
**Chip in v.** چپ, چپ۔  
**Chip of the old block** چپ, چپ۔  
**Chip, dry as a** چپ, چپ۔  
**Chipmunk n.** چمپنکی۔  
**Chiropodist n.** چروپوڈسٹ۔  
**Chirp or Chirrup v.** چروپ, چروپ۔  
**Chirpy adj.** چروپ۔  
**Chisel n.** چیل, چیل۔  
**Chat n.** چٹ, چٹ۔  
**Chitchat n.** چٹ, چٹ۔  
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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## BASIC EDUCATION

[ We have received a copy of the report of seven years of the work of the Hindustani Tahmi Sangh in Basic Education as an account of an experiment in a scheme aiming at revolutionizing our whole educational system. The report is very important and needs perusal by all interested in Education. Due to want of space we are not able to reproduce the whole of the report in the columns, but two important and instructive extracts are given below.

English and Hindi copies of the report can be had from the Hindustani Tahmi Sangh, Sevagram (Wardha C. P.) for a price of annas eight each. ED ]

1

### STANDARD OF ATTAINMENT

The most important point for assessment will be the development of children—physical, intellectual and spiritual—as a result of the seven years of basic education. The pupils in the basic school at Sevagram and Champaran will complete seven years in December, 1946 and their development has been assessed.

The standard of attainment at the end of the seven years of basic education was laid down as that of Matriculation minus English. The question is, therefore, often asked whether the pupils who have completed the seven years of basic education have attained the Matriculation standard.

Now, it is necessary to define the "Matriculation standard". According to current terminology the pupil has to obtain a certain percentage of marks in five academic subjects in order to pass the Matriculation Examination. Some subjects are compulsory and some are optional. The subjects and standards prescribed slightly vary from university to university. The objective of the High School Course which goes up to the Matriculation Examination is to make the pupil obtain a certain percentage of marks in the prescribed subjects and gaining entrance to University Education. The success or failure of a pupil is determined by the percentage of marks obtained in one written examination which is held annually.

In the basic education course the craft forms the medium of education. Pupils gain knowledge of various subjects taught in correlation to the basic craft as occasion arises. The syllabus is there for guidance but not to be strictly adhered to. The pupil learns through observation and experience and not merely through oral instruction. There are no formal examinations for promotions from grade to grade. It is the quality of the work done, the record kept by the pupils and teachers, of the daily work, regular attendance and the opinion of the teacher that decide the promotions.

The objective of the basic education course of eight years including the pre-basic class is the training of a citizen of a new social order with the following qualifications.

1. A harmoniously developed body—healthy and agile—capable of doing hard physical work.

2. Clear understanding of the ideology of the new co-operative social order and the place of cottage industries in rural economy.

3. Ability to earn if necessary from the basic craft, sufficient for his own balanced diet and clothing.

4. Ability to produce cloth from raw cotton.

5. Ability to grow vegetables sufficient for his own consumption.

6. Ability to cook a meal and skill and knowledge in all allied processes in connection with the storing, cooking and serving of food for a family or community, including budgeting and maintaining of kitchen accounts.

7. Knowledge of the elements of dietetics and fundamental rules of health.

8. Knowledge of the fundamental rules of village sanitation and personal hygiene.

9. Knowledge of first aid, treatment and nursing of common ailments.

10. Knowledge of the principles of co-operation in running co-operative stores and keeping of accounts.

11. Ability to speak clearly and fluently at public meetings.

12. Ability to express ideas clearly in writing and prepare reports.

13. Appreciation of literature in the mother-tongue and a working knowledge of Hindustani.

14. Ability to read and write simple Hindustani in both the scripts.

15. Ability to sing in chorus, devotional and national songs.

16. Appreciation of paintings and pictures and ability to draw and paint.

17. Ability to ride a bicycle, and a horse and drive a cart.

18. Ability to help in organizing festivals in school and village.

19. Elementary knowledge of the world economic, social and political problems as gained through the study of current events reported in newspapers.

20. Elementary knowledge of the mechanical principles in the different equipment and processes of craft work.

21. Acquaintance with the fundamental scientific principles in growing food and cotton, in cooking and allied processes, in the processes of the basic craft and in the maintenance of personal health and the health of the community and village sanitation.

22. Knowledge of the geography of India and the world through food and clothing.

23. Ability to use newspapers and journals intelligently.





24. Knowledge of the history and development of the fight for freedom in India.

25. Respect for the different religions in India and desire for communal unity.

26. Freedom from caste restrictions and prejudices.

27. Love for one's own village and rural area. Readiness to stay and work in villages. Village-mindedness.

## PLANNING WITH VILLAGE BIAS

### III

#### 6. TRAINING IN AGRICULTURE

The training of students in our agricultural schools and colleges may be largely supplemented by a system of posting stipendary apprentices on well-known farms or gardens owned by experienced and enterprising agriculturists. A good number of first rank farmers, fruit-growers and garden-owners from all over the province may be invited by Government to take in and train a fixed number of apprentices every year. These apprentices should have certain educational qualifications and also have already a year's previous grounding at a Government agricultural school or farm. They should then be selected to complete their training on these private farms as post-school study apprentices, with one or two years' course of practical working—a year for practical study of local conditions, soil, monsoon, cropping and manuring schemes, labour, etc., another for cost-accounting, farm management, marketing co-operative working and for a special training in any particular branch of horticulture etc.

Such training farms should have Government recognition and hold Government credentials (which may be renewed every year or so) to grant a diploma to those trained on the farms at the end of their training period, stating the general qualifications and proficiency of the holder and also the particular branch of agriculture he may have specialized in. And these diplomas should be on a par with those of Government institutes or training establishments. Even post-graduate training in agricultural chemistry and other branches of research or highly specialized and intensive branches of agriculture or horticulture may be thought of on this basis.

Such a course of planning may train a thousand or more students annually with first rate practical training which would in no way be inferior to that imparted by Government directly and yet would be much cheaper inasmuch as it would save the Government considerable expenditure over lands, buildings, teaching staff and establishments. The farm-owners too would gain inasmuch as they would get a number of intelligent and willing farm hands as overseers, assistants etc., to help them at negligible cost besides gaining in status and position in their own districts and the province.

#### 7. POULTRY FARMING

This is an excellent village and farm-house industry. One great handicap in its pursuit for the villager is the havoc played by seasonal epidemics and poultry diseases. The villager is at his wit's end against it and often feels utterly ruined under the losses entailed. His own insanitary living and habits contribute not a little to his misfortune. He

should therefore be supplied with detailed instructions in taking proper care of his stocks and in combating disease. Social workers can help a good deal the Government propaganda in this direction.

#### 8. FISHING

This industry is very important in view of India's 3000 miles of coast line and of the low and ill-balanced diet of our countrymen and in the midst of the terrible food deficiency of the present times. But as this industry is already receiving due attention by competent official and non-official persons, I do not dilate upon it here.

#### 9. PALM JUICE

In the Bombay Province millions of date, cocoanut and palm trees abound, food contents of whose juice are beyond dispute. Other uses (mainly local) of their by-products are innumerable and well-known. Toddy-juice should not be allowed to be confused with liquor in the popular imagination. While liquor is mainly an intoxicant, toddy-juice is rich, valuable and yet the cheapest food for millions of humble village folk if only its fermenting process could be successfully prevented and if it is not carried away to the towns and cities like milk produced in the Kaira district. Effective protection and encouragement should be given by the State towards local consumption to the elimination of the trading interests and middlemen.

As against its use as an alcoholic drink it should not be difficult for Government institutes like Half-kene at Bombay, or the one at Coonoor to find out a drug (as harmless to human health as the colours proposed for use in order to distinguish vegetable ghee) which would prevent all process of fermentation in toddy-juice for 24 or 36 hours. The use of the drug should then be made compulsory by law for all toddy-tappers.

#### 10. BEE-KEEPING

This is one of the finest food-yielding and remunerative industries for gardeners and for farmers who live in the neighbourhood of forests. The forest-dwellers gather wild honey in many parts of our country mainly for selling it in towns, but there is considerable adulteration and deceit. Besides, their method of gathering honey are primitive and revolting. It involves wholesale killing of the bees. The modern method of bee-rearing and apiaries alone is worthy of encouragement and vastly more profitable to the villager. Excellent co-operative societies of bee-keepers on such lines have been formed during recent years in the North Kanara district and are flourishing. Every effort should be made to protect and encourage this industry and spread it in other parts of the province such as the garden areas of Khandesh, Nasik, Poona and Gujarat.

#### 11. SALT, GRASS AND FIRE-WOOD

These should be made free as gifts of nature to the humblest villager even as air and water. All monopolies and all private mass production on trade-basis in these should be abolished. The villager should be allowed to help himself and supplement his income by selling these headloads in his own neighbourhood as far as he can go on foot and return home by the evening.

Vapi

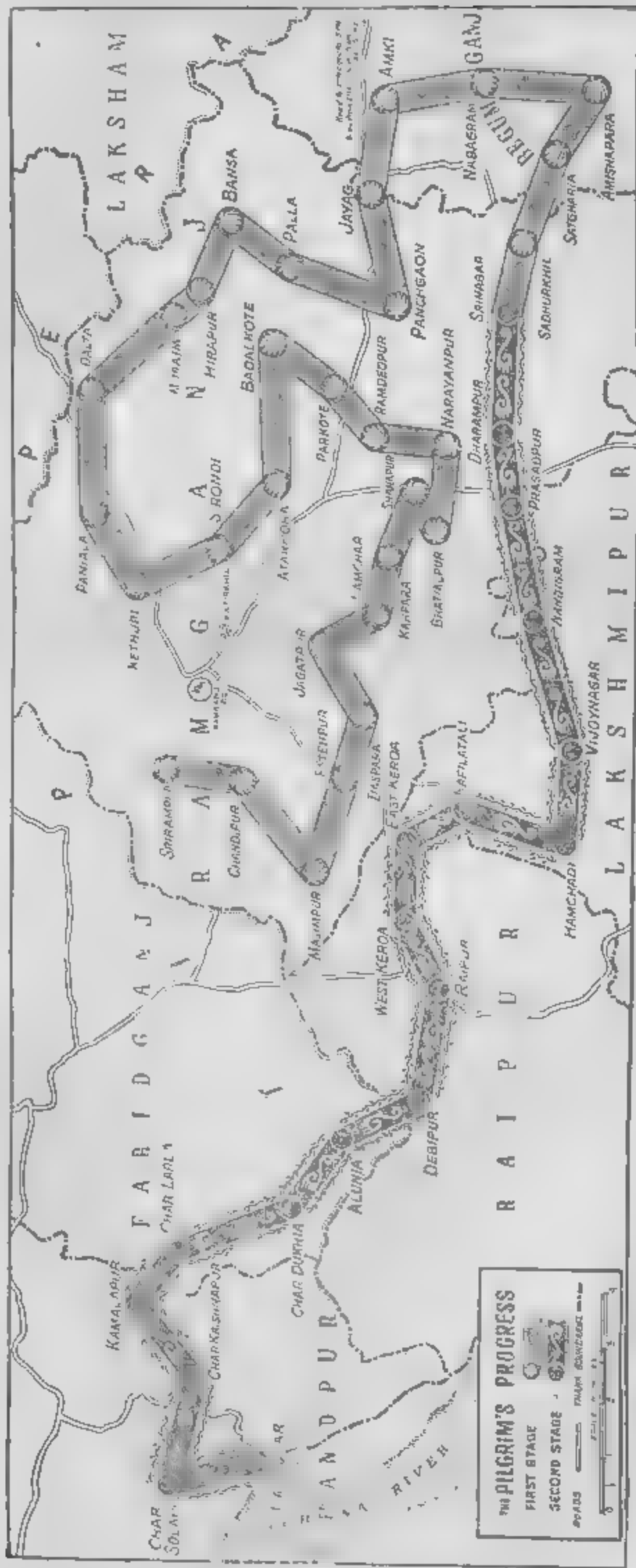
SWAMI ANAND

(To be continued)

## KIA P

Map showing part of the Nokkha District of East Kenya where Camille is working on foot from village to village carrying his message of love and peace. This map shows the villages of the first part of the tour which was completed on the 4th February at Sakana and the villages of the second part which ends on the 25th of February.

We are indebted to the *Indian Standard of Calcutta* for this excellent map.]



Gandhi is visiting the villages named so, and the day of his stay in the village started against it

Srinagar	5th February;	Kafilatali	12th.	Char Dukhna	19th.
Dharampur	6th.	East Keroa	13th;	Char Larua	20th
Prasampur	7th.	West Keroa	14th;	Kamalapur	21st
Nandigram	8th	Raipur	15th and 16th;	Char Krishnapur	22nd
Vijaynagar	9th and 10th;	Debpur	17th;	Char Soladi	23rd;
Hamchadi	11th	Alunia	18th.	Haim Char	24th and 25th.

## HARIJAN

February 23

1947

## PREPOSTEROUS CLAIMS

We had suggested the appointment of an impartial tribunal to go into the question of settling the so-called 'Public Debts' and Sterling Credits. The need for such a tribunal is emphasized by very many irresponsible claims that are put forward by acknowledged leaders in Great Britain. The war time Premier, Mr. Churchill, himself in the House of Commons stated "that the Governor-General of India in the time of the late Government was notified that Britain reserved her full right to present a counter claim on account of effective defence of India by all means — land, sea air and diplomacy — by which the freedom of India from foreign invasion was secured." This claim itself raises many questions which may have to be decided judicially. How did Japan come to invade India? The Japanese or the Germans had no enemies in India other than the British. Hence it is that all direct and indirect results of the war must be borne by Great Britain. If this is so, India would be entitled to damages for the British occupation of the country, for the reckless use of the forests during the time of the war and the consequent famines that have been visiting our land annually. Because of the war, even the reserves for seeds had been drained out of the country and we are now drifting on with occasional catch crops. Then again the unprecedented inflation in the country has upset the economic order beyond the country's capacity to recover with the result that the people are suffering from great distress in necessities. This too is a matter on which India can rightly base a claim for damages. Apart from all these material losses India has sustained, without provocation, an irreparable loss of three million lives during the Bengal Famine of 1943. How shall we compute the equivalent of this in terms of money?

As though this were not enough the *Times* of London has come out with still further fantastic suggestions and threats. It suggests that if the sterling balances were to be demanded, England may resort to an unilateral blocking of such balances with the approval of the United States. May we ask who made the United States judge over us? It pleads inability to pay the capital sum out of the revenue as an adequate reason for adopting such an attitude. Will any court of bankruptcy accept such a plea in the case of an individual without taking into account his assets and liabilities before insolvency is granted? If England wishes to repudiate the credits in a straight forward manner we can understand it; but these preposterous claims and suggestions are unbecoming of a great financial race as the Britishers are.

If such irresponsible claims are to be laid to rest, it can only be done by a judicial, impartial enquiry into the whole question and Mr. Churchill and the *Times* would then have an opportunity to state their case. We trust no time will be lost in setting up such a judicial enquiry.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

## INTELLECTUAL AND MANUAL WORK

Q. Why should we insist on a Rabindranath or Raman earning his bread by manual labour? Is it not sheer wastage? Why should not brain workers be considered on a par with manual workers, for both of them perform useful social work?

A. Intellectual work is important and has an undoubted place in the scheme of life. But what I insist on is the necessity of physical labour. No man, I claim, ought to be free from that obligation. It will serve to improve even the quality of his intellectual output. I venture to say that in ancient times *Brahmins* worked with their body as with their mind. But even if they did not, body labour was a proved necessity at the present time. In this connection I would refer to the life of Tolstoy and how he made famous the theory of Bread Labour first propounded in his country by the Russian peasant Bondaref. Dharmapur (Noakhali), 6-2-47

## KEEP A REGULAR DIARY

I would like to draw the attention of village-workers to a defect which has come to my notice. Very few of them keep a regular diary. This is not good. It must become a part of their daily routine.

It must briefly record the work done during the day and the worker's experience, retrospection and introspection, daily or periodical, — material as well as spiritual. It is not expected to take the shape of an article or literary writing.

Writing is one of the exterior means which promotes thinking. I have seen several workers who do a good deal of hard work and yet make no improvement or progress in it. The reason is that they never do any thinking. Some of them feel that thinking is a pastime for the idle and the unenergetic. Those who work do not need to waste their time on chewing thought. This attitude itself indicates the under-development of the intellect which cannot even understand the necessity of thinking.

It was the result of thinking that first prompted the worker to take to village service. But after having taken to it and started it according to his then light he gave up thinking further for himself. The result was that he ceased to make progress. One cannot expand or improve one's business on old capital alone. So also in other spheres of work. As Buddha has said, "The house must be cleaned and arranged every day, so also the mind." You must think anew and study new things everyday.

Gandhiji is seen initiating new schemes and methods everyday. He has always something fresh to say on the various problems. It is so, because he thinks, takes a retrospect and makes introspection everyday. But some of the workers do not read even Gandhiji's writings. This is very regrettable.

Every worker who wants to serve intelligently and progressively must regularly set apart some time both for study and thinking for himself. For the latter, keeping a regular diary is a helpful means. It will quickly show excellent results.

Pavnar

VINOBA

(Adapted from the original in Marathi)

## GANDHIJ'S WALKING TOUR DIARY

27-1-47

In a written speech at Palla, on Monday the 27th January which was his day of silence, Gandhiji first expressed his satisfaction at having been accommodated in the house of a weaver friend. He then said that the cottages of Bengal had become dearer to him than the prison-like solid walls of palaces. A house full of love such as this one was superior to a palace where love did not reign.

The hut in which he had been accommodated for the day was full of light and air and nature's abundance was showered on the country all around. What however made him sad in such a fair and potentially rich country was that the Hindus and the Musalmans should have brought themselves into hostile relation with one another. Should differences in religion, he asked, be sufficient to overshadow our common humanity? He prayed that these fundamental commonsenses reassert themselves so that all contrary forces might be overpowered in the end.

In his pilgrimage, continued Gandhiji, he had come across homes which lay ruined and desolate, bazaars and schools which lay empty; and he had also found members of the two communities in a stage of non-co-operation with one another. Whom did all this profit, the Hindu or the Muslim? Agriculture had not been properly attended to and the spectre of famine lay waiting in the offing, the villages were dirty, the water unclean; and only a new and extensive scheme of education could raise the people from their slumber of ages. He prayed that God might give both the Hindus and the Musalmans intelligence and strength enough to grapple with these problems. He thought that if they succeeded in their attempt to solve these common problems without troubling the government, it would go a long way to overpower the forces of disruption evident today.

28-1-47

Gandhiji referred in his prayer speech to the pleasurable fact, as he called it, that he was taken this morning during his walk to a Hindu *badhi* and two Muslim *badhis*. Of these he had no previous knowledge but he was solicitous for friendship of the heart and when he saw friendly eyes he readily went to the *badhis*. They were anxious for him to take something. He said that was not his time; but they could send the fruit with him and he would take it with pleasure. His grand-daughter, who was with him, went to the *zanana*. The womenfolk met her with affection and an old lady embraced her when she came to know who she was. Then in one *badhi*, they asked her to take the *roti* and fish they were cooking. The poor girl said she could not take fish but she could certainly take the *chapati*, but wanted to be excused as it was too early for her. But the womenfolk suspected pollution. When she realized the suspicion, she readily took a morsel much to the relief of the ladies. For him or his there was no caste and no restriction as to inter-dining. But he would ask his Muslim friends to be tolerant of Hindus who believed in pollution. He admitted that it was wrong. But after

all real affection was not to be tested through inter-dining etc. The error was bound to go in time. Much headway had already been made. Meanwhile wherever they saw real friendship, there should be appreciation. Thus and thus only would they come together and live as perfect friends. In this connection he instanced an event he had noticed on the 26th January. The pressmen with him had arranged a simple meal between the Hindus, the Muslims and others. The Muslims did not come but the poor man whose but they were occupying said that they should not press him to join the inter-dinner. For he argued that the event might land him into trouble. When they were gone, he might be invited to embrace Islam. The speaker saw the force of the fear and advised the pressmen not to have this dinner on his precincts.

Gandhiji then continued that he would strive for the day when the Hindus and the Musalmans would be able to shed their respective weaknesses and come closer to one another in heart. He did not know when the consummation would take place but he was prepared to lay down his life for the purpose, if need be. He finally asked the audience to join him in his prayer to God that the day might come soon.

29-1-47

Addressing the prayer meeting Gandhiji at the outset dealt with a question that was raised by some Muslim friends. Did he want Muslims to attend his prayer meetings? The reply was that he wanted neither the Muslims nor the Hindus to attend the prayer meetings. If the questioner meant to ask whether he would like the Muslims to attend such meetings he had no hesitation in saying that he would certainly like them to attend. What was more, numerous Muslims had attended his prayer meetings which had gone on for years. The next question was whether he, the speaker, did not consider wrong for him, a non-Muslim, to recite anything from the *Quran* or to couple Rama and Krishna with Rahim and Karim. They said it offended Muslim ears. The speaker replied that the objection gave him a painful surprise. He thought that the objection betrayed narrowness of mind. They should know that he had introduced the recital from the *Quran* through Bibi Rahana Tvebyee, a devoted Muslim with a religious mind. She had no political motive behind the proposal. He was no *avatar*-man as was suggested. He claimed to be a man of God humbler than the humblest man or woman. His object ever was to make Muslims better Muslims, Hindus better Hindus, Christians better Christians, Parsis better Parsis. He never invited anybody to change his or her religion. He had thought, therefore, that the questioners would be glad to find that his religion was so expansive as to include readings from the religious scriptures of the world.

The next thing was that some friends had said that all prosecutions, initiated by the Hindus against the Muslim offenders, interfered with the progress of the peace mission between the two. It surprised him. What had peace between gentlemen to do with the prosecution of criminals

He could understand the objection if it meant that false prosecutions should be withdrawn. He would be whole-heartedly with the objectors. He went further and said that all such persons should be brought to book as perjurers. He said also that the proper course to avoid court procedure was for the guilty persons in all humility to make an open confession of their guilt and stand the judgement of the public. He would gladly help any such movement.

The third thing was that young men who had gone to Calcutta and other places in search of a career were bound to give a portion of their time to the villages. The easiest thing for them to do would be to meet among themselves and make an arrangement by which say half of them would take leave from office and serve for a stipulated number of months, at the end of which their place would be taken by the next batch. If they had a will there would surely be some way also for serving the cause of the villagers. Those who did not find it possible to offer personal service might help by cash.

Gandhiji ended by citing the example of England, Russia and other countries where every family had sent as many able-bodied men and women as possible for the defence of their country. This was how unity of heart was actually achieved in the world and he hoped that we in our country would be able to rise above small selfish considerations and create that unity without which life itself would not be worth living.

30-1-47

Gandhiji began by apologizing for the fifteen minutes' delay. It was due to his being occupied with Zaman Sahib and Yusuf Sahib. These officers took him to a model cottage they had had erected. It was a good house but in his opinion unfit for human habitation in the Indian climate. Such a house could well be described as a box. The inmates would be baked as in an oven and they would be suffocated when they closed their doors and windows as had become their habit. He, therefore, suggested comfortable cottages of bamboo, straw and thatch. Such cottages will be airy, cool and artistic in the Indian setting, specially in the midst of stately palms of coconut and *supari*.

He was also pleased when these officers informed him that the refugees had commenced to return from the places where they had taken refuge. He hoped that this return would continue with unabated zeal. He was of opinion that the people should dismiss all fear from their minds and feel safe in the midst of their own countrymen, whether Hindu or Muslim. When they learnt to fear their Maker alone they would cease to fear their fellows. They would find that there were no people to frighten them if they were not afraid themselves. This had been his uniform experience in the course of the last sixty years of his life.

The third question taken up by him was in connection with some fishermen who had met him on the previous evening. They had complained that in this country where fishing was confined to privately owned ponds for the major part of the year, it was impossible for them to live if they were boycotted

by the majority community. Gandhiji expressed his surprise at this state of affairs and suggested that unless the Hindus and Muslims could rise above their present political differences and reasserted their common humanity and common brotherhood, life would become an impossibility where nature had designed otherwise. He hoped, therefore, that the alleged conditions would be corrected by the joint efforts of the people concerned and real peace restored in the countryside.

31-1-47

In the course of his prayer meeting speech at the outset Gandhiji congratulated the audience, which was exceptionally large, on the perfect quiet they observed throughout the prayer. He then referred to two communications he had received from Muslim writers who consoled him against his critics who questioned his right to speak about the *purdah* or other things pertaining to Islam. The writers held by quoting from the *Quran* that it was broad-based and was exceptionally tolerant. It welcomed criticism and invited the world to study the *Quran*. One of them also held that no group or nation had remained without a prophet or teacher. He mentioned these communications to show that all Muslims did not hold what he considered to be intolerant views. He hoped too that the audience which contained a large number of Muslims would appreciate the testimony of the two writers who did not appear to be biased writers.

The speaker then dealt with the following question addressed to him by some of the workers.

The Muslims were boycotting Hindu artisans and craftsmen and were taking to occupations like fishing, fit trade, *pan-cultivation* etc. Workers who desired to bring about peace between the two communities did not know what to do under the circumstances.

Gandhiji said he hoped that the news was exaggerated and that the boycott was confined to the fewest Muslims possible. He thought that it could not be sustained. The logical result was that any such move would be a compulsory exodus of the Hindus from the Muslim majority provinces, a result he had not heard a single leader encourage or contemplate. He invited his informants to bring the news to the notice of the authorities, not with a view to having the movers punished but with a view to having an authoritative pronouncement from them. He further advised the audience to pray for wisdom to both the communities.

The second question was: There is a movement for reducing the share of the owner from half to one-third of the agricultural produce. What is your opinion about this?

The speaker welcomed the move for the reduction of the landlord's share from half to one-third. He thought the move was substantial. The land belonged to the Lord of us all and therefore to the worker on it. But till that ideal state of things came about, the movement towards the reduction of the landlord's portion was in the right direction.

But he warned the movers against the use of compulsion or violence. He could have no part or



share in violence. It was a reform to be brought about only by the cultivation of healthy public opinion. The reformers must have patience. He believed implicitly in the aphorism: 'As the end so the means.' In his opinion it was pernicious to hold that so long as the end was good any means, however violent or unjust, were justified. Many movements had come to grief by reliance on doubtful means.

1-2-'47

This meeting eclipsed all the previous ones in point of numbers of both the Muslims and the Hindus. Consequently there was much noise when Gandhiji came to the meeting. He drew the attention of the audience to the fact that the universal law applicable to all meetings was that the visitors should be perfectly still and observe silence no matter how vast the audience was.

Yesterday evening a Maulvi wanted to speak for a short time. The speaker had sensed what he wanted to speak. He therefore contrary to wont allowed him to speak for the five minutes which he wanted by the watch. The Maulvi Sahab took no more than three minutes but said what he wanted to say. He resented Gandhiji's remark on the *purdah* system in vogue in Bengal. He had no right to speak on the Islamic Law. Gandhiji thought this was a narrow view of religion. He claimed the right to study and interpret the message of Islam. The Maulvi Sahab further resented coupling of the name of Rama, a mere young King with Rahim, name of God, similarly of Krishna with Karim. Gandhiji said this was a narrow view of Islam. Islam was not a creed to be preserved in a box. It was open to mankind to examine it and accept or reject its tenets. He hoped that this narrow view was not shared by the Muslims of Bengal or rather India.

In this connection Gandhiji wanted to draw the attention of the audience to the work Dr. Sushila Nayyar was doing in Changirgaon. She wanted to go to Sevagram to attend to the hospital for whose management she was responsible but her Muslim patients would not let her go till they were restored to health. She had also mentioned that in the village, partakers of the loot of October last were of their own accord bringing back some of the looted property. He was of opinion that this was a happy omen. If the infection spread, the courts would have no work to do so far as public loot was concerned. He for one would ask Government to waive the right of prosecution if the looted property was returned. But he said the return must be sincere and full, whether by the guilty one or the public, and not a mere token to avoid prosecution. What he aimed at was a change of heart and not a trace superimposed by the military or the police. A popular ministry could not impose its will on the people.

Gandhiji then answered the following question:

You have asked rich men to be trustees. Is it implied that they should give up private ownership in their property and create out of it a trust valid in the eyes of the law and managed democratically? How will the successor of the present incumbent be determined on his demise?

In answer Gandhiji said that he adhered to the position taken by him years ago that everything belonged to God and was from God. Therefore it was for His people as a whole, not for a particular individual. When an individual had more than his proportionate portion he became a trustee of that portion for God's people.

God who was all-powerful had no need to store. He created from day to day; hence men also should in theory live from day to day and not stock things. If this truth was imbibed by the people generally, it would become legalized and trusteeship would become a legalized institution. He wished it became a gift from India to the world. Then there would be no exploitation and no reserves as in Australia and other countries for White men and their posterity. In these distinctions lay the seed of a war more virulent than the last two. As to the successor, the trustee in office would have the right to nominate his successor subject to legal sanction.

3-2-'47

Gandhiji referred with hesitation to the resolution passed by the Muslim League on the Constituent Assembly. It considered the Congress resolution to be dishonest and did not mean what it said. It was also said that the elections and other dealings of the Assembly were illegal. The speaker pleaded that there should be no imputation of dishonesty by one party to the other. It was not good for the great organizations which they both were. There was no reason why they should regard them as enemies, one of the other. That practice would not lead them to independence. If the elections and proceedings were illegal their legality should be challenged in a court of law. Otherwise, the charge had no meaning. If they did not wish to recognize the courts as he did in 1920 and later, then the talk of illegality should cease. He would plead with the League that they should go into the Assembly and state their case and influence the proceedings. But if they did not, he would advise them to test the sincerity of the Assembly and see how it dealt with the Muslim problem. It was due to themselves and the rest of the country unless they wanted to rely upon the law of the sword which he was sure they did not wish to do. Then the League had said that the Assembly represented only the Caste Hindus. Surely there were in the Assembly the Scheduled Classes, the Christians, the Parsis, the Anglo-Indians and all those who considered themselves sons of India. Then Doctor Ambedkar was good enough to attend the Assembly, not to mention the other large number of the Scheduled Classes. The Sikhs too were still there. It was open to the League to put up their fight within the Assembly.

As to the British Government who, as the League contended, should dismiss the Assembly, he entertained the hope, though he admitted it was somewhat shaken, that they would honestly carry to the end the voluntary Document. He submitted that the British Government was bound to act according to the State Paper even if a few

Provinces chose to establish their independence in accordance with the Paper. He hoped that the British would not forfeit all credit for honest dealing with India.

Gandhiji concluded by saying that whilst he felt obliged to refer to League politics, he warned the audience against inferring that the Hindus and the Muslims were to regard one another as enemies. The League has made no such announcement. Let the political quarrel be confined to the politicians at the top. It would be a disaster if the quarrel permeated in the villages. The way to Indian independence lay not through the sword but through mutual friendship and adjustment. He was in Noakhali to show what real Pakistan could mean. Bengal was the one province in India where it could be demonstrated. Bengal had produced talented Hindus and talented Muslims. Bengal had contributed largely to the national struggle. It was in the fitness of things that Bengal should now show how the Muslims and the Hindus could live together as friends and brothers. Then there would be no reason for Bengal to remain a deficit province. It ought to be a province of plenty.

4-2-'47

The prayer meeting was held by special invitation in the *badli* of Salmulla Sahib who is reported to be the chief Muslim in Sadhurkail. He had given his assurance that there would be no objection to the *Ramadhan* being recited with the clapping of hands.

At the time of Gandhiji's speech some Muslim friends wished to read an address in Bengali which Gandhiji said might be read if it pleased the friends. It referred to the music before mosques, cow-slaughter etc. Gandhiji said he was not concerned with these questions. They were questions of law. He wanted to capture their hearts and see them welded into one. If that was attained, everything else would right itself. If their hearts were not united, nothing could be right. Their unfortunate lot would then be slavery. He asked them to accept the slavery of the one Omnipotent God no matter by what name they addressed Him. Then they would bend the knee to no man or men. It was ignorance to say that he coupled Rama, a mere man, with God. He had repeatedly made it clear that his Rama was the same as God. His Rama was before, is present now and would be for all time. He was Unborn and Uncreated. Therefore, let them tolerate and respect the different faiths. He was himself an iconoclast but he had equal regard for the so-called idolaters. Those who worshipped idols also worshipped the same God who was everywhere, even in a clod of earth, even in a nail that was pared off. He had Muslim friends whose names were Rahim, Rahman, Karim. Would he therefore join on to the name of God when he addressed them as Rahim, Karim, or Rahman?

Let them beware of the thought that all was well in Noakhali or the neighbouring parts. If the

reports he received were at all true, things had not quite settled down. He did not refer to these things or the destruction that had been wrought because he did not wish to excite passion. He did not believe in retaliation. He had lived with Pathans. Badshah Khan, being tired of retaliation which had descended from generation to generation, had learnt the virtue of non-violence. He did not claim perfection for him. He could be angered. But he did claim for his friend the wisdom that dictated to him restraint on one's love of vengeance. He wanted the same thing in Noakhali. Unless they sincerely believed that without real peace between the communities there was neither Pakistan nor Hindustan, slavery was their lot.

He had a visit from four young Muslim friends who deplored the fact that he had not corrected the exaggeration about the number of murders in Noakhali and the adjacent parts. He had not done so because he did not wish to bring out all he had seen. But if it at all mended matters he was free to declare that he had found no evidence to support the figure of a thousand. The figure was certainly much smaller. He was also free to admit that the murders in number and brutalities in Bihar eclipsed those in Noakhali. But that admission must not mean a call for him to go to Bihar. He did not know that he could render any greater service by going to Bihar than from here. He would not be worth anything if without conviction he went there at the bidding of anybody. He would need no prompting, immediately he felt that his place was more in Bihar than in Noakhali. He was where he thought he could render the greatest service to both the communities.

### The Most Effective Remedy

Gandhiji holds that our Constructive Programme is the most effective remedy for communal unity and other problems of our country. In a letter written from Kazirkhal (Noakhali District) to Prof. J. C. Kumarappa, Gandhiji says.

"The work I am doing here is the most difficult of all I have hitherto undertaken and I know that those who are working for the country take an effective part in the work here if they do their best in their respective spheres. The village work that has been your lot can contribute probably the most to the fruition of what is being done here. At the same time I know that it is the most uphill work as I find walking from village to village and putting before them sanitation, the spinning wheel, weaving and the craft peculiar to the particular village."

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# MARIKHAN

Editor P. ARFLAL

1. Pages

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TWO ANNAS

## SOIL FOOD v. DRUG

In human nutrition people recognize the difference between staple food and drugs. Usually the staple food is eaten in large quantities and it contains all the elements necessary for the human body in the right proportions or nearly in the right proportions. Milk for instance will contain fat, proteins, calcium and vitamin A besides other similar ingredients. But if for any reason the body of a patient needs more vitamin A than is found in milk because of some diseased state of the body, then to meet this need vitamin A may be administered in the form of some liver products, such as shark liver oil or cod liver oil. We recognize, therefore, that an ordinary wholesome food differs from medicines. The medicines are administered in small doses according to the needs of the particular patient and his condition. An old man may take a different dose of medicine from that of a middle-aged one, the latter would need a different dose from that of a child.

Again, certain drugs are used as stimulants when individuals want to go beyond their energy provided by nature by indulging in dances at night clubs. Such individuals stimulate their bodies to meet the extra demand of energy by taking injections of morphia and such other drugs. For the moment they appear to be full of vitality and energy, but a time comes when they suffer from the reaction of the stimulants. Therefore all persons desiring to lead a normal life without overstraining the nervous or muscular system will content themselves with a healthy use of energy produced by the normal food.

Medicines are indicated in the case of the existence of pathological conditions, while stimulants are harmful to the body as they overtax the system. Thus the staple food, medicine and the drug, each has its own place and cannot be substituted one for the other. Food for the normal person, medicine for the sick person and the drug for the over-indulgent.

Similarly in plant life too we have these three stages. Plants like animals need food. They draw this food from the air and the soil through the medium of water. If the normal food that the plant requires is deficient in a particular aspect, that deficiency may be made good by a proper diagnosis and prescription. Also, plants can be stimulated like human beings with drugs too. But that is an unnatural situation. In nature much of the mineral substances needed by plant life is provided in some assimilable form by micro-organisms

in the soil. These micro-organisms take organic matter and present it in an assimilable form fit for the plants. In the normal way the animals feed on vegetation and after assimilating that which is needed for the energy and growth they pass out the rest back to the earth and these micro-organisms in the soil convert such material back into plant food, and so goes on the cycle in nature. Any interference in this by men can only be justified by the circumstances.

The natural staple food of all plants is farm yard manure and other organic matter. Such manures have in them certain elements termed auxins which help better assimilation of the food just as vitamins in human food help in the biochemical process. The auxins are indispensable for plant life just as vitamins are indispensable for human beings and farm yard manure and other organic matter are rich in these auxins.

Where the mineral contents of the soil may be deficient owing to flooding and washing away of certain mineral salts it may be necessary to supply that deficiency by introducing certain chemicals. But this is a process which is analogous to medicine to the human body. Just as medicines can only be administered by a qualified doctor after a careful diagnosis with a prescription suited to the particular conditions of the patient, similarly this method of adding chemical fertilizers to the soil should only be adopted after a careful analysis of the soil and the requirements of plant life to be raised on that soil. Without such proper prescriptions given by a soil chemist to freely use chemical fertilizers would be as foolish as a layman administering medicine to a patient, and it may be equally tragic in its results. Artificial fertilizers, therefore, are not plant food but they are medicines to the soil.

Just as the human system can be stimulated beyond its normal performance by drugs such as morphia, similarly plants also can be subjected to an unhealthy enhancement of their growth and production by the use of drugs. Chemical fertilizers can produce this effect; but it is an unhealthy, short-sighted and unnatural state of affairs.

If our agricultural food production is to supply the normal requirements of the human body, the plants from which we draw that food must also be healthy, normal and well-fed. Any artificial stimulant or artificial feeding will naturally affect our food as we depend upon specially in our country, so largely on plant life as food. Hence it becomes imperative that we should watch the food given

to these, the medicines administered and the drugs supplied. If there is any undue dose at a time, it will ultimately tell on the health condition of the human being.

New Zealand grows most of its food supply on soils manured by chemical fertilizers and it was found that the people of New Zealand were subject to catarrh, influenza, septic tonsils and dental caries. Therefore, Dr Chapman of the Physical and Mental Welfare Society of New Zealand carried out some experiments in Mount Albert Grammar School Hostel and subjected over 60 boys, teachers and staff to experimental feeding. The food was changed from the "chemically grown" fruits, salads and vegetables to articles produced on farm yard manure and he reports: "There is a marked physical growth and freedom from other common ailments and their dental conditions have improved." It may be noted here that during the last war when young men were examined for recruiting, over 40% of the New Zealanders were found to be unfit because of defective teeth. This experiment gives the warning that if the health of the people of India is to be what it should be, we must beware of chemical fertilizers. This is purely from the point of view of our food.

Looking at it from the needs of the soil, chemical fertilizers increase the acidity of the soil. Parts of Bengal and Bihar have already suffered from this. To make the fertilizers effective, it is necessary to apply it at a suitable depth and not as a top-dressing. Application of manures at some depth involves deep ploughing and copious irrigation. In our country where the major portion of the land is subject to the vagaries of the monsoon it would be a pure gamble to plough deep and manure the land with expensive manures only to find at the end of the season that the rains have failed. Our farmers are not financially well off enough to take the risks of this type of land treatment.

As we have already indicated earlier, before artificial fertilizers can be used on any plot of ground a very careful analysis of the soil and its requirements have to be ascertained. This involves a wide spread, well trained expert staff of agricultural chemists who could function as 'soil doctors'. Before we have such a personnel available at every plot of cultivable land it will be sheer folly to put artificial fertilizers in the hands of the farmers. It will be like handing in poisons—drugs like opium, morphia, etc.—into the hands of ignorant patients without any control as to their use. Therefore, even if we wish to introduce fertilizers as medicine, the condition precedent to such a course will be the introduction of agricultural chemists in large numbers. In our country we have not got physicians even for human beings in sufficient numbers. Where are we to find soil physicians in greater numbers?

With these facts before us we regret to notice that our ill-advised Central Government is pushing on with the promotion and extension of artificial fertilizer factories. In Bihar at Sindhri, a scheme

for artificial fertilizer factories involving foreign machinery to the extent of Rs. 12 crores and other buildings and equipment running into a further 10 crores are being pushed forward. We hope better counsels will prevail and the suicidal schemes will yield place to carrying on researches on more healthy lines which will provide a considerable amount of the organic matter, that is going to waste today, as suitable manures to our fields. Only such a course will provide us with health-giving food and save us from the unscrupulous exploiters who, regardless of the harm they are causing the people, consider accumulation of wealth the one and only objective in life.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

### INFECTION IN LEPROSY WORK

*"There is a lot of false heroism connected with leprosy work. After all, leprosy is no worse than a lot of other diseases with which doctors are associating themselves constantly in general medical work."*

Dr. Cochran

In gratefully welcoming Shri Vinoba's appeal to doctors to take to leprosy work, I wish to state the more known facts about the incidence of infection by leprosy work. Perry Burgess, the President of the American Leprosy Foundation, sums up the facts in the following words:

"Despite the facts that among the many exposures, scattered throughout the world, thousands of west people, doctors, nurses and lay workers, have been in daily association with patients, the incidence of infection is very small. Reasonable precautions are taken as with any infectious disease."

The most publicized case is Father Damien, but contributing exceptional factors are not known to the public. To quote the late Dr. O. E. Denny of the U. S. Public Health Service:

"The good Father never took any precautions against infection but lived surrounded by his sick parishioners, under unhygienic conditions, his food prepared by leprosy patients, his clothes washed by them and even his pipe smoked by them."

Brother Joseph Dutton, Father Damien's successor whose work was largely medical and who spent 48 years at Kalaupapa, Molokai did not acquire the disease. Nor did the two nurses Mother Marianne and Sister Leopoldina, who served with Father Damien, acquire the disease. The biographer of Mother Marianne Dr. T. Wood Clark says:

The experience of Mother Marianne and her associates and followers has taught the medical profession a lesson of great value. They have proved beyond question that if sanitary precautions are properly carried out, one can spend his life among leprosy patients with impunity. They have, by their example, demonstrated the important truth that leprosy, while infectious, is not contagious."

In the 78 year old history of Kalaupapa there has been only one other case besides Father Damien's of infection by leprosy work. It was that of Father Peter hailed as "Father Damien's prototype". But he had only a small, dark, elevated spot high up on the forehead. He was operated and the spot

removed. He has continued ever after to be clinically and bacteriologically negative. Today at 73 he is an active worker at Kalaupapa.

Cahon in the Philippines, founded in 1907, is the largest leprosarium in the world with many hundreds of employees, nurses and physicians. Only two cases of institutional infection have been so far reported—a priest and a labourer. The labourer developed the disease one year after arrival and as he had a brother as a patient in the colony it was easily established that the infection had happened before his coming to the colony. According to medical reports the diagnosis of the priest was doubtful.

The evidence of Dr. M. Carreon regarding the San Lazaro Hospital, Manila is very interesting.

'From the time the present San Lazaro Hospital was founded 264 years ago up to these days, no physician, nurse or attendant has ever been known to have developed leprosy.'

Medical and missionary literature frequently refer to the instances of Father Boglioli of New Orleans, Father Daniel of Brazil and Mary Reed in India. Father Boglioli, the Italian Chaplain of Charity Hospital, New Orleans, sometimes called "the Father Damien of Louisiana", is the only person known to have contracted the disease in the long history of the hospital. In 1879 there was a ward of 15 leprosy patients, attended daily by physicians and nurses. It is interesting that while none of the physicians and nurses contracted leprosy, Father Boglioli who administered religious rites to two patients in the ward and visited the ward from time to time should have acquired the disease. Father Daniel is said to have contracted leprosy in a similar manner. Eminent authorities have stated that both these cases are scientifically questionable. Dr. Christobal Manalang believes that the nature of their contact as priests administering religious rites to patients lodged in a hospital does not warrant belief in institutional infection. He believes that they could have harboured infection prior to their institutional contact.

Mary Reed worked for 7 years as a missionary in India but not in a leprosarium. Then she returned to the United States and discovered that she had leprosy. She returned to India and worked in leprosaria. She recovered from the disease without treatment and lived a life of active service till 86. Dr. R. G. Cochrane thinks that her leprosy was so slight and benign that while her devotion to the cause deserved wider fame her leprosy was certainly not worth at all the publicity it has had.

In the history of Carville (Louisiana), which is completing its 52nd year, no member of the medical or nursing staff has contracted the disease. One non-medical employee, not having much direct contact with the patients, is reported to have had the infection. Perhaps he did, and that would be only a very small incidence—one case in 52 years. But as the worker came from a highly endemic district there is reasonable doubt as to whether he had not been infected in his earlier years before coming to work in Carville.

In reviewing the cases of institutional infection in leprosy one is struck by the fact that few or no cases concern physicians and nurses. Their contact is far greater and more intimate than that of the clergy. As a rule, however, they have observed nothing more than the usual sanitary precautions taken in any general hospital. Dr. William Brady can well assert:

"Hansen's disease (leprosy) is feebly, if at all, communicable through ordinary human contacts and that the place where one is least likely to contract the disease is in a properly conducted Sanatorium.

The doctor who takes to leprosy work today does not need to fear infection. Nor need he intoxicate himself with the belief that he is on the road to martyrdom. Let us in all humility learn the lessons of Father Damien's example, but let us not play upon the theme for dramatic effect. When six Franciscan Missionaries left the United States to work in a leprosarium in Australia, the New York Sunday Mirror (October 8, 1944) broke out with lurid head-lines "N. Y. Nuns in living suicide by contact with leprosy: The same inevitable tomorrow awaits those heroic missionaries of mercy as Father Damien who came under the insidious touch of the disease." This is sensational but unscientific. Leprosy is difficult to acquire except in childhood and in an endemic environment. Inoculation with heavily bacillated tissues have failed to produce leprosy in those experimented upon. Father Damien is only the exception that proves the rule and there are sufficient reasons explaining the exceptional occurrence. It now needs far less heroism or none to take to leprosy work if one weighed the facts and shed the fear. But if the fear and the glory are gone, the opportunity of service still remains.

Madras, 8-2-47

T. N. JAGADISAN

#### NOTICE

Dr. Bhagwat from Urub-Kanchan writes.

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# HARIJAN

March 2

1947

## SOME IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

[On the 9th of February Gandhi dealt with some questions that were sent to him during the day. It being a Sunday of course he wrote out the answers which were read out to the prayer meeting. The answers deserve careful study by all earnest workers. —Ed.]

Q. It has been our experience that a worker becomes power loving after some time. How are the rest of his co-workers to keep him in check? In other words, how are we to preserve the democratic character of the organization? We have found that non-co-operation with the party in question does not help. The work of the organization itself suffers.

A. This is not your experience alone but it is a most universal. Love of power is usual in man and it often only dies with his life. Therefore, it is difficult for co-workers to keep him in check, if only because they are more likely than not to have the same human frailty; and so long as we do not know a single completely non-violent organization in the world, we cannot claim to know the utterly democratic character of an organization because, as can be definitely proved, no perfect democracy is possible without perfect non-violence at the back of it. The question would be proper if non-co-operation was violent as it often, if not invariably, is. Claiming to know somewhat from experience the non-violent character of non-co-operation, I suggest that given a good cause, non-violent non-co-operation must succeed and no organization can suffer through offering non-violent non-co-operation. The questioner labours under the difficulty of having experience of non-co-operation, at best partially non-violent, at its worst bare-faced violence sailing under the name of non-violence. The pages of the *Harijan* and *Young India* are filled with instances of abortive non-co-operation, because of these two vital defects, non-violence being partial or totally absent. During my long experience, I also noticed that those who complain of others being ambitious of holding power are no less ambitious themselves, and when it is a question of distinguishing between half a dozen and six, it becomes a thankless task.

Q. In almost all villages there are parties and factions. When we draft local help, whether we wish it or not, we become involved in local power politics. How can we steer clear of this difficulty? Should we try to by-pass both parties and carry on work with the help of outside workers? Our experience has been that such work becomes entirely contingent upon outside aid and crumbles down as soon as the latter is withdrawn. What should we do then to develop local initiative and foster local co-operation?

A. Alas for India that parties and factions are to be found in the villages as they are to be found in our cities. And when power politics enter our villages with less thought of the welfare of the villages and more of using them for increasing the parties' own power, this becomes a hindrance to the progress of the villagers rather than a help. I would say that whatever be the consequence, we must make use as much as possible of local help and if we are free from the taint of power politics, we are not likely to go wrong. Let us remember that the English-educated men and women from the cities have criminally neglected the villages of India which are the backbone of the country. The process of remembering our neglect will induce patience. I have never gone to a single village which is devoid of an honest worker. We fail to find him when we are not humble enough to recognize any merit in our villages. Of course, we are to steer clear of local politics and this we shall learn to do when we accept help from all parties and no parties, wherever it is really good. I would regard it as fatal for success to by-pass villagers. As I knew this very difficulty, I have tried rigidly to observe the rule of one village, one worker, except that where he or she does not know Bengali, an interpreter's help has been given. I can only say that this system has so far answered the purpose. I must, therefore, discount your experience. I would further suggest that we have got into the vicious habit of coming to hasty conclusions. Before pronouncing such a sweeping condemnation as is implied in the sentence that 'work becomes entirely contingent upon outside aid and crumbles down as soon as the latter is withdrawn', I would go so far as to say that even a few years' experience of residence in a single village, trying to work through local workers, should not be regarded as conclusive proof that work could not be done through and by local workers. The contrary is obviously true. It now becomes unnecessary for me to examine the last sentence in detail. I can categorically say to the principal worker: 'If you have any outside help, get rid of it. Work singly, courageously, intelligently with all the local help you can get and, if you do not succeed, blame only yourself and no one else and nothing else.'

Q. If we are to start *khadi*-work in the devastated areas in Noakhali, should we begin with financial and technical aid from outside or slowly build up the whole structure with local men and money alone?

A. I will say in your own words: 'Slowly build up the whole structure with local men and money', taking care to make yourself sure that you know the whole art of spinning in the widest sense I have given to the term. What that sense is you should learn from my writings in the *Harijan* which you will do if you have the requisite eagerness.

Q. The cultivators and land-owners who used to have their land tilled by Muslim labour have lost two crops namely *mircha* (long pepper)

oil seeds and mustard seeds owing to the looting of agricultural implements and bullocks and want of labour from Muslims. The time for ploughing fields for the next kharif and rabi crop is impending and unless the cultivators get these within fifteen days, they will almost lose that crop also.

A This is most unfortunate if it is true. I have no doubt that all such land should be put under cultivation not only for the sake of the owners but also for the State, which is or should be more concerned with the cultivation of food-crops even than the owners. Therefore, the owners should ask the authorities for this assistance and the State should see to it that all such land is beneficially cultivated. It is the duty of the State to ask and encourage Muslim labour to render this essential service whether the owner be a Muslim or a Hindu. The State should certainly see that all labour is adequately paid by fixing the wages.

### GANDHIJI'S WALKING TOUR DIARY

5-2-'47

It was a big audience that Gandhiji had addressed on the fifth. The gathering was perfectly still. There was no noise when he came to the meeting. He began his remarks by asking the volunteers to refrain from providing decorations and a kind of ornamental shade where he sat. He was averse to all these things. It was a waste of labour and money. All that was needed was a raised seat with something clean and soft to rest his fatless and muscleless bones. He wanted to deal that evening with a question that arose out of the meeting of the third instant but he could not deal on the fourth as he had to deal with the statement read to him by the Muslim friends. The question was as follows.

You have asked those Provinces which have the necessary courage to frame their own constitution and then ask the British army to quit their territory as proof of the attainment of independence. What, in your opinion, should be the basis of the franchise in those free provinces of India? Should communal electorates be replaced by functional ones in the Assemblies? Should there be functional instead of communal representation? Should there be joint electorates with reservation of seats for communal minorities or functional groups? Should there be favoured representation of any group for the time being? If so, of what group? Should we have joint electorate, and full adult franchise?

Answer. Gandhiji's answer was unequivocal. Even one province could frame its own constitution and enforce it, provided that it was backed not by a majority of one but by an overwhelming majority. Gandhiji held that no power on earth could resist the lovers of liberty who were ready not to kill opponents but be killed by them. This was the view that he had enunciated at one time. But today they had made considerable progress. He put a favourable interpretation on the Cabinet Mission's State Paper. So far as he could see they could not resist the declared wish of a single province. If that was true of one province, say Bengal, how much more it was for a number of

provinces which the Constituent Assembly undoubtedly represented? But he was indifferent to what the British Government said so far as India's independence was concerned. That rested with the people and no outside power. Nor was there any question as to what India would do if the State Paper was withdrawn. India has been accustomed to life in the wilderness. When Pandit Nehru and his friends accepted office he had said that it was not a bed of roses but a bed of thorns. Their goal was liberty and liberty they would take no matter what happened.

Naturally he could speak with confidence when the people had only non-violence in view as a steadfast simple policy without reservation. If on the other hand, they thought they could drive away the English by the sword they were vastly mistaken. They did not know the determination and courage of the English. They would not yield to the power of the sword. But they could not withstand the courage of non-violence which disdained to deal death against death. He knew no other power higher than non-violence. And if they were still without real independence, it was, he was sure, because the people had not developed sufficient non-violence. Anyway the State Paper in his opinion was in answer to the non-violent strength that India had so far developed.

If they contemplated the last war, they would plainly see that whilst the enemy powers so-called were crushed, the allied powers had won but an empty victory. Apart from the wanton destruction of human heads they had between the allies and the enemies succeeded in draining the world of its food materials and cloth. And the former seemed to be so dehumanized that they entertained the vain hope of reducing the enemies to helots. It was a question whom to pity more—the allies or the enemies. Therefore he asked the people bravely to face the consequence whatever it was, feeling secure in the confidence born of non-violence, be it as an honest policy.

As to the franchise he swore by the franchise of all adults, males and females, above the age of twenty-one or even eighteen. He would bar old men like himself. They were of no use as voters. India and the rest of the world did not belong to those who were on the point of dying. To them belonged death, life to the young. Thus he would have a bar against persons beyond a certain age, say fifty, as he would against youngsters below eighteen. Of course, he would debar lunatics and loafers. Of course, in India free, he could not contemplate communal franchise. It must be joint electorate, perhaps with reservation of seats. Nor could he contemplate favouritism for anyone, say Muslims, Sikhs or Parsis for example. If there was to be favouritism he would single out physical lepers. They were an answer to the crimes of society. If moral lepers would ban themselves, the physical lepers would soon be extinct. And they, poor men, were so frightened of modern society that they put forth no claims. Educate them truly and they

would make ideal citizens. Anyway, side by side with adult franchise or even before that he pleaded for universal education, not necessarily literary except as perhaps an aid. English education, he was convinced, had starved out minds, enervated them and never prepared them for brave citizenship. He would give them all sufficient knowledge in the rich languages of which any country would be proud. Education in the understanding of the rights of citizenship was a short term affair if they were honest and earnest.

6-2-'47

Gandhi referred to a letter he had received from the medical superintendent of the Marwari Relief Society. The doctor said that he treated both the Hindus and the Mussalmans without any distinction. Muslim men and women gladly accepted his services. He noticed that in this part of the world the Muslims were poor. There was dirt and insanitation, wherever he went. Would he (Gandhi) say something about it? He (Gandhi) would gladly do so. For he had been a lover of cleanliness and sanitation for over fifty years. He had to speak much in disparagement of the West. It was therefore a pleasure for him to be able to say that he had learnt the laws of cleanliness from Englishmen. He was pained to see the same tanks in Noakhali used for drinking and cleaning purposes. It was wrong. The people thoughtlessly dirtied the streets, lanes and townships by spitting everywhere and clearing their noses. This was the cause of many diseases in India. No doubt, their chronic poverty was responsible for the diseases. But their chronic breach of the laws of sanitation was no less responsible. It was surprising that India lived at all. But it was worst in point of high death rate. America was probably the first in the list. And then those that lived were specimens of living death. The sooner therefore the inhabitants of Noakhali attended to the laws of sanitation the better for them. Poverty was no bar to perfect sanitation.

Then there was invasion of pressmen from far and near. The expression, Press Camp, was an attractive expression. But this Press Camp was in keeping with the village surroundings and that too with his. His surrounding was inconsistent with pomp. The Pressmen who accompanied him were living under difficult conditions. They had to live in such huts as the villagers were able to provide. They had no unmitigated accommodation. He would advise them not to venture on it but be satisfied with the news that the five or six were able to provide. His barefoot walk need not provide sensation. It ought not to excite people. It was no difficulty for him. The earth of Noakhali was like velvet and the green grass was a magnificent carpet to walk on. It reminded him of the soft English grass he had noticed in England. It was wholly unnecessary to wear sandals to be able to walk on the Noakhali earth and grass. He could not probably have done it in Gujarat, and then he inherited the traditions of his country. Pilgrimage was always performed barefoot. For him this tour was a pilgrimage pure

and simple. But that should be no attraction to Pressmen and others. He considered it as no strain on him. And if God willed it, He would allow him to pull through it. Let the Pressmen save the time and money which later they could contribute to the Noakhali Relief Fund or the never-to-end Harijan Fund.

He then came to the questions put to him.

Q. Supposing one or the other of the provinces wishes to declare its independence, what kind of constitution would you advise them to prepare? In 1925, you declared that in the Free India of your dreams only those would have voting rights who had contributed by manual labour to the service of the State. Do you adhere to that advice today with regard to the above provinces?

A. Independence could be the same as for the whole of India. He altered to what he had said in 1925 viz. that all adults above a certain age, male or female, who would contribute some body labour to the State would be entitled to the vote. Thus a simple labourer would easily be a voter whereas a millionaire or a lawyer or a merchant and the like would find it hard if they did not do some body labour for the State.

Q. If contiguous provinces in India do not declare such independence but scattered ones do so, would not the presence of the non-federating units create difficulties for the rest in the matter of common action?

A. He saw no difficulty if the society was of his conception, that is based on non-violence. Thus supposing populous Bengal with its gifted Tagores and Subhawardys framed a constitution based on independence and Assam with its opium habit dreamt away life, Orissa with its skeletons had no wish and Bihar was occupied in family slaughter, they would all three be affected and covered by Bengal. Such infectiousness was inherent in his scheme of independence which was friends to all and enemy to none. It might well be that his was a voice in the wilderness. If so, it was India's misfortune.

Q. Do you expect the constitution of the free provinces to be made so attractive that others would voluntarily be drawn into it?

A. Attractiveness was inherent in everything that was inherently good.

Q. Supposing the whole of Group A forms a common constitution, do you think provinces which are now under Group B or C will be able to join A if they so desire?

A. It went without saying that if the Group A succeeded in framing a good constitution not only would it be open to B and C to join, they would be irresistibly be drawn to it.

Q. What about the States? Who will decide whether a State should join the Union or not, the present rulers or the people? If it is to be the latter then what changes would you expect to be first made in the constitutions of the present States?

A. He was a mere humble ryot but he belonged to the many crores. The *Rajads* were nominally 640, in reality they were probably less than 100. Whatever the number was, they were so few that in an awakened India, they could only exist as servants of the ryots not in name but in actual practice. He did not share the fear underlying the



question that the British would be so dishonest as to play the *Rajahs* against the ryots. That was not the note of the Cabinet Mission Paper. But why should India depend upon the British Cabinet? When India was ready, neither the British nor the *Rajahs*, nor any combination of the Powers could keep India from her destined goal, her birthright, as the Lokamanya would have said.

7-2-47

Gandhiji in the course of his prayer speech set himself to answering the questions put to him.

You have always been against charity and have preached the doctrine that no man is free from the obligation of bread-labour. What is your advice for people who are engaged in sedentary occupations but lost their all in the last riots? Should they migrate and try to find a place where they can go back to their old, accustomed habits of life or should they try to remodel their life in conformity with your ideal of bread-labour for everybody? What use shall their special talents be in that case?

In reply Gandhiji said that it was true that for years he had been against charity as it was understood and that he had for years preached the duty of bread-labour. In this connection he mentioned the visit he had received from the District Magistrate and Zaman Sahab along with a police officer. They wanted his opinion about giving doles to the refugees. They had already decided to put before them the work of the removal of the water hyacinth, the repair of roads, village reconstruction or straightening out their own plots of land or building on their lands. Those who did any one of these things had a perfect right to rations. He said that he liked the idea. But as a practical idealist he would not take the refugees by storm. A variety of work should be put before the people and they should have one month's notice that if they made no choice of the occupations suggested nor did they suggest some other acceptable occupation but declined to do any work though their bodies were fit they would be reluctantly obliged to tell the refugees that they would not be able to give them doles after the expiry of the notice. He advised the refugees and their friends to render full cooperation to the government in such a scheme of work. It was wrong for any citizen to expect rations without doing some physical work.

He could never advise people to leave their homes. He would like even one solitary Hindu to feel safe under any circumstance and would expect the Muslims to make him perfectly safe in their midst. He should welcome them to worship God in the way they knew.

He certainly did not consider money got through speculation as rightly gained. Nor did he consider it impossible for man to shed bad or evil habits at any time. If everybody lived by the sweat of his brow, the earth would become a paradise. The question of the use of special talents hardly needed separate consideration. If everyone laboured physically for his bread, it followed that poets, doctors, lawyers etc. would regard it their duty to use those talents gratis for the service of humanity. Their output will be all the better and richer for their selfless devotion to duty.

8-2-47

Gandhiji addressed a large meeting which had almost as many Muslims as Hindus barring the women who were present. He addressed himself to

answering the following four questions which were sent to him by a visiting friend.

Q. The Musalmans are boycotting the Hindus. Those Hindus who possess more land than they can till themselves are in a serious difficulty. What is your advice to them? What will they do about the surplus land which they hold but cannot till themselves, even if they take up the plough themselves?

A. In answer he said that he had heard of the boycott and had made some remarks at previous meetings. He hoped indeed he knew, that the boycott was not universal in Noakhali. It was probably confined to a few. Whatever the extent, he had no doubt that it was wrong and would do no good to the boycotters as it could not be directed against whom it was directed. That opinion was held by him for a large number of years, say sixty. But there was a condition when he would conceive it possible, i.e. if the Muslims regarded the Hindus as their enemies and wished to avoid their presence in Noakhali. That would amount to a declaration of war from which every Indian would recoil with horror. In isolated cases, his opinion was emphatic. The Hindu under the boycott would allow his land to lie fallow like the Austrians or he would sell the surplus land. What was best was that nobody should possess more than he could himself use. That was the ideal the society should strive to reach.

Q. You have been working here for the last three months. Has there been any appreciable change in the mentality of the Hindus?

A. The question could best be answered by the Hindus concerned. He flattered himself with the belief that the Hindus have, at least for the time being, shed their cowardice to an extent.

Q. There is certainly a peace-loving section among the Musalmans. After your presence in their midst, have they been influenced to such an extent that they are able to assert themselves against the worst element in their own community?

A. As to this third question he felt glad that the questioner admitted that there was a peace-loving section among the Muslims of Noakhali. It would be monstrous if there was not. Whether they had developed courage to oppose the bad and mischievous element in Muslim society, he would give the same answer that he gave to the second question. The Muslim friends could reply with certainty. But he was vain enough to believe that several Muslim friends had been so affected. As for instance, the Muslim witness in Buarialpur declared that the destroyed *mandir* he had opened they would defend against destruction in future with their lives. There were other consoling instances he had met with during his tour.

Q. Several workers are engaged in village work according to your direction. What has been the result of their work on the local Hindu or Muslim population? If you had not been here, would their influence have been equal to what it is at present? Will the present influence of your workers be of a lasting character?

A. As to this fourth question Gandhiji said that if he was pure and meant what he said, his work was bound to survive his death. He believed that there must be perfect correspondence between private and public conduct. Similarly, if his associates were actuated purely by the spirit of service and



## ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## INSTALMENT—XIV

## ENGLISH

## HINDUSTANI

Chop *v.* काटना, टुकड़े-टुकड़े करना, ठुका देना।

कटना, ठुका देना, टुकड़े-टुकड़े करना, ठुका देना।

Chop *n.* चाँस या मोलका टुकड़ा। चाँस या मोलका टुकड़ा।Chop and change *v.* बदला-बदली करना, हलचल करना।

हलचल करना, बदला-बदली करना।

Chopper *n.* काटेवाला; चापक; घुस। काटेवाला; चापक; घुस।Chops *n.* सुँह, होठ। सुँह, होठ।

Chops, down in the सुँह धुतरा हुआ। सुँह धुतरा हुआ।

Chops, lick one's होठ चाटना। होठ चाटना।

Chopsticks *n.* बोल या हाथीदाँतकी पनकी सौलियाँ, जिनसे चीनी काना खाते हैं, चीनी-काँटा।

बोल या हाथीदाँतकी पनकी सौलियाँ, जिनसे चीनी काना खाते हैं, चीनी-काँटा।

Choral *adj.* रागका, मजन या गीतका। रागका, मजन या गीतका।Chord *n.* सौत, तार; तीन या चक्का सुरोंका मिलाप, स्वर-संयोग।

सौत, तार; तीन या चक्का सुरोंका मिलाप, स्वर-संयोग।

Chord, touch the right *v.* ठीक बात बखर दूसरेसे दिखाने

ठोक पत कम कर दूसरे से धक कर मोह लेना।

Chords, vocal बोलनेकी रस। बोलनेकी रस।

Chore or Chare *n.* बरकी सक्कामी बरोराका काम।

बरकी सक्कामी बरोराका काम।

Chorister *n.* मजन गानेवाला। मजन गानेवाला।Chortle *v.* किलकिलाना, हँसना। किलकिलाना, हँसना।Chorus *n.* गीत, जो सब मिलकर गाये; गानेवालोंका समूह।

गीत, जो सब मिलकर गाये; गानेवालोंका समूह।

Chosen *adj.* चुना हुआ। चुना हुआ।Chose judge *n.* भेला मामला, जिसपर बहस करनेकी जरूरत नहीं, मामला जो सब हो चुका हो।

भेला मामला, जिसपर बहस करनेकी जरूरत नहीं, मामला जो सब हो चुका हो।

Choa *n.* फीलेकी छुम्बर गिरह। फीलेकी छुम्बर गिरह।Chouse *v.* झगना, धोखा देना। झगना, धोखा देना।Chow *n.* चीनका भेक जिसका कुत्ता। चीनका भेक जिसका कुत्ता।Christ *n.* मसीह, मसीहा, ईशुख्रिस्त, ईशुमसीह।

मसीह, मसीहा, ईशुख्रिस्त, ईशुमसीह।

Christen *v.* बतिसना देना; नाम रखना; जन-संस्कार करना।

बतिसना देना; नाम रखना; जन-संस्कार करना।

Christian *n.* ईसायी, ख्रिस्ती। ईसायी, ख्रिस्ती।Christianity *n.* ईसायी मत या धर्म। ईसायी मत या धर्म।Christmas *n.* बड़ा दिन, ईशुख्रिस्तका जन्मदिन, जो २५ दिसम्बरको मनाया जाता है।

बड़ा दिन, ईशुख्रिस्तका जन्मदिन, जो २५ दिसम्बरको मनाया जाता है।

Christmas card *n.* बड़े दिनका कार्ड। बड़े दिनका कार्ड।Christmas eve *n.* बड़े दिनसे पहलेकी रात।

बड़े दिनसे पहलेकी रात।

Christy minstrels *n.* हलियावोका सौम्य भण्डार बानेवाले।

हलियावोका सौम्य भण्डार बानेवाले।

Chronic *adj.* पुराना, बिचढ़। पुराना, बिचढ़।Chronic disease *n.* पुराना रोग। पुराना रोग।Chronicle *n.* तारीख; या इतिहास। तारीख; या इतिहास।Chronology *n.* भिन्न तारीख, समय जाननेकी दिशा, काल-क्रम-विद्या।

भिन्न तारीख, समय जाननेकी दिशा, काल-क्रम-विद्या।

Chronometer *n.* ठीक घड़ी; ठीक बखत बतावेवाली घड़ी।

ठीक घड़ी; ठीक बखत बतावेवाली घड़ी।

Chrysalis *n.* सिलसी, बतियो बरोरा, जिनके पर न आवे हो।

सिलसी, बतियो बरोरा, जिनके पर न आवे हो।

Chrysanthemum *n.* गुलबाराही। गुलबाराही।Chubby *adj.* गलफुला, मोलमोल। गलफुला, मोलमोल।Chuck *v.* फेंकना, धरे फेंकना, धाकना। फेंकना, धरे फेंकना, धाकना।Chuck away *v.* बराब करना; हाथसे देना।

बराब करना; हाथसे देना।

Chuck it *v.* बाने दो। छोड़ दो। छोड़ दो।Chuck up the sponge *v.* कोशिशसे हाथ छुड़ाना, हिम्मत हारना।

कोशिशसे हाथ छुड़ाना, हिम्मत हारना।

Chuckle *v.* हफकर हँसना, चहा होना, बरासे बजाना।

हफकर हँसना, चहा होना, बरासे बजाना।

Chuckle *n.* हसी हँसी; मुसुकी आवाज। हसी हँसी; मुसुकी आवाज।Chum *n.* मित्र, दोस्त, साथी। मित्र, दोस्त, साथी।Chum up *v.* हम-ब्यास व हम-मिलाका होना, मिल-जोल बढ़ाना।

हम-ब्यास व हम-मिलाका होना, मिल-जोल बढ़ाना।

Cham *n.* लकड़ीका कुन्दा; सिर; मूँके। लकड़ीका कुन्दा; सिर; मूँके।Chump, off one's *adj.* पागल, दीवाना। पागल, दीवाना।Chunk *n.* मोटा टुकड़ा। मोटा टुकड़ा।Church *n.* गिरजा, गिरजाघर; कलीसिया, ईसायी मोग; पावरी

गिरजा, गिरजाघर; कलीसिया, ईसायी मोग; पावरी

Churchyard *n.* गिरजेका कब्रिस्तान। गिरजेका कब्रिस्तान।Churchyard cough *n.* जानलेवा खाँसी। जानलेवा खाँसी।Church, go into the or take holy orders *v.* पावरी बन जाना।

पावरी बन जाना।

Church mouse, poor as a बहुत ही गरीब। बहुत ही गरीब।

Churl *n.* गैवार, बेहाली, छुम्बर। गैवार, बेहाली, छुम्बर।Churn *v.* मचना, मक्खन निकालना। मचना, मक्खन निकालना।Chute *n.* डाक परसे पानीका बहना; हलवाँ नाली।

डाक परसे पानीका बहना; हलवाँ नाली।

Chyle *n.* कैमूस। कैमूस।Chyme *n.* कैमूस। कैमूस।Cicada *n.* छिछा छिछी, सीधुर। छिछा छिछी, सीधुर।Cicatrix *n.* बखनका दाग। बखनका दाग।Cider *n.* सेबकी बाराब। सेबकी बाराब।Cigar *n.* चिहट; चुरहे। चिहट; चुरहे।Cigarette *n.* सिगरेट, बीड़ी। सिगरेट, बीड़ी।Cimmerian *adj.* अंधेरापुर्, बहुत अंधेरा।

अंधेरापुर्, बहुत अंधेरा।

Cinchona *n.* कुनैनका पेड़। कुनैनका पेड़।Cincture *n.* पेटी, कमरबन्द, बेरा। पेटी, कमरबन्द, बेरा।Cinder *n.* आधा जला हुआ खोखला, अंगारा।

आधा जला हुआ खोखला, अंगारा।

Cinders *n.* राख। राख।Cinderella *n.* अन्धजातकी या ओरत जिनकी अन्धजातीकी अलखत व की आय।

अन्धजातकी या ओरत जिनकी अन्धजातीकी अलखत व की आय।

Cinderella's race *n.* बह नाल, जो बाढ़ बड़े रत तक ही रहे।

बह नाल, जो बाढ़ बड़े रत तक ही रहे।

Cinema *n.* सिनेमा। सिनेमा।Cineration *n.* बलाकर मसम करना, बलाकर बाल करना।

बलाकर मसम करना, बलाकर बाल करना।



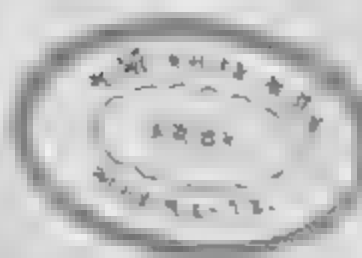






## HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL



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TWO ANNAS

## CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

[The following resolutions were passed by the Conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees held at Allahabad on 22-24th February last.

These resolutions regarding the Constructive Programme are to be submitted to the Working Committee, and it is expected that the programme, with such modifications as the Working Committee may make, will be placed before the country by the Working Committee for being worked out. — J. C. K.]

1. This Conference draws the attention of the Working Committee to the fact that the A. I. S. A., the A. I. V. I. A. and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh are bodies created by the Congress and have been working along lines laid down by the Congress in their respective fields, and is of opinion that since economic, social and educational programmes on a big scale are being put into effect by the Central and the Provincial Governments, the Working Committee should call upon such members of the Central and the Provincial Governments as owe allegiance to the Congress, to implement the programme laid down by the Congress in this behalf from time to time and while so doing fully utilize the experience of those bodies.

The main object of the Constructive Programme is to stimulate the initiative of the people themselves to organize their political, social, and economic life on co-operative lines and through Panchayats with a view to make them self-reliant and self-sufficient.

Therefore, the primary function of the proposed Constructive Programme Committees should be to develop this initiative. While the Committees may welcome the co-operation of the Governments, they should try to carry out the programme as much as possible through the peoples' own efforts.

2. This Conference requests the Working Committee to appoint a small committee called the Central Constructive Programme Committee and charge it with guiding and advising the Congress organization and the public to carry out the following items, viz. Khadi, Village Industries, Basic Education, Harijan work and Literacy. Each of the members of such committee shall attend to particular items of the programme.

In order to facilitate the work of the Committee this Conference makes the following recommendations:

(a) There should be a permanent secretary in charge of the Constructive Programme Department in the A. I. C. C. office.

(b) There should be a small committee in each province appointed by the Executive of the P. C. C.

to carry on the Constructive Programme in the province with representatives of the Provincial Branches of the A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A., and of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh on it. The Committee should be free to co-opt members who would be helpful to the Committee in working out other items.

Each of the general members of such a Provincial Constructive Programme Committee other than the representatives of the Constructive organizations should be in charge of particular items of the programme.

(c) Each P. C. C. should have a Constructive Programme Department in charge of a whole-time secretary who should be appointed by the A. I. C. C. in consultation with the Executive of the P. C. C. His salary, if any, should be paid by the A. I. C. C., and other expenses of such a department and of carrying out the programme being borne by the P. C.

(d) The Provincial Constructive Programme Committee should create such agencies as are necessary in the province for implementing the programme.

(e) As regards training of workers in the various fields of the Constructive Programme, it should be done through the A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A. and the Talimi Sangh, the cost being borne by the Provincial Committees.

3. The programme and items of work to be taken up should be as follows:

(a) KHADI: The Congress Sub-Committee should restrict itself to the self-sufficiency aspect of Khadi.

The target to be reached by 13-4-'48, that is the last day of the National Week next year, should be enrolment of one lac new self-sufficient spinners as defined by the A. I. S. A., the beginning of the programme being made on 6-4-'47.

(b) VILLAGE INDUSTRIES: The Congress Sub-Committee should restrict itself to the programme of the production and consumption of food, clothing, and other essentials of life. With that end in view, each P. C. C. should mark out certain small areas (consisting of not more than a lac of population) in its jurisdiction, as an experimental measure for producing sufficient food on the principle of supplying balanced diet to that area. Cattle breeding and Dairying should be given equal prominence in the area.

As regards other village industries, priority should be given to food-processing by hand, especially to gut making, oil-pressing, paddy-husking, grinding flour, food preservation etc.

refer to Sri J. C. Kumarappa's A Plan for Rural Development for a bibliography regarding item (b)

All Congress Committees and members of committees are expected to use hand-made things unless they are not available.

(c) Provincial Congress Committees should be advised to organize in each province at least one small compact area with a minimum of 5 Basic Schools and if possible with a teachers' training centre in the area, the work being carried out under the guidance of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

(d) Each P. C. C. should take up the spread of literacy and work it out on as wide a scale as possible and keep records of the work done. It should be noted that along with literacy, attempts ought to be made to spread national consciousness among the masses by means of programmes of mass education.

(e) Each P. C. C. should concentrate on securing civic rights and removal of social disabilities in any form in respect of Harijans, Adivasis and other neglected communities, and should carry on an effective campaign for the cultivation of public opinion in support of social equality among other methods by the public declaration in the form of a pledge that they shall treat the members of the above communities on a basis of equality.

(f) KISANS: This would be an important department which would among other things study the numerous problems affecting the peasantry and send necessary directions to the district and lower committees for dealing with the varied problems of the peasantry and organizing Kisans for their political, social and economic well-being.

INFORMATION: The work of the department would grow in importance and volume with time. It will compile reports for the A. I. C. C. with regard to numerous matters, bring out a monthly bulletin which would be more than a bare record of resolutions and official decisions and produce other literature for the use of Congress Committees and field workers. Also each province has its own problems with which our workers should be closely familiar. Brochures should be brought out dealing with these problems. This department would have its counterparts in the lower committees.

CONGRESS SEVA-DAL: The necessity for a widespread volunteer organization is obvious. The volunteers should be part time constructive workers and should be trained for citizenship. There would be need for close thought being given to the various aspects of the work.

MINORITIES: Problems with regard to minorities and backward areas and classes of people are continually facing us. These problems have to be carefully studied and necessary facts collected. The department would consider what practical measures should be taken for meeting concrete complaints and what literature should be brought out in this connection.

LABOUR: The need for handling this grave problem with speed, efficiency and necessary knowledge is imperative. The Congress has laid down its labour

policy. The P. C. C.s have now to take effective practical steps.

PARLIAMENTARY CONTACT: Numerous problems that arise in connection with our parliamentary work and its relations to Congress work should be dealt with by a separate department.

In order that the programme of work sketched here is carried out efficiently and in the shortest time possible, it is necessary that our provincial and district committees should set up effective village committees in all the villages of India. It is hoped that in the first year of our reorganization there will be strong and efficient primary Committees in at least 25 per cent of the villages in each province.

This Conference is convinced that if the comprehensive constructive programme is carried out by our Congress Committees with efficient and well-organized offices to serve them, the Congress would grow in strength and power and greatly gain in its capacity to fulfil its great task for the political, social and economic freedom of the people of India and for enabling them to shoulder the difficult responsibilities of self-rule.

### Sauce for the Gander

It is easy to see the mote in another's eye and not be bothered with the beam in our own eyes. The Americans are reported to have suggested to Britain that Imperial Preference should be abandoned. Amery, speaking at a Trade Association of which he is president, protests against such a thing happening and shamelessly adds that it would be impossible for British producers to compete in the open market. Is this not a confession of inefficiency? If this is carried to its logical conclusion, seeing that Britain has the controlling voice in Imperial Preference, does it not follow that Britain is trying to weight all the trade of the "Empire Countries" in its favour? Is this fair to India?

The Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment constituted by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations at its first session in London referring to "restrictive business practices" agreed that such practices "were capable of having harmful effects on production and trade and maintenance in all countries of high levels of income." This being so, India being a country of "low levels of income", it will be beneficial to us and we should go ahead with giving protection to our infant industries, although the international organization referred to above recommended that all possible steps should be taken to prevent restrictive practices, of course, in their own selfish interests.

This is the partisan spirit that pervades the United Nations Councils. How can the suppressed nations expect justice?

J. C. K.

## PLANNING WITH VILLAGE BIAS

### IV

#### VILLAGE CRAFTS AND INDUSTRIES

In India's village economy a number of village artisans had an indispensable place. They consisted mainly of the black-smith, the carpenter, the carter, the weaver, the potter, the barber, the oilman, the cowherd, the skin-scanner, the tanner, the shoe-maker, besides those who pursued local industries such as mat and basket making, rope-making, toddy-tapping, etc. The capitalist organizer of industries or his concomitant agent or middleman who dumps a standardized consumer goods, foreign or Indian made, and brings unemployment, idleness and penury on vast populations was unknown.

#### 12. AGRICULTURAL TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

The foremost item in the list of village industries to be protected and aided, besides the improvement of live-stock — which is the main source of power and energy in India today — is naturally that of the village blacksmith. Agricultural tools and implements are the sole means of livelihood for the bulk of India's population which is landless agricultural labourers. If the manufacture of these migrates from the village smith's workshop to the factory of an Indian town or to foreign countries like England or America, it will constitute an economic drain far in excess of what used to be drained by way of textiles some time back. It is, therefore, imperative that the manufacture of crow-bars, spades, shovels, ploughs, pickaxes, sickles and iron-tyres of bullock cart-wheels etc. in the villages should be immediately protected against their manufacture by the factory, and its standardized output by the village smith encouraged. Factory production of these is fast making inroads on the village. Hence the urgency.

#### 13. HAND SPINNING AND WEAVING

Hand made paper, Palm gur, oil *ghames* etc., have been prominently before the country and the Government for years, thanks to the efforts of Gandhiji and of the organizations created by him. I shall not, therefore, dilate upon them here.

#### 14. PADDY-HUSK BRICKS AND SLABS

Huge quantities of paddy-husk are wasted in our Province. They are hardly used save as manure or as fuel for the potter's kiln in some parts. Bricks and slabs made out of an admixture of paddy-husk and cement solution have been devised during recent years and found to be useful and durable in house-building, mainly as material for inner walls, partitions, etc. Filtering charcoal also has been devised. These should be encouraged and set formulas for their manufacture, certified and published under Government Engineering Departments, should be broadcast and popularized.

#### 15. PADDY-HUSKING, CORN-GRINDING, OIL-PRESSING

Mills and factories for these should be prohibited by law and tiny machinery which may enable villagers to do these at home like bread-baking, or on a cooperative basis, should be encouraged. Small machinery which can be worked by hand

or by the help of animal or electric energy should be devised and made available to enable village households to pursue these processes at home both for home consumption and as home industries.

#### 16. POTTERY AND EARTHPAINTS

Earth paints of various hues and combinations could be made by instructing village potters into a little scientific treatment of earth and a few synthetic processes. This is an untapped source, rich in potentialities and would be a flourishing village industry if our scientists and chemists devise simple formulas for the benefit of the village potters and if the Government encourage it by prohibiting foreign imports as well as their manufacture by indigenous factories. Similar formulas should be devised and popularized for enamelling earthen vessels such as jars, jugs, cooking pots, bowls, plates, etc. which are still made and used extensively in the villages. Cups, saucers, trays, etc., which are much in use now could be made also. The earthen vessels which are still quite common in the villages are very artistic and unbelievably cheap to this day, their only defect at present being want of enamelling which defect renders them unclean at the first use. Being porous they cannot be satisfactorily cleaned without much effort. This defect could be and should be easily removed.

Large-scale manufacture of tiles, bricks, etc., by factories in concentrated areas should be prohibited and village potters and brick-layers encouraged to produce standardized goods in villages to serve well-marked local areas.

#### 17. CHARCOAL-MAKING

This is a purely village or forest industry in the hands of the aboriginal folk in our Province. These people are terribly exploited and treated as virtual slaves by most of the jungle contractors and traders who monopolize this trade. The conditions have slightly improved during recent years through the efforts of social workers and the conditions created by war. This trade needs urgent and effective protection. It should be reorganized purely in the interests of the aboriginal tribes-folk under Government care on a cooperative basis with the help of social workers wherever the latter are available.

#### 18. BANANA TRUNKS

In the Bassem and Khandesh areas banana plantations are perhaps the biggest in the Province. Millions of banana trunks are cut out after fruition and thrown away every year. They hardly yield anything to the owner beyond a little manure of small value. Yet excellent silky fibre could be made from these discarded banana trunks and utilized for making artificial silk cloth, hessian, ropes, etc. Other uses, too, could be devised by scientific experts.

#### 19. GUNNY CLOTH

This is a big essential industry exclusively in the hands of the Bengal jute mills and the village jute grower does not earn much from it. Like the cotton textiles its decentralization should be desired and the possibilities explored. It may be remembered that like cloth all spinning and weaving of gunnies

(Continued on p. 59)

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## SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES

For decades the Congress has been a fighting organization. Its one purpose has been to shake the foundations of the British Empire from all angles and bring it down and build up a State that will help the people. An army has not the time and thought necessary to produce consumption articles or plough the fields. But when it has fulfilled its purpose it has to return to civilian occupations; otherwise the erstwhile army of defence will turn into a band of brigands. This turning point is a difficult thing to determine. Often the war time chiefs, drunk with power, carry on with the help of the goodwill of a grateful population until the patriots are turned into self-seeking parasites.

The Interim Government, with national leaders functioning in it, has made its appearance at the centre and we must congratulate the *Rashtrapati* for turning his attention immediately to place the Congress on a peace footing. This change over is a much harder task than it would appear to be. It requires a reorientation of the whole life of the leaders and workers. Until now the Congress had left all such peace time occupations to special bodies which were carrying on their allotted duty without interfering or taking part in any beligerent activities. But now the *Rashtrapati* had called a conference of the provincial chiefs and has taken counsel as to how best to make the whole Congress organization into a constructive body. When the Congress takes upon itself the feeding, clothing and the providing of shelter to the masses it would be working towards the economic Swaraj of the people, having freed them from political bondage.

We have in the various provinces Congress ministries functioning. These have been floundering about not knowing which way to serve the people. They have been mostly manned by men who have been in the battlefield all their lives. After having wielded the sword so long they found it difficult to direct the plough. Hence it is a welcome change and a timely act on the part of the *Rashtrapati* to have called this conference to turn the attention of the foundation diggers to the building that is to be put up.

At Allahabad where the provincial Congress chiefs met and discussed with constructive workers the future programme of the Congress the earnestness that prevailed and the keen desire expressed to serve the people in all walks of life have given the country great expectations. We trust the blue print drawn out by them, which would be placed before the Working Committee for being implemented, will be carried through in every detail with the same earnestness and singleness of purpose.

We give elsewhere the resolutions that have been drafted by that conference. These will show

a wide field covered by them in the short three days at their disposal. The despatch of business and the alertness to the situation promise well for the country. We hope when the time comes the executives of the various ministries will co-operate fully in the work of reconstruction that is before everyone of us.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## GANDHIJI'S WALKING TOUR DIARY

10-2-'47

In his post-prayer address at the outset Gandhiji referred to the fact that he was to go to Gopinathpur and was assured that it was no more than one and half miles. He began his trek but Gopinathpur seemed to be receding from view. When they had walked for fortyfive minutes he said he should go no further if he was not to collapse. He therefore retraced his steps. It took full one hour and twenty minutes which was too much for him. In future, those who invited him to walk to a place should measure the time taken by a leisurely walk. He rendered his apology to the Hindus and Muslims of Gopinathpur and they owed an apology to Noakhali for not having been accurate and precise in their speech. He incidentally mentioned that the people were found to have blown their noses on the path. This was dangerous and dirty, especially for a people who had the habit of walking barefoot.

A friend had told him that he found a Muslim trader who had proper scales and a Hindu who had improper scales and asked him whether it was not true that the Muslim traders were honest and the Hindu traders dishonest. He was sure that the inference was wrong. In this imperfect world no community was wholly honest or dishonest. All he could say was that a man who sported false scales for deceiving his customers was a criminal. But he could not take it upon himself to condemn the whole group or community.

He had many questions addressed to him by Muslim friends who had seen him yesterday. He had promised to answer them. They were

Q. You have said that you will stay here as long as perfect peace and amity between the two communities was not established and that you will die here if necessary. Do you not think that such a long stay here will unnecessarily focuss Indian and world attention on Noakhali, leading people to think that excesses still continued to be committed here, whereas on the contrary no unseemly acts have been committed by Musalmans for sometime now?

A. No impartial observer could draw the mischievous inference from his presence. He was there as their friend and servant. His presence has certainly advertized Noakhali as a beautiful place which would be a paradise on earth if the Hindus and the Muslims lived in hearty friendship. It may be that at the end of the chapter he might be noted down as a failure who knew very little about *ahimsa*. Moreover, it was impossible for him to stay in Noakhali if the Hindus and the Muslims satisfied him that they had established hearty friendship between

them. He was sorry to tell them that he had evidence to show that things were not quite as they should be.

Q. Don't you think that the Hindus are artificially keeping up the appearance of tension by staying away from their homes in spite of promises of good behaviour by the Musalmans which they have also made good in cases where they have been given an opportunity?

A. He did not think that many Hindus were wilfully staying away from their homes. No one would want to be away from his home without attractive inducements. He had heard nothing of such inducements. But he knew that fright and the absence of the wherewithal were keeping them back. Nevertheless, he was assured by the officials that the number returning was satisfactory. They could not cope with a greater number. When these obvious causes were present there was no occasion to draw far-fetched inferences which could not be proved. If, however, there were any instigators keeping them back, the law was there to punish them. The proof of the pudding was in the eating. If it was true that the general body of the Muslims really wanted the refugees back, he was quite sure they would gladly return. But the picture was not so rosy as was painted by the questioner.

Q. Don't you think that the dictates of non-violence and friendship to all demand withdrawal or dropping of cases against the Musalmans?

A. He did not know that there was much non-violence in the air. Even non-violent conduct could not arrest the course of law. And non-violent conduct on the part of the frightened injured party could not operate until the culprits declared themselves and were penitent. The fact was that not only was there no penitence on their part, but they were absconding. He was averse to mass arrests. And he was for severe punishment of those who were proved to have manufactured complaints.

Q. Is not the double-faced policy of the Cabinet Mission at the root of the present trouble between the League and the Congress and ultimately between the Muslims and the Hindus?

A. He would not accuse the Cabinet Mission of double dealing. They had honestly suggested a solution which in their opinion was fair. The beauty of the Paper was that it contained no compulsion. Naturally, after acceptance the clauses became obligatory for the accepting party. But any party could refuse acceptance. Thus if Assam in the east and Baluchistan in the west rejected the grouping, no power on earth could compel them under the Cabinet Mission Paper. Lastly, assuming that the Cabinet Mission Paper was a trap, why should the Congress and the League fall into it?

Q. Pakistan means complete independence for the Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces and for the Hindus in Hindu majority provinces. Why then does the Congress object to it?

A. The answer was simple. If Pakistan meant independence only to the Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces and *vice versa*, it was summarily rejected. Happily not one Muslim leader, certainly not the Quaid-e-Azam, had ever given that meaning

Were the Hindus in Bihar to be independent and the Muslims helots? Or were the Hindus to be helots in Bengal? He hoped not.

Q. Can there be any hope of establishing Hindu-Muslim unity here in spite of the Congress-League differences which are at the root of all the troubles everywhere? Even if it is established, how long can it be expected to last?

A. He admitted that Hindu-Muslim unity could not be sustained in the face of Congress-League differences. He hoped, however, that apart from party politics, whilst there was time, the Hindus and the Muslims in Noakhali would acc together as real friends. They should set an example to all India and especially to the League and the Congress. Any way, that was the mission that brought him to Noakhali. He wanted to pass his examination in pure *ahimsa*. If it was pure, it must result in establishing that friendship which he desired at heart. Therefore, if it was not established, the failure would be his. And as *ahimsa* knew no failure, he had said he would do or die in Noakhali. Let the questioner and those who thought like him help the fruition of the effort.

13-2-'47

After congratulating the audience on the manner in which they had kept time during the *Ramadhan*, Gandhi dealt with the two questions which had been put to him in course of the day.

Q. We agree that intrinsically a movement for reducing the share of the owner from half to a third of the crop is justified. But could not the present *Tebhaga* Movement in Bengal be postponed until such time as when the affected persons can be smoothly absorbed in other occupations according to some long-term plan sponsored by the State?

We know you have said that the only way to effect such a radical transformation in society is through non-violence. But interested parties will sleep over that portion of your advice and parade your moral support to their demand and carry on the Movement in their own violent way. Hence is it not wrong for you to lend support to the Movement under the present circumstances when there is every chance of the entire middle class of Bengal being completely ruined as a result? The common villager will also suffer no less because he will also be deprived of the services now being rendered to the village economy by them.

A. In reply, Gandhi uttered the warning that he only dealt with principles as he knew them. He had not studied the local question. Therefore, the questioner ran the risk of his ignorance causing injustice.

He felt that the question betrayed exaggeration on the part of the questioner. There was no ruin impending for the landlord. His land was not being confiscated. His portion, which he could take even if he was in Timbuctoo, was merely to be reduced from 50% to 33%. He could see no ruin in the proposal. He was afraid they were too much obsessed by the communal question. They should rise above it and examine every problem strictly on merits. Then they would never go wrong. Therefore

they should accept the moral principle underlying the demand for reduction of the owner's share and work for solid amendments in which they were likely to succeed. Let them not face confiscation rather than moderate reduction. Let them remember that for years past India had lived through confiscation. Industry after industry had been ruined and both the artisans as well as the farmers of India had been progressively reduced to poverty.

If the desired change were brought about through non-violent means, the world would not be deprived of the talents of the classes, but then the latter would not exercise them at the expense of the labourers. In the non-violent order of the future, the land would belong to the State, for had it not been said '*sabhi bhumi Gopaluki*'? Under such dispensation, there would be no waste of talents and labour. This would be impossible through violent means. It was therefore a truism to say that the utter ruin of the land-owners brought about through violence would also involve the ruin of the labourers in the end. If the landowners, therefore, acted wisely, no party would lose.

Q. Some women workers who earn part of their living by weaving mats were advised by you the other day to work on cooperative principles. Bengal's agriculture has been reduced to an uneconomic proposition through extreme fragmentation of holdings. Would you advise farmers also to adopt cooperative methods?

If so, how are they to effect this under the present system of land-ownership? Should the State make the necessary changes in the law? If the State is not ready, but the people so desire how are they to work through their own organizations to this end?

A. Replying to the first part of the question, Gandhiji said that he had no doubt that the system of cooperation was far more necessary for the agriculturists than for the mat weavers. The land as he maintained belonged to the State, therefore, it yielded the largest return when it was worked cooperatively.

Let it be remembered that cooperation should be based on strict non-violence. There was no such thing as success of violent cooperation. Hitler was a forcible example of the latter. He also talked vainly of cooperation which was forced upon the people and everyone knew where Germany had been led as a result.

Gandhiji concluded by saying that it would be a sad thing if India also tried to build up the new society based on cooperation by means of violence. Good brought about through force destroyed individuality. Only when the change was effected through the persuasive power of non-violent non-cooperation, i.e. love, could the foundation of individuality be preserved and real, abiding progress be assured for the world.

15.2.47

Gandhiji read two passages from Abdullah Suhrawardy's collections of the sayings of the Prophet. Three Muslim friends of the place had

come to him and asked him to pray that God might make both live in peace and friendship. When these friends came he was reading the sayings which he proposed to read to them. They were as follows:

'Be in the world like a traveller, or like a passer on, and reckon yourself as of the dead.' He considered it as a gem of gems. They knew that death might overtake them any moment. What a fine preparation for the event if all became as dead. The very next question was who was the best man and who was the worst. The Prophet considered him to be the best who lived long and performed good acts and him the worst who did bad acts. It was a striking saying that man was to be judged by what he did, and not by what he said.

These sayings were for all men and women and not merely for those who called themselves Muslims. Was the Hindu part of the audience doing good acts? Was untouchability a good act? He had shouted from the house-top that it was a blot on Hinduism. So long as that blot remained, there was no peace and freedom for India. The British would go but their freedom would not come without the complete removal of untouchability.

15.2.47

Gandhiji dealt with two questions left with him by Nirmal Babu who had gone on duty elsewhere.

The first question was: All over the district of Noakhali there is talk that the Muslim population should boycott the Hindus in every way. Some Muslims who have worked for the Hindus recently or helped them during the riots report that they are under threat of boycott. They ask: What should be the duty of those Muslims who genuinely desire peace in this connection?

Gandhiji replied that he had heard of the boycott before. But he entertained the hope that such was not the case on any extensive scale. He had one case brought to his notice three or four days ago by a Muslim traveller from Gujarat who had come to see him. He was rebuked for daring to want to see him. The traveller stood his ground and came out of the ordeal safely. Another poor Muslim who had come today was threatened with dire penalty if he dared to go to him. He did not know what truth there was in the description. The speaker then instanced printed leaflets that were pasted on the walls in the name of the *Muslim Pitum Party*. These instances gave colour to the question. He would say to the Muslim friends and others that these things should not frighten or disturb them. They should ignore these things if they were isolated instances. If they were on an extensive scale, probably the Government would deal with the situation. If unfortunately boycott became the policy of the Government, it would be a serious matter. He could only think non-violently. If they gave proper compensation he would probably advise acceptance. He could not think out there and then the *pros* and *cons*. If, on the other hand, they resorted to confiscation, he would advise people to stand their ground and refuse to leave their homesteads even on pain of death. This he would say of all provinces whether Muslim majority



or Hindu majority. He however hoped that no Government would be mad enough to subscribe to the policy of boycott whether with or without compensation. Those who belonged to the land for ages could not be removed from their homesteads for the simple reason that they found themselves in a minority. That was no religion, Hindu, Muslim, Christian or any other. It was intolerance.

The second question was: At East Keroa you advised peasants to work cooperatively in their fields. Should they pool together their land and divide the crop in proportion to the area of the fields they held? Would you give us an outline of the idea of how exactly they are to work in a cooperative manner?

Gandhiji said that the question was good and admitted of a simple answer. His notion of co-operation was that the land would be held in co-operation by the owners and tilled and cultivated also in cooperation. This would cause a saving of labour, capital, tools, etc. The owners would work in cooperation and own capital, tools, animals, seeds etc. in cooperation. Cooperative farming of his conception would change the face of the land and banish poverty and idleness from their midst. All this was only possible if people became friends of one another and as one family. When that happy event took place there would be no ugly sore in the form of a communal problem.

16-2-47

Gandhiji had a fairly busy Sunday at Raipura. There was a no-caste dinner provided by the Hindu merchants of Raipura where a meal for nearly 2000 visitors without distinction of caste or creed was provided. It was meant principally to signify abolition of caste distinctions among the Hindus. He was assured that Muslim or Christian friends were equally welcome at the dinner. He was desirous of visiting the Juma mosques of which there were two in Raipura. The Imam in charge at one showed eagerness to have him at his mosque. Maulvi Baharuddin Saheb, his friend, took him and his company round and showed everything including the underground cellar where Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani had stayed when he was in Raipura. To the other mosque he could not go because the Maulvi in charge had not the time to see the trustees and obtain permission.

Gandhiji referred to the two visits and expressed his gratefulness for being able to pay them. He then referred briefly to the speech reported to have been made by the ex-Premier Maulvi Fazlul Haque Saheb. He was reported to have said that as a non-Muslim Gandhiji should not preach the teachings of Islam. Instead of Hindu-Muslim unity he was creating bitterness between the two communities. Had he (Gandhiji) been to Barisal he would have driven him into the canal. He also wondered how the Muslims of Noakhali and Tipperah could tolerate Gandhiji's presence so long.

Gandhiji said that he had grave doubts about the accuracy of the report. If it was the correct summary of the speech, he would consider it to be most unfortunate as coming from a man holding the responsible position that the Maulvi Saheb held and aspiring to be the President of the Muslim League. He was not aware of having done anything to

create bitterness between the two communities. The speaker had never claimed to preach Islam. What he had undoubtedly done was to interpret the teachings of the Prophet and refer to them in his own speeches. His interpretation was submitted for acceptance or rejection.

In the same speech he (Fazlul Haque Saheb) had said that when he (Gandhiji) returned from South Africa he (Fazlul Haque Saheb) had asked him (Gandhiji) to embrace Islam, whereupon Gandhiji said that he was a Muslim in the true sense of the term. Mr. Haque requested him to proclaim it publicly, but Gandhiji refused to do so. He said that he had no recollection whatsoever of the conversation and he was never in the habit of suppressing from the public what he had said privately. The audience, however, knew that he had stated in various speeches in the district that he considered himself as good a Muslim as he was a Hindu and for that matter he regarded himself an equally good Christian or Parsi. That such a claim would be rejected and on some occasions was rejected, he knew. That, however, did not affect his fundamental position and if he had said what was attributed to him by Fazlul Haque Saheb, he (Gandhiji) would gladly declare his repentance if he would believe what was represented to him. Indeed he had put forth the claim in South Africa to be a good Musalman simultaneously with being a good member of the other religions of the world. He would repeat for the sake of the ex-Premier of Bengal that he was misreported and he would welcome the correct version from him.

## PLANNING WITH VILLAGE BIAS

(Continued from p. 55)

required for packing and transporting of grains and other merchandise was done in olden times by the crew of big catavans who continually plied the inter-provincial and inter-national trade routes. Every one spun on the *takli* even while walking and wove or knitted gunny bags in their camps in the course of their long journeys.

### 20. MATS, BASKETS, ROPES, BROOMS, BRUSHES

These are mainly village industries and should be made such exclusively. In areas where date, coconut, papyrus palms, bamboos, hemp and other fibrous growths abound as nature's gift, cottage-dwelling villagers make these articles and many more of similar varieties. In fact these small industries have survived up to now as cottage industries in many parts of the country. They should be now protected against the factory who should not be allowed to make any inroad upon them. Besides coconut, *kutki*, *ghaypat*, *bhend*, *ambadi* and other fibres grow in abundance in many parts of our Province which make excellent raw material for rope-making in the villages. Small hand-worked machinery could be introduced in the villages in order to aid and ease human labour and to turn out standardized goods of given specifications.

### 21. CONSUMER GOODS

With the almost unlimited possibilities for generating electricity and of its universal use in the near future all over the country both in the urban as

well as the rural areas, there would be an equally universal and unlimited demand for small accessories such as fitting materials, plugs, catches and such little things most of which could be made easily by the villagers in their cottages from waste materials just as they do in Japan and Switzerland. Nails, bolts and screws of all current sizes are another item which is essential even for the remotest villager in his house-building and other daily household use. Match-boxes and washing soap is the third item of daily household use.

Besides these, buttons, combs, wicks, tapes, twine, toys, bangles, fountain-pens, pencils, nibs, pens and pen-holders, gumpastes, envelopes, watches and clocks and their parts, shaving and toilet materials, celluloid and plastic goods, umbrellas and a vast variety of what is now being termed as 'Consumer Goods' could and should be prohibited by Government to be imported or manufactured by Indian factories and their manufacture should be restricted to the villages as cottage handicrafts. Factories should manufacture only small machinery needed to aid the villager. Short-term and technical training courses, chemical formulas, processes and similar aids should be devised and made available to the villager by the State so as to enable him to turn out standardized production.

Since the termination of war over one crore rupees worth of consumer goods, I understand, are being dumped on us every week and all our sterling balances will vanish and evaporate in a few years if we fail to prohibit their import by stern measures.

#### 22. SEED-OIL LAMPS

Lamps capable of burning any seed-oil have been devised before now under the efforts of the All India Village Industries Association. These should be perfected and popularized so as to enable the villager to consume his own farm products or even wild oil-seeds which can be gathered from the forests.

#### 23. BIDI (COUNTRY CIGARETTES)

Temburni or Timru leaves growing wild in the jungles are used all over the country in Bidi (country cigarettes) making. The villagers who collect these get very little return for their labour compared to tobacco-growers and others engaged in this trade. The jungle villagers should be protected, in this so long as the tobacco evil retains its hold on the country.

#### 24. HIDES AND BONES

This industry is fast being snatched away from the villager by the factory, although most of the pre-tanning processes are still done by the village Harijan. For this labour he hardly gets an adequate share of the price fetched by the factory-made finished article. This position must be made a subject of careful investigation and their economic interest safeguarded as against the shareholder, manufacturer and his agents or middlemen.

Large-scale foot-wear making by Bata and others should be prohibited so far as the use of leather goes and the village shoe-makers taught to make standardized patterns.

Bones, mostly of dead cattle, are collected for a long through village Harijans and transported to factories while factory-made goods made out of them including bone-meal for garden manuring etc. — are sold at fabulous prices. This rank exploitation must stop and the village Harijan should be taught to make various consumer goods out of bones as a cottage craft.

Bone-meal too could be made like lime-stone grinding with the help of a stone-mill driven by bullocks or buffaloes while they are without farm-work in the villages. Government should help village Harijans by providing a site and a grinding stone free by way of encouragement for a time and by prohibiting factories or taxing them heavily.

#### 25. RAW MATERIALS

Innumerable kinds of raw materials are available in our country which are drained away by the foreign manufacturer or his agents or his Indian prototype. The return to the villager on these is meagre and wholly inadequate. Various medicinal herbs, gum, lac, minerals, guts, sinews and other organic materials, sizing materials, etc. are only a few of them. All these sources should be explored and investigated in the interest of the villager as against his exploiting employer or manufacturer of finished factory products.

#### CONCLUSION

Any scheme of National Planning would indeed be a misnomer and defeat its purpose if it is not conceived in terms of and conducted with the sole object of benefitting mainly the bulk of the nation's population, viz. the masses, who inhabit the 7,00,000 villages of India (of which the 23,000 villages of our Province form part and parcel) and make them industrious, self-reliant and happy.

(Concluded)

Vapi, 21-1-'47

SWAMIANAND

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## HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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AHMEDABAD SUNDAY MARCH 1 1947

TWO ANNAS

## GANDHIJI'S WALKING TOUR DIARY

17-2-47

Gandhiji drew attention to two things that had been brought to his notice. The first was that a complaint in sending which he was unfortunately an instrument had been found on enquiry by the officers to be without foundation. The articles which were reported to have been looted were mostly found in the very place from where they were said to have been looted. This was a serious matter. It was the second case that had come under his notice. Yesterday some Muslim friends had come to him and admitted that the Muslims had undoubtedly gone mad in October last but though they had not been so bad as the Hindus had been in Bihar, the Hindus were making up for it by putting the Muslims to inconvenience by lodging false complaints against some of them. They said that false complaints were far larger in number than true ones. That was not the way to bring the two together. He said that all those who lodged false complaints should be prosecuted and severely punished on conviction. If he was the Superintendent of Police or a Minister, he would certainly institute proceedings and bring the perjurers to justice. As for himself as a citizen desirous of serving his country he would only be able to do something if the names and addresses of perjured complainants were given to him. So far he had received no such names. The only case that was sent to him could not be supported when the complainant was requested to support his complaint. Generally he would say that the Hindus who lodged false complaints injured themselves, their co-religionists and the whole country.

The other thing he wished to draw attention to was a letter he had received from a responsible person who was doing the work of bringing about peace between the two that a Hindu lad was molested by some Muslims and that the latter had threatened the Hindus that they were to expect more drastic measures than last October's after he had left Noakhali or, which was the same thing as, after his death. He would like to think that this statement was untrue. But he feared it was not. But he did hope that the poison was restricted to a few ill-mannered persons. Whether however it was restricted to a few or whether it was a widespread trait, he ventured to think it was wholly against Islam. This, he said, with apologies to Fazlul Haque Sahab but no less firmly on that account. It would be an evil day for Islam or any religion when it

was impatient of outside criticism. He did not believe himself to be an outsider. He respected Islam as he respected every other religion as his own and therefore he claimed to be a sympathetic and friendly critic. It was up to every good Muslim to take up a firm and unequivocal stand against what he believed to be vicious propaganda.

18-2-47

As usual Gandhiji dealt with three questions that lay before him

Q Do you support evacuation of the Hindus from the affected areas if the League Government or the majority community agrees to give us due compensation?

A. He had supported the proposition from the non-violent standpoint. It was applicable to all provinces whether the majority was Hindu or Muslim. What could the Government do if the majority had become so hostile that they would not tolerate the presence of the minority community? In his opinion it would be improper for them to force the majority into submission, nor could they undertake to protect the minority at the point of the bayonet. Suppose for instance that the majority would not tolerate *Ramadhun* or the clapping, would not listen to the fact that Rama was not a person but the name was synonymous with God and that the Hindus believed in clapping, suppose further that the Muslims would not tolerate that, he had then no hesitation in saying that the minority should evacuate if adequate compensation was paid.

Q. Workers who came three or four months ago have had to undergo a great deal of mental and physical hardship. Then they often went without the guidance of top-ranking leaders. Now that transport conditions are easier, workers find themselves pulled in different directions by those who want to guide them. How can they avoid divided counsels and work efficiently at their appointed task?

A. As to the second question he said that those who felt fagged had a perfect right to rest. As to the distraction caused by opposing advice by different leaders, the workers would make their selection of their leaders and follow them. But that was also only advisable when the advice of the leader appealed to their heart and head. In the case of conflict between the two, they must boldly follow their own heart and head. Such was the dictate of all religions. If it was so in religious matters, it was more so in mundane matters, especially in Noakhali where after all the issue was so simple. Theirs was to bring the two together, never to set one against the other.

Q. Repatriated women depend very much upon the presence of women workers from outside to instil hope and courage amongst them. How long can this be encouraged? Should not all workers from outside be gradually withdrawn?

A. As to the third question, what was true of male workers was equally true of women workers. They were there to instil faith in God and courage in them, not to make them feel helpless without them i. e. the workers. They must make it clear to the women in the respective villages that the workers were in the villages only for the time being and that the village women had to learn to rely upon themselves. They had to learn the art of dying for their faith and honour

19-2-47

The first question Gandhiji had to answer during the course of his address to the prayer gathering was

Q. What should a Hindu worker do when he is being deliberately misrepresented by interested parties in Noakhali?

A. The answer in terms of *ahimsa*, generally, would be that acts should be allowed to speak for themselves. Whilst this was good as a general proposition there were occasions when to speak and explain was a duty and not to speak would amount to a falsehood. Therefore wisdom dictated that there were some occasions when speech must accompany action. Of course there was an occasion when mere thought would take the place of speech and action. Such was the attribute of the Almighty and might be almost possible for one in a billion, but he knew no such instance.

He then proceeded to deal with the following questions

Q. You have advised evacuation if the majority become irrevocably hostile. But you have also maintained that a truly non-violent man should never give up hope of converting his opponent by love. Under these circumstances, how can a non-violent man accept defeat and evacuate?

A. As to this question, it was perfectly correct that a non-violent man would not move out of his place. For such a one there would be no question of compensation. He would simply die at his post and prove that his presence was not a danger to the State or the community. He knew that the Hindus of Noakhali made no such pretension. They were simple folk who loved the world and wanted to live in the world in peace and safety. Such persons would consult their honour if the Government honourably offered them compensation in order to see the majority living in peace. If the mere presence of the Hindus irritated the Muslims who were the majority, he would consider it to be the duty of the Government to offer compensation as it would be of the Government in a Hindu majority province to offer compensation to the Muslims if their presence irritated the majority community

Q. In case of evacuation, under advice from the Government, should the evacuees ask for compensation for —

- (a) all their movable and immovable property,
- (b) loss of business?

In other words, what would you consider to be adequate compensation?

A. Gandhiji said that the Government would be obliged to compensate for both immovables and movables when the latter could not or were not carried away with him by the evacuee. Loss of business was a ticklish question. He could not conceive the possibility of any Government shouldering the burden of such compensation. He would understand the proposition that asked for a reasonable sum for enabling the person concerned to start business in a new place.

Whilst he examined and admitted the possibility of evacuation, his experience of all India told him that the Hindus and the Muslims knew how to live at peace among themselves. He declined to believe that people had said goodbye to their senses so as to make it impossible to live at peace with each other as they had done for generations.

For, he believed with the late Poet Iqbal that the Hindus and the Muslims who had lived together long under the shadow of the mighty Himalayas and had drunk the waters of the Ganges and the Jamuna had a unique message for the world

20-2-47

Gandhiji dealt with four questions at his prayer meeting

Q. If you think the Government may boycott i. e. remove the minority community, if they give adequate compensation, may not people take time by the forelock and go?

A. As to this he said that those who felt that they would take time by the forelock, and if a Hindu corporation was formed to take the Hindus away, he had nothing in common with them. He could not be party to any such scheme. The burden lay entirely on the majority community and the Government. He merely meant that when they declared bankruptcy of wisdom, the minority should go if they were adequately compensated. The other way was the way of violence i. e. civil war not of non-violence

Q. You have said caste should go. But then will Hinduism survive? Why do you thus mix up Hinduism with the progressive religions like Christianity or Islam?

A. He maintained that caste as it was understood must go if Hinduism was to survive. He did not believe that Christianity and Islam were progressive and Hinduism static i. e. retrogressive. As a matter of fact he noticed no definite progress in any religion. The world would not be the shambles it had become if the religions of the world were progressive. There was room for *varna*, as a duty. This was true of all religions whether the name used was other than *varna*. What was a Muslim Maulvi or a Christian priest but a Brahmin if he taught his flock its true duty not for money but because he possessed the gift of interpretation? And this was true of the other divisions.

Q As you are an advocate of the abolition of caste, are we to take it that you favour inter-caste marriages? Many occupations are now the monopoly of specific castes. Should not this be abolished?

A. He was certainly in favour of inter-caste marriages. The question did not arise when all became casteless. When this happy event took place, monopoly of occupations would go.

Q. If there is only one God, should there not be only one religion?

A. This was a strange question. Just as a tree had a million leaves similarly though God was one, there were as many religions as there were men and women though they were rooted in one God. They did not see this plain truth because they were followers of different prophets and claimed as many religions as there were prophets. As a matter of fact whilst he believed himself to be a Hindu, he knew that he did not worship God in the same manner as one or all of them.

21.2.47

There was a large number of visitors from villages near Chandpur, it being the nearest to Kamalapur. Hence Gandhiji congratulated the audience on having come from the surrounding villages. He however sympathized with them for being exposed to the sun. He also hoped that they were not afraid of the Indian sun, perhaps the greatest gift from God. Happy was India which had clear blue sky for the largest part of the year.

He then referred to the fact that he had gone to Chandpur more than once whilst India's grand old son Shri Haradaya Nag was alive. He was then his guest. He knew, therefore, what importance Chandpur had. He was glad that Chandpur had played its part in looking after the refugees. But he deplored the disregard of the laws of sanitation and cleanliness. If they rigidly carried out these rules they would not have to live in constant dread of the plague and other diseases which were the brood of insanitation.

He then told them that they must not harbour ill-will against their Muslim neighbours. He appealed to both the parties to live at peace with one another. But he held that if the Hindus alone harboured no ill-will against the Muslims or vice versa, strife would abate. If however both harboured ill-will, one against the other, strifes were bound to be the result. There was a powerful *mantra* in the *Upanishads* that man became what he thought. How true it was found in every walk of life! Let them beware of harbouring an evil thought.

He then came to the two questions before him. The first was—

Q. You advocate inter-caste marriages. Do you also favour marriages between Indians professing different religions? Should they declare themselves as belonging to no denomination, or can they continue their old religious practices and yet intermarry? If so, what form should the marriage ceremony take? Is it to be a purely civil function or a religious function?

Do you consider religion to be exclusively a personal matter?

A. Though he admitted that he had not always held the view, he had come to the conclusion long ago that an inter-religious marriage was a welcome event whenever it took place. His stipulation was that such connection was not a product of lust. In his opinion it was no marriage. It was illicit intercourse. Marriage in his estimation was a sacred institution. Hence there must be mutual friendship, either party having equal respect for the religion of the other. There was no question in this of conversion. Hence the marriage ceremony would be performed by the priests belonging to either faith. This happy event could take place when the communities shed mutual enmity and had regard for the religions of the world.

Q. Should religious instruction form part of the school curriculum as approved by the State? Do you favour separate schools for children belonging to different denominations for facility of religious instruction? Or, should religious instruction be left in the hands of private bodies? If so, do you think it is right for the State to subsidize such bodies?

A. As to this question he said that he did not believe in State religion even though the whole community had one religion. The State interference would probably always be unwelcome. Religion was purely a personal matter. There were in reality as many religions as minds. Each mind had a different conception of God from that of the other.

He was also opposed to State aid partly or wholly to religious bodies. For he knew that an institution or group, which did not manage to finance its own religious teaching, was a stranger to true religion. This did not mean that the State schools would not give ethical teaching. The fundamental ethics were common to all religions.

22.2.47

At the outset Gandhiji said that he had received from a Muslim friend in Baluchistan a printed sheet containing what he thought were the sayings of the Prophet and the teachers. The whole selection was good but he was attracted by the following from prophet Mahomed's sayings

#### WHAT THE ANGELS WILL ASK

When God made the earth it shook to and fro and He put mountains on it to keep it firm. Then the Angels asked, O God, is there anything in Thy creation stronger than these mountains? And God replied, iron is stronger than these mountains, for it breaks them.

And is there anything in Thy creation stronger than iron?

Yes, fire is stronger than iron, for it melts it.

Is there anything stronger than fire?

Yes, water, for it quenches fire.

Is there anything stronger than water?

Yes, wind, for it puts water in motion.

O our Sustainer, is there anything stronger than wind?

Yes, a good man giving alms. If he gives it with his right hand and conceals it from his left,

(Continued on p. 67)

## HARIJAN

March 16

1947

## ORISSA'S TEXTILE POLICY

There is a good deal of loose thinking in regard to the policies to be followed by the popular Governments to improve the condition of the people. The note we published under caption *Orissa's Suicide* has called forth an explanation from the Premier Mehtab which we gladly give below:

"With regard to the first paragraph of the note there are no two opinions on the subject and I entirely agree with you on all points there. So far as the second paragraph is concerned, I am really surprised how you could say that the 'Orissa Government is the first to take the bait of the provincial spindle quota scheme and had obtained an over-riding priority for the import of plant and machinery for the new company, 'Orissa Textile Mills Ltd.', etc.' I wish you had cared to collect authentic information from official sources if not from your friends here in Orissa. I give you the following materials for your information. I know your comment is based upon some propaganda carried on beneath the surface about the starting of the textile industry in Orissa. I think the materials I supply will correct your misinformation.

"The Post War Planning Committee (Textiles) were appointed by the Government of India in *February, 1945* under the chairmanship of Mr. D. M. Khatalu. This Committee submitted their report in *November, 1945*. In that report they divided the whole of India into several zones declaring only Bombay as a surplus area and the other zones as deficit. Of these zones, Orissa, including the States, is a deficit zone to which permission to instal 150,000 spindles in total was recommended. The Textile Commissioner reduced this quota from 150,000 to 119,000 and the Government of India asked the Provincial Government to send their recommendations allotting 'spindlage' to different firms by the *15th of April, 1946*'. It may be noted here that the same instructions were sent to other provinces also. In Orissa, Congress assumed office on the *27th of April, 1946*. Here, the provincial Government could have informed the Government of India that in view of the change of the Government in the province, the spindlage allotted to the province might be cancelled. In that case the firms to whom the allotment had been made could have started their industries in the neighbouring States or the spindlage would have passed to Bengal according to the instructions of the Government of India. It was also likely that the Government of India might have thrust the spindlage on the province in spite of protests from the province as has happened in the case of Madras. Any way, the Provincial Government did not move the Government of India to cancel this spindlage allotted to Orissa in 1945. In the meantime, continued dis-

cussion went on in the Party and also with the other provinces about the textile policy the Provincial Governments should follow. The decision of the Orissa Congress Assembly Party is attached herewith for your information. But it may be noted that except Madras no other province, specially the province of Bombay, which is admittedly the only surplus zone with regard to production of textiles, did make any move in the matter.

"On the 4th of November, 1946, the Government of India again expressed their anxiety to give special consideration to the claims of the industrially backward provinces with regard to import of machinery. In that letter, however, the Government of India requested the Provincial Government to inform them at an early date as to the parties in the province who qualified for priority on the grounds explained by them in the letter under reference. Because of the policy of the Government of India, not only our textile mills but the other industries also are receiving special consideration in view of the fact that Orissa happens to be an industrially backward province.

"From the above materials, you will please find that though Orissa did not and could not take the lead in preventing textile mills to be set up in Orissa, she did not take the lead in setting them up here. I had correspondence with Shri Jajaji on the subject. In my humble opinion the policy with regard to the production of cloth cannot be determined on a provincial basis. Unless an all India policy is fixed up, it is futile for a single province, specially for a province like Orissa which has to import the entire stuff from other provinces, to bring about a revolutionary change. I do not think the argument that 'whatever may happen in other provinces and the States, Orissa should have a policy of its own with regard to the textile production', can hold good.

"It would be really helpful to us who agree to the principle you have enunciated in the first paragraph of your comment if you can suggest to us in details how to solve the practical problems which we as Government have to face everyday, otherwise, uninformed criticism does not lead us anywhere."

The Orissa Assembly Congress Party's Statement of Policy referred to one is the following:

"The Party believed in the establishment of the self-sufficient rural economy based on the *charkha* and village industries in the place of the existing money economy based on competition and centralized large scale production. The Party fully realized that without a radical reconstruction of the socio-economic structure along the lines indicated by Gandhiji, world peace will ever remain a dream. It was at the same time alive to the fact that it required immense patience and perseverance to attain this objective and that it was not a matter of a few months or years. In the opinion of the Party it would take fifteen to twenty years to fully build up the new social structure, provided the State and the national organization fully co-operated



in whipping up popular enthusiasm in this stupendous work. Any attempt to bring about this change by Governmental action alone, whether of a positive or a negative character, was sure to prove abortive. The Committee considered the question of completely eliminating cloth produced in mills from the Province in this broad perspective. In this connection it also considered the question of the establishment of Textile Mills according to the quotas allotted to the Province. After a threadbare discussion in the Party, it was felt that during the transitional period till the Province was able to fully meet its cloth requirements by hand-spinning and hand-weaving it would be more desirable to depend upon textile mills of the Province, started and run under the control of the Provincial Government than upon the powerful Mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad. The Party, however, made it clear that it would throw in its full weight in favour of the policy of prohibiting the starting of any new Textile Mills, provided the other Provinces or at least those administered by the Congress agreed to follow it, or even otherwise, provided the existing Textile Mills in the country and those that will be started now were fully nationalized and brought under the full control of the State."

With reference to these the following reply has been sent :

"I am thankful to you for the explanation offered in regard to the Textile Policy of the Province in your letter of the 22nd Feb 1947. I am afraid you had taken my criticism as leveled against you and the Congress Government and so have taken pains to absolve yourself of the responsibility by referring to the date of your assuming office. You also presume that I had been carried away by propaganda material.

"Nothing was further from my thought than allocating responsibility to anyone. I had not even mentioned the Congress. I referred to the "Orissa Government" which will naturally mean the Government of the day when the action was taken.

"I had no contact with anyone carrying on any propaganda. I gathered my information from the authorized prospectus of the company published in such responsible journals as the *Indian Finance* and *The Eastern Economist*. A prospectus is an authentic source and is semi-official.

"In offering the explanation you have done, you have yourself assumed the responsibility as you state. 'The Provincial Government could have informed the Government of India that in view of the change of the Government in the province the spindleage allotted to the province might be cancelled.' But this was not done. What counter moves would have followed this action on your part is not to the point. Because someone else would do the wrong thing, it is no excuse for us to forestall it and do it ourselves.

"The Statement of Policy of the Orissa Assembly Congress Party quoted by you only pays lip sympathy to *Khadi* and discloses no

living faith in it. Self-sufficiency in *Khadi* does not call for an all India Textile Policy especially in a province like Orissa where the vested interests are not so strong. The unit for self-sufficiency in cloth is the home or at the most the village. Such being the case, it does not call for a nation-wide unit to launch on a *Khadi* programme. Hence I am afraid I cannot agree that "the policy with regard to the production of cloth cannot be determined on a provincial basis." If you agree to the principle enunciated in the first paragraph of my article, as you say you do, the simple corollary to it would be a programme of self-sufficiency in *Khadi*. That is the surest and the quickest way of meeting the cloth shortage.

"This is more true of Orissa than other provinces because of the extreme poverty and unemployment prevalent there. The purpose of any economic programme is three-fold. It does not merely meet the material need but provides gainful occupation and at the same time opportunities for the development of personality. The mill industry merely provides the material which is the least important of the three functions. When people buy such goods they part with their other production in exchange. But when they produce their own cloth there is no exchange demanding their other produce which latter, therefore, is not depleted. It is for this reason I hold that the mill industry cannot serve any purpose other than the exploitation of the people of Orissa."

This correspondence only underlines the need for a co-ordinated policy of the Congress as a whole. It was to meet such a situation that the Allahabad Conference laid down some suggestions.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. What is the difference between your Non-cooperation and the Non-fraternization of the Allies?

A. The answer is obvious. My non-cooperation was purely non-violent in conception as also in effect. This does not mean that practice was always perfect. Theory and practice hardly ever coincide even as Euclid's line in practice never coincides with his theoretical definition.

The non-fraternization policy of the Allies led to disastrous results which he who runs may see, and the pity of it is that the disaster is not yet completed. No one knows where it will lead to.

## The 'Nai Talim'

Shri E. W. Aryanayakam, Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, writes:

*Nai Talim*, the monthly magazine of the Sangh resumes publication from March 1, 1947. The annual subscription has been fixed as Rs. 4 (four). Subscribers may kindly remit the amount by money order to the Manager, *Nai Talim* Sevagram, Wardha C. P.

## MEASUREMENT OF HEALTH

Health is the most precious possession of an individual. Woe be to the nation that lets its individuals neglect their health! With the dawn of freedom in India, it has become our paramount duty to see that the country and its people are steadily advancing to A1 standards from the existing low level.

The last war has proved beyond doubt the root causes of the problems of health in India. They arise mainly from poverty and malnutrition; while dirt and squalor arising out of insanitary conditions lead to epidemics and infectious diseases with attendant high mortality and morbidity. On the other hand ignorance and indifference accelerate each one of these difficulties. The recruits who would have been ordinarily rejected on account of poor physique, after a few weeks stay in far though not ideal conditions in military camps and after proper feeding, have come upto the normal standards. The achievements of the Indian soldier in the last war, in matter of physical endurance, military discipline and general efficiency have removed the superstitions about military castes and have established beyond doubt that the physique of the Indian is capable of giving results which are in no way inferior to the performance of Western soldiers who had the advantage of generations of previous training and experience. To obtain similar results for the ordinary civilian population there should be no difficulties except the lack of effort and finance.

The average span of human life in India is 23 years against 61 in England; the infant mortality is as high as 267 per 1,000 in some areas while in England it is only 60 and in New Zealand only 30 per 1,000. The average height, weight and chest measurements in India are much lower than those in other countries and though we may not aspire to breed a race of giants, we must take a periodical review of the average measurements which our people are able to attain. For this purpose standard biometric surveys should be started throughout the country. These biometric surveys should be initiated on a uniform basis under the auspices of a Central Biometric Institute laying down uniform standards of measurements in a number of categories e. g. height, weight, chest expansion, blood pressure, lung capacity, haemoglobin percentage, white blood corpuscles, red blood corpuscles, intake of proteids, carbohydrates, fats, and vitamins. These measurements will require some laboratory equipment and can be possible only in large cities. Physical fitness depends also upon emotional balance and it is possible to measure this by a record of various phases of discipline, co-operation, altruism, inhibition and persistence. The perfectly healthy person ought not only be physically fit and alert to protect himself and his family, to be efficient in his work, but to be of highest service to the society in which he lives. Such Biometrical laboratories should be provided in each of the provincial cities and also in the larger district towns.

The villages and smaller towns may be expected to prepare biometric data on the basis of their limited resources and watch whether the physique of the locality is showing the correct upward trend. For this purpose the village school master need be supplied only with a measuring tape, the common village weighing scale being utilized to determine the weight. With the measurements of height, weight and chest expansion, sufficient data can be obtained to arouse the health consciousness among the villagers. Village competitions, taluka competitions and district competitions of feats of physical valour organized under physical education associations, athletic associations etc., would provide useful materials for such statistical compilation.

The help of health centres for families suggested for the cities may be extended to rural areas. The city centres are intended to take up the family as a unit and would cover the functions of medical examination of children at schools, of maternity and child welfare centres, and of helping the average wage-earner and the housewife in their health problems. The city health centres may send out a travelling staff to individual villages for making health surveys and collecting reliable health data. Such Health Clinics or Centres working in association with the Government and Municipal Departments and under the guidance of Central and Provincial non-official Biometric Institutes will provide reliable records of measurement of health. From these records it will be possible to compare Indian standards and averages with those for other countries and to suggest, if necessary, new standards for various regions and for the country as a whole. A Health Centre with the above ideals has been established by the Gujarat Research Society at Parekh House, New Queen's Road, Bombay, where medical examination and advice is given at present, without cost, to families undergoing complete health survey, including laboratory diagnosis and check of diet. It is hoped such voluntary efforts will be started in other parts of the motherland.

Bombay, 27-1-'46

P. G. SHAH

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## GANDHIJI'S WALKING TOUR DIARY

(Continued from p. 63)

he overcomes all things. Every good act is charity. Your smiling in your brother's face, your putting a wanderer in the right road, your giving water to the thirsty is charity. A man's true wealth hereafter is the good he has done to his fellow men. When he dies people will ask, what property he has left behind him? But the Angels will ask, what good deeds has he sent before him?

Gandhiji then dealt with the following questions.

Q. Why should there be an insistence on temple-entry? Of course, we understand that in case of objection, there is scope in it for *satyagraha*. No-caste dinners have a limited value; for those who join do not shed untouchability in their homes or during social ceremonies. They look upon these dinners, organized by Congressmen or other progressives, as special occasions when caste rules are held in suspense; something comparable to what one does when one goes to Jagannath Puri and partakes of cooked rice offered to Jagannath without reference to one's caste. Anti-untouchability has not yet gone deep enough to affect the normal social life of individuals. What can be done to break down barriers in private homes? Even with regard to temple-entry there is one question. Do you think that priests in public service in free India will be drafted from among competent men and women without any reference to their former castes?

A. Gandhiji said that it was an apt question in this part of Bengal where there were the largest number of *namasudras*. He welcomed the question doubly because he had occupied the lowest rung of the Hindu ladder and because he did not believe in the ladder of castes. He invited all to occupy that lowest rung. Then there would be no occasions for such questions as were addressed to him. Meanwhile, he was bound to deal with them. He entirely endorsed the proposition that untouchability would be doomed and totally abolished when there was no prohibition applied against anyone by reason of his caste. The only universal prohibition would be against insanitation, degradation etc. But he clung to the belief that temple-entry took the first place in the programme of removal of untouchability and he made bold to say that social public dinners would precede as they were preceding the final conquest over the demon of untouchability. He prophesied that Hinduism would be destroyed if untouchability was not destroyed even as the British race would lose its name if its British rule was not destroyed in toto as it was certainly being dissolved before their very eye.

Q. You wrote about economic equality in 1941. Do you hold that all persons who perform useful and necessary service in society, whether farmer or *bhangis*, engineer or accountant, doctor or teacher, have a moral right only to equal wages with the rest? Of course, it is understood, educational or other expenses shall be a charge of the State. Our question is, should not all persons get the same

wages for their personal needs? Do you not think that if we work for this equality, it will cut sooner under the root of untouchability than any other process?

A. As to this Gandhiji had no doubt that if India was to live an exemplary life of independence which would be the envy of the world, all the *bhangis*, doctors, lawyers, teachers, merchants and others would get the same wages for an honest day's work. Indian society may never reach the goal but it was the duty of every Indian to set his sail towards that goal and no other if India was to be a happy land.

23.2.47

Gandhiji had the following two questions addressed to him to which he gave written replies, this being the commencement of his weekly silence.

Q. *Namasudra* girls are usually married at the age of 12 or 13; formerly the usual age was 8 or 9. The bridegroom has to pay a dowry of Rs. 150 for the bride. The average difference between the two is about 12 to 15 years. As a result of this the number of widows in the *namasudra* society is rather large. Among one section of the caste widow-marriage was prevalent. But in imitation of another section which was looked upon as superior, the former are giving up that practice. What is your advice regarding child marriage and widow remarriage?

A. Dealing with the question Gandhiji said that his opinion was definite. In the first instance there should be no possibility of child widows. He was averse to child marriages. It was an evil custom which unfortunately the *namasudras* had perhaps taken from the so-called higher castes.

Gandhiji was also against the system of dowry. It was nothing but the sale of girls. That there should be castes even amongst *namasudras* was deplorable and he would strongly advise them to abolish all caste-distinctions amongst themselves. And in this they should bear in mind the opinion the speaker had often expressed that all caste-distinctions should be abolished, and there should be only one caste, namely, *bhangis* and all Hindus should take pride in being called *bhangis* and nothing else. This applied to the *namasudras* as well.

When child marriages were abolished, naturally there would be few, if any, young widows. As a general rule he was for one man one wife for life, and one woman one husband for life. Custom had familiarized women in the so-called higher castes with enforced widow-hood. Contrary was the rule with men. He called it a disgrace, but whilst society was in that pitiable condition, he advocated widow re-marriage for all young widows. He believed in equality of the sexes and, therefore, he could only think of the same rights for women as men.

Q. You say that you are in favour of inter-religious marriages but at the same time you say that each party should retain his or her own religion and, therefore, you said, you tolerated even civil marriages. Are there any instances of parties belonging to different religions keeping up their own

not come from the legislatures or from any other outside agency. It depended on their own efforts. They should remember what the late Malayiyayi used to say that children of God should confine themselves to earning an honest *conne* and, eat what it could procure. Then there would be happiness for them and untouchability would be a thing of the past. The higher castes so-called would be ashamed of their sin against them.

Bapa pointed out the destruction that was wrought. He was sorry for it but he would not shed a tear for it nor harbour ill-will against the destroyers. Let them not bewail their lot. They were used to hard labour or should be. They might plead with the Government to do justice and that in time. But they would not give in if that assistance did not come. They must trust their hands and feet to set them up again in life. God always helped those who helped themselves. Their reliance must be on the Living God and on the ever toiling masses.

## Provincial Governments and Hindustani

Resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha.

'The Working Committee of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha requests all the Provincial Governments to pay more attention to the spread of the National language, Hindustani. It is evident that the propagation of Hindustani is very necessary for inter-provincial intercourse. In a free India the work of the railways, posts and telegraphs, banks etc. will have to be conducted mostly in Hindustani. Therefore, this Committee appeals to the Provincial Governments to make the study of Hindustani, in both Nagri and Urdu scripts, compulsory as early as possible, of course keeping in view the response of public opinion. For the present the following policy should be adopted:-

(i) It should be compulsory for all schools to appoint Hindustani teachers knowing both the scripts. Whether the two scripts should be learnt, simultaneously or one after the other, should be left to the discretion of the province.

(ii) The Government should give certificates only to those students who have learnt both the scripts.

(iii) Divisions, scholarships and prizes should be awarded only to those students who have studied both the scripts. It should be compulsory for the students of Training Schools and Colleges and other Government servants to have a knowledge of Hindustani in both the scripts.

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## ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## INSTALMENT — XV

## ENGLISH

## HINDUSTANI

- Clod n.** मिट्टीका डेला, मिट्टी, चरती, इमीन ।  
 مٹی کا ڈھل, مٹی, چرती, زمین
- Clod hopper n.** गीबार, मूले, गोबरलेख ।  
 گوبر, مولا, گوبر گیش
- Clog n.** रोक, अटकव; अड़वना; बोल, मार; कड़ाई ।  
 روك, اٹكوا, اڑكوا, بول, مار, كڑاई
- Cloister n.** मठ, मही, कुटी, आश्रम, उता ।  
 مٹھ, مہی, کھٹی, آश्रم, उता
- Cloister v.** चार दीवारीमें बन्द करना, आश्रम बंधीमें रखना ।  
 چार دیواری میں بند کرنا, आश्रम बंधीमें رکھना
- Cloop n.** बोलत बोलने वा कान निकलनेकी सी आवाज ।  
 बोलत बोलने की सी आवाज
- Close n.** घेरा, लइन, जहाजा; अन्त, अखीर ।  
 گھیرا, صف, لائن, اہانت, آخر
- Close adj.** बन्द, संघ; लगभग, आसपास, पास; घना, धरा; घुघा; घुसा, कतम; चुपचाप, कासोधा; छेस, छीक, छड़ी; कसल ।  
 بند, تنگ, لگ, لگ, آس पास, पास, گھना, گھना, گھना
- Close-banded adj.** लुहा हुआ, बंधा हुआ ।  
 जोहरा, बंधा हुआ
- Close-barred adj.** मसूरीसे बन्द किया हुआ ।  
 मसूरी से बंद किया हुआ
- Close-fisted adj.** कसल ।  
 कसल
- Close-grained adj.** छेस, मिटे हुये बालों वा रेशोंका ।  
 लोस, मटे छेस, दानों या बालों का
- Close season n.** वह मौसम या ऋतु जब शिकार बंद करनेकी मनाही हो ।  
 वह मौसम या ऋतु जब शिकार बंद करने की मनाही हो
- Close v.** बन्द करना, घुसा करना, कतम करना; मिटाना, ओढ़ना, मिटाना, मिटवाना, लुप्त करना ।  
 बंद करना, जोरना, जोरना, मल जाना, जोरना
- Close in v.** घेरना, घेरा बालना; मिला जाना, पास आना ।  
 गहरना, गहरना, मल जाना, पास आना
- Close up v.** बन्द करना, लुप्त करना, भरना, भिन्न होना ।  
 बंद करना, जोरना, जोरना, अकलना
- Close with v.** पकका करना, स्वीकार या संतर करना, मिटाना ।  
 पकका करना, स्वीकार या संतर करना, मिटाना
- Close quarters** बिचकून पास, सुदमेद ।  
 बालक पास, सुदमेद
- Closet n.** छोटा कमरा ।  
 छोटा कमरा
- Closet v.** बंद करना, छुपाना ।  
 बंद करना, छुपाना
- Closeted together, to be v.** जकड़ेमें बलबलीत करना ।  
 अकलने में बल बल कर
- Closet, water n.** पाखाना, सहास ।  
 पाखाना, सहास
- Closure n.** बंदबन्दी ।  
 बंदबन्दी
- Clot n.** पक्का, चक्का, जमी हुई रक्त (मक्खर चुनकी) ।  
 पक्का, चक्का, जमी हुई रक्त (मक्खर चुनकी)
- Clot v.** जमना, जमजमाना, गठन होना ।  
 जमना, जमजमाना, गठन होना
- Cloth n.** कपड़ा ।  
 कपड़ा
- Cloth binding n.** कपड़ेकी बन्ध ।  
 कपड़े की बंध
- Cloth, cut coat according to v.** कितनी पादर लुप्तने देव पैताना ।  
 कितनी पादर लुप्तने देव पैताना

- Cloth, lay the v.** कानेकी मेह लगाना, हस्तरखान बिठाना ।  
 काने की मेह लगाना, हस्तर खान बिठाना
- Cloth, floor n.** चानन, फर्श ।  
 चानन, फर्श
- Cloth, horse n.** गहमा ।  
 गहमा
- Cloth, the n.** पादरीका पोशा ।  
 पादरी का पोशा
- Clothe v.** कपड़े पहनना, कपड़े देना, कपड़े लुप्ताना, काना कलने देना ।  
 कपड़े पहनना, कपड़े देना, कपड़े लुप्ताना, काना कलने देना
- Clothe, to feed and v.** रोटी कपड़ा देना, पालनपोषण करना ।  
 रोटी कपड़ा देना, पालन पोषण करना
- Clothes n.** कपड़े, लिबास, पहनाव, वस्त्र ।  
 कपड़े, लिबास, पहनाव, वस्त्र
- Clothes bag or basket n.** मैके कपड़ेका बैला या छेकरी ।  
 मैके कपड़े का बैला या छेकरी
- Clothes horse n.** कपड़े झालनेकी छोटी ।  
 कपड़े झालने की छोटी
- Clothes line n.** मंके कपड़े लुप्तानेकी छोटी ।  
 कपड़े लुप्ताने की छोटी
- Cloth merchant n.** बजान ।  
 बजान
- Clothier n.** कपड़े बनाने वा बेचनेवाला ।  
 कपड़े बनाने वा बेचनेवाला
- Clothes, bed n.** बिलरके कपड़े ।  
 बिलर के कपड़े
- Cloud n.** बादल, बर, लुहाली, छुलनापन ।  
 बादल, बर, लुहाली, छुलनापन
- Cloud v.** बाधल छाजाना, बरना माना; अंधेरा होना, अंधेरा कर देना, छुलना देना; लुहाल होना ।  
 बाधल छाजाना, बरना माना, अंधेरा होना, अंधेरा कर देना, छुलना देना, लुहाल होना
- Cloud-burst n.** बादल और पानीका लुप्तान ।  
 बादल और पानी का लुप्तान
- Cloud-capped hill n.** बादलसे ढकी हुई पहाड़ ।  
 बादल से ढकी हुई पहाड़
- Cloud-kissing adj.** बहुत छूना, आसमानसे बातें करनेवाला ।  
 बहुत छूना, आसमान से बातें करने वाला
- Clouds, in the adj.** खायी, खायिक ।  
 खायी, खायिक
- Cloud, under a adj.** बदनाम, जिसपर शुभहा का शंका हो ।  
 बदनाम, जिस पर शंका हो
- Cloud of night, under रातके अंधेरेमें ।  
 रात के अंधेरेमें**
- Clouds roll by, wait till the बेतर ओके वा दिनके लिये ।  
 बेतर ओके वा दिनके लिये**
- Clough n.** घाटी ।  
 घाटी
- Clout n.** बिचका, पोतका, पोख, बेगली; मुचका, घुंता ।  
 बिचका, पोतका, पोख, बेगली, मुचका, घुंता
- Clove n.** लोह ।  
 लोह
- Cloven adj.** चिरा हुआ, फटा हुआ ।  
 चिरा हुआ, फटा हुआ
- Clover n.** लिपकिया घास ।  
 लिपकिया घास
- Clover, to be in or live in** पौनों छुलकिया चीमें होना, मानन्दमें होना ।  
 पौनों छुलकिया चीमें होना, मानन्दमें होना
- Clown n.** मांड, मसखरा; बेतर, लुप्त, मसखरा ।  
 मांड, मसखरा, बेतर, लुप्त, मसखरा
- Cloy v.** जो भरना, लुप्ताना, नाकान करना ।  
 जो भरना, लुप्ताना, नाकान करना
- Club n.** काठी, सोया, बंदा, सुरदर, मरा; बिड़ीका दाव; लमा, मजलिह, लाही, सफा, लाहा, मकर, मकर, मकर, मकर ।  
 काठी, सोया, बंदा, सुरदर, मरा, बिड़ीका दाव, लमा, मजलिह, लाही, सफा, लाहा, मकर, मकर, मकर, मकर
- Club-footed adj.** पाँवफिरा ।  
 पाँवफिरा
- Club-law** बिचकी काठी, लुप्तकी भेव ।  
 बिचकी काठी, लुप्तकी भेव

Club *v.* साठीसे मारना, धंदे लगाना, धंदेके कुन्देते मारना ।

لاہی سے مارنا، قندے لگانا، ہندو کے گندے سے مارنا

Club together *v.* मिलना, मिच्छा होना । اکٹھا کرنا

Cluck *v.* कुक्-कुक्, या कट-कट करना (मुर्खीकी तरह) ।

क्र-क्र یا कट-कट करना (मूर्खी की طرح)

Clue *n.* कौज, पता, निशान, जिशाग ।

Clump *n.* घुंघ, कुंड, कूज

Clump *v.* मारो बँबसे बलना, भदभद बलना, कुंभमें लकना, डेर लगाना ।

Clumsy *adj.* मरा, बेईगा, बेडोव, कुंभ, अनाड़ी ।

بہا، بے لکھا، بے ڈول، پھول، اناڑی

Cluster *n.* गुच्छा, घुंघ, मोड़, घुंघा ।

Cluster *v.* मिच्छा होना, जमा होना ।

Clutch *n.* पैसा, पकड़, मुठी ।

Clutch *v.* मुठमें पकड़ना, हलटना, घुंघलमें डे मारना ।

مٹی میں پکڑنا، بھٹا، چنگل میں لے

Clutches, to fall into one's *v.* किसीके धंजमें कैलना ।

کسی کے پھنسے میں پھنسا

Clatter *n.* कौलहत, गड़गड़, धबराहट, मोलमाल ।

کولامل، گڑو، گھرامٹ، گول مال

Clyster *n.* पिचकारी ।

Coach *n.* चार पहियेवा गाड़ी, छाही गाड़ी; वास पवनेवाला ।

چارپیسے کی گاڑی، شاہی گاڑی، عاصی پڑمانے والا

Coach house *n.* गाड़ीखाना, कारखाना ।

گاڑی خانہ، بگھی خانہ

Coachman *n.* गाड़ीवान, कोचवान ।

Coach and six through Act of Parliament

drive a پارلیمنٹ کے قانون کے تحت گاڑی چلانا

Coach, slow *n.* डेर करनेवाला आदमी, मुला, मन्दचाली ।

ڈیر کرنے والا آدمی، سدا، مند بدمعز

Coadjutor *n.* मददगार, सहायक ।

Coagulate *v.* अमना, असमाना, पक्का हो जाना ।

جما، جم جانا، پکا ہو جانا

Coal *n.* कोयला, पत्थरका कोयला ।

Coal *v.* कोयला डेना, कायला धामना, कोयला देना ।

کوئلہ لینا، کوئلہ ڈالنا، کوئلہ دینا

Coal bed or seam *n.* कोयलेकी तह ।

Coal black *adj.* बिलकूल काला ।

Coal scuttle *n.* कोयलादान ।

Coal dust *n.* कोयलेका धूरा ।

Coal field *n.* कोयलेका मैदान, (जहा काने हों)

کوئلے کا میدان (جہاں کانیں ہوں)

Coal mine or pit *n.* कोयलेकी खान या कान ।

کوئلے کی کان یا کھان

Coal screen *n.* कोयलेकी छलनी ।

Coal tar *n.* तारकोय ।

Coal, a live *n.* गुलमशा कोयला, अंगार ।

لگتا کوئلہ، انگارا

Coals, blow the *v.* नदकाला, गुस्सा नदकाला ।

جھوکنا، غصہ جھوکنا

Coals to Newcastle, carry गुलमशा बँब धरेकीको, वापसे

لے کر لانا

Coals, haul over the *v.* लादना, मिदकना, भाड़े हाव केना ।

جھانڈنا، جھوکنا، آڑے مانے لینا

Coals of fire, heap *v.* कुलमीके बंदके मलामी करना ।

برائی کے بدلے جلائی کرنا

Coalesce *v.* मिलना, मिल जाना, जुड़ना, मिच्छा होना ।

ملا، مل جانا، جونا، اکٹھا ہونا

Coalition *n.* मेद, संयोग, मिनाव, ملاज ।

Coarse *adj.* मोटा, खुरदरा; गंभार, धुंघ; मामूली, बटिया ।

موتا، کھردرا، گھرا، اچھا، معمول، گھیا

Coarse fare *n.* मोटासोटा खाना ।

Coarse fibred or grained *adj.* मोटे रेशेका ।

Coarse language *n.* गदी बोली ।

Coast *n.* किनारा, तट, साहिब, छोर ।

Coast *v.* किनारे-किनारे चलना, भूरी बगइसे आप-से-आप जीके

कारे कारे जانا (कामीसिकल वगैरा पर)

اچھی جگہ سے آپ سے آپ نیچے چلنے والا (بالکل وغیرہ)

Coast is clear, the मैदान काली है, रास्ता साफ है ।

میدان حال ہے، راستے صاف ہے

Coast guard *n.* साहिली चौकी, समुंदरके किनारेकी चौकी ।

ساحل چوکی، سمندر کے کنارے کی چوکی

Coat *n.* कोट, अंगरका (अधोत्री); बाल, छिन्का, कास;

कोट, अंगरका (अधोत्री); बाल, छिन्का, कास;

कोट, अंगरका (अधोत्री); बाल, छिन्का, कास;

कोट, अंगरका (अधोत्री); बाल, छिन्का, कास;

कोट, अंगरका (अधोत्री); बाल, छिन्का, कास;

कोट, अंगरका (अधोत्री); बाल, छिन्का, कास;

कोट, अंगरका (अधोत्री); बाल, छिन्का, कास;

कोट, अंगरका (अधोत्री); बाल, छिन्का, कास;

कोट, अंगरका (अधोत्री); बाल, छिन्का, कास;

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कोट, अंगरका (अधोत्री); बाल, छिन्का, कास;

कोट, अंगरका (अधोत्री); बाल, छिन्का, कास;



Cobra n. कबूतर, काला साँप। साँप।  
 Cobweb n. मकड़ीका जाला, जाल, पैदा; कोभी कमसोर चीज या मकड़ी का जाला, जाला, पैदा।  
 Cobwebs of antiquity पुराना कुरान-कुरान।  
 Cobwebs of the law कानूनका जाल।  
 Cobwebs, blow away the हवा जाला।  
 Cocaine n. कोकेन।  
 Cock n. मुर्गा, कुकुर; सब विद्वियोंका सर; घोड़ा, कुत्ता (बन्धन)।  
 Cock a doodle-doo n. कुकुर।  
 Cock-a-hoop, be c. वाह-वाह होना, जाल-जाले सर बनाना, सर कड़काना।  
 Cock and bull story n. समी बोड़ी कहानी।  
 Cock crow or crowing n. मुर्गेकी चह।  
 Cockscorn n. मुर्गेकी कस।  
 Cockspur n. मुर्गेका पैर।  
 Cocks, live like fighting. c. बहुत बानसे रहना, बेकिसरीसे लड़ाई करने।  
 Cock c. कड़ा करना, बहाना, लाना।  
 Cock one's eye c. आँख मारना।  
 Cock one's hat c. टोपी डोरी पहनना।  
 Cock one's nose c. नास बहाना।  
 Cock one's ears c. कान कड़े करना, चौकना होना।  
 Cocked hat, knocked into a c. शकल बिगाड़ना, पकवानके लानक न रहना।  
 Cockade n. फुरता या फ्रीता जो टोपीमें पहना जाता है।  
 Cockatoo n. काबानुआ, बड़ी कमलीवाला तोता।  
 Cocker c. n. प्यार या लड़कना, स्नेहिलके हिस्सा कुत्ता।  
 Cockerel n. छोटा मुर्गा; लड़का।  
 Cock eyed adj. चह।  
 Cock fighter n. मुर्गे लड़नेवाला।  
 Cock horse n. कठका घोड़ा।  
 Cockle n. चोंचा; सीसी; अंगीठी।  
 Cockle c. लुभारना, घुँरी पड़ना।  
 Cockles of the heart, warm the c. दिल या मन धुल करना।  
 Cockney n. लन्दनवा, लन्दनका रहनेवाला, लन्दनी बोली।  
 Cockpit n. मुर्गेको लड़नेकी जगह; अबाड़ा, पाली, दण्ड।  
 Cockroach n. तिलचट्ट।  
 Cocksure adj. पूरे विश्वास या यकीनका, अवश्य वा कसर होनेका।  
 Cocktail n. दुधका चोड़ा; भेक प्रहारकी शराब।  
 Cocoa n. नारियलका पेड़।

Cocoanut n. नारियल, कोरल, गरी।  
 Cocoanut matting n. नारियलकी चरामी।  
 Cocoanut milk n. नारियलका दानी।  
 Cocoa or cacao n. कोको, कोको बीजका दूध (नो बायरी तरह बनते हैं)।  
 Cocoon n. कपड़े रेशमका कोया।  
 Cod n. फली, बीजबान; भेक हिस्साकी लुभारी मछली।  
 Cod liver oil n. काह मछलीका तेल।  
 Cod c. चोंचा, पैदा, वेवक बहाना।  
 Coddle c. बीमारकी तरह सेवा करना, दण्ड बिलाना, दण्ड दोहासे बहाना।  
 Code n. कानून, विधि; चोर-लिकामी, भित्तारे।  
 Code of honour n. शमायका नैतिक या भित्तानी कानून।  
 Code message n. चोर-सन्देश।  
 Codify c. कानूनकी रचना या लकीव करना।  
 Codicil n. शान्त्यका अनुबन्ध, इतीपत्तानेका तिसमा।  
 Co-education n. लड़के-लड़कियोंकी भेकसाय लकीम, लड़कियाँ लड़के लकीमकी एक साथ लकीम।  
 Coerce c. बहाना, बहाना बहाना, अवलसी करना, लकीव करना।  
 Coercion n. बहाना, अवलसी, लकीव।  
 Coercive adj. कड़ा, लकीव, अवलसीका।  
 Coexist c. भेक समयमें होना, भेक साथ होना।  
 Coffee n. कड़ा, काफो।  
 Coffee bean n. कड़ाका, बीज।  
 Coffee berry n. कड़ाका फल।  
 Coffin n. कड़ाकेका चन्द।  
 Coffers n. धान, धन, कड़ा-पैदा।  
 Coffin n. कड़ा, कफन।  
 Coffin, drive nail into one's c. भेक कान करना।  
 Cog n. पहियेका दंठ।  
 Cogent adj. चोरदार, दिनको लगी कुभी, लीक।  
 Cognac n. फलीकी शानी, भेक हिस्साकी शराब।  
 Cognate adj. भेक जातीय, रिश्तेदार, भाईदार।  
 Cognition n. ज्ञान, भित्त, आगाही, वाकलीयत।  
 Cognizable adj. अवलसीमें होने या हुनने लानक, लानक या हुनानीके लानक।

- Cognizance** *n.* ج्ञान, ज्ञित्य, भित्तिला, सूचना, प्याण्डा दावता ।  
 گمان, علم, اطلاع, سوچنا, مہیاں کا دائرہ
- Cognizance, be beyond one's** *v.* پ्याण्डे داوڑے باہر  
 ہونا । مہیاں کے دائرے سے باہر ہونا
- Cognizance, fall within one's** *v.* پیڑی کے پیانڈے داوڑے  
 آنا । کسی کے مہیاں کے دائرے میں آنا
- Cognizance of, have** *v.* ج्ञान वा ज्ञित्य होना ।  
 کیاں یا علم ہونا
- Cognizance of, take** *v.* پ्याण्डے لانا ।  
 مہیاں میں لانا
- Cognomen** *n.* मोतनामा ।  
 کون نام
- Cohabit** *v.* निवै:बीबीकी तरह रहना ।  
 میان بیوی کی طرح رہنا
- Coheir** *n.* हिस्सेदार, शेक लागका हकदार, समाधिकारी ।  
 حصہ دار, ایک ساتھ کا حقدار, سہادکاری
- Cohere** *v.* बिपकना, जुड़ना, शेक साथ होना, मिकड़े रहना ।  
 جیکڑ, جونا, ایک ساتھ ہونا, اکتڑے رہنا
- Coherent** *adj.* मिला हुआ, जुड़ा हुआ; समझमें आनेवाला ।  
 ملا ہوا, جوڑا ہوا, سمجھ میں آنے والا
- Cohesion** *n.* लगाव, संयोग, जोड़, मेल ।  
 لگاؤ, منبرگ, جوڑ, میل
- Cohort** *n.* रूनी सेनाका शेक दस्ता ।  
 رونی سپاہ کا ایک دستہ
- Coif** *n.* कटोप ।  
 کٹوپ
- Coiffeur** *n.* बाल बनानेवाला ।  
 بال بنانے والا
- Coiffure** *n.* बाल बनानेका तरीका ।  
 بال بنانے کا طریقہ
- Coign** *n.* कोना ।  
 کونہ
- Coign of vantage** *n.* वह जगह जहाँसे सब साफ़ दिखायी दे ।  
 وہ جگہ جہاں سے سب صاف دکھائی دے
- Coil** *n.* मच्छा, कुंडल, कुल्ली ।  
 لہا, کڈل, کڈلی
- Coil** *v.* मच्छा करना, सेपटना, बल खाना, बल खालना ।  
 لہا پانا, لیشا پل کھانا, پل ڈالنا
- Coin** *n.* सिक्का, रुपया, पैसा, रोक्कड़, लकड़ी ।  
 سکہ, روپیہ, پیسہ, روکڑ, لکڑی
- Coin** *v.* (रुपया) बनाना, डाकना; बनाना; निकालना; पैसा करना ।  
 (روپیہ) گوننا, ڈاکنا, پانا, نکالنا, پسا کرنا
- Coin, counterfeit or false** *n.* जाली सिक्का, जोरा  
 रुपया । جعل سکہ, کھڑا روپیہ
- Coin money** *v.* रुपया जाली-जाली बनाना ।  
 روپیہ جعلی جعلی پانا
- Coin, current** *n.* चलता सिक्का ।  
 چلتا سکہ
- Coin, pay one in his own** *v.* वेहेको पैसा ।  
 جہے کو پسا
- Coincide** *v.* ठीक आना, ठीक बैठना; मिलना, शेक साथ होना,  
 शेक ही बहत्तमें होना; शेकमत या शेक हवा होना ।  
 ٹیک آنا, ٹیک بیٹھا, ملنا, ایک ساتھ ہونا, ایک ہی وقت میں  
 ہونا, ایک جہے یا ایک ساتھ ہونا
- Coincidence** *n.* मेल, जोड़, संयोग, अनिच्छाक ।  
 میل, جوڑ, منبرگ, اتفاق
- Coir** *n.* मारियलका रेशा या बटा, जिससे रस्सी, बटासी बनें  
 बनती हैं ।  
 ٹریل کا ریشہ یا جٹا, جس سے رسی, پٹی وغیرہ بننے لگتی ہیں
- Coke** *n.* हुआ हुआ पत्थरका कोयला ।  
 جھڑا ہوا پتھر کا کوئلہ
- Col** *n.* तंग काटी ।  
 تنگ کھال
- Colander** *n.* छलनी; छालनी ।  
 چھلنی, چھالنی
- Cold** *n.* ठंड, सर्दी, खाया ।  
 ٹھنڈ, سردی, جھڑا
- Cold** *adj.* ठंडा, सर्दी, फेरे-दिन, बर्फा ।  
 ٹھنڈا, سرد, کھڑا, سردی, برف
- Cold blooded** *adj.* बेदर्दी, निर्दयी ।  
 بے دردی, لڑائی
- Cold blood, in** *adv.* जान बूझकर, सोच-बिचारकर; बेदर्दीसे ।  
 جان بوجھ کر, سوچ بچار کر, بے دردی سے
- Cold in the head** *n.* बुझाव, सर्दी ।  
 بھڑا, سردی
- Cold in death** *adj.* मरा हुआ ।  
 مرا ہوا
- Cold steel** *n.* लठवार, बड़ग, संगीन बटोरा ।  
 لٹوار, کڈگ, سنگین بٹوڑا
- Cold, catch** *v.* सर्दी हो जाना, बुझाव हो जाना ।  
 سردی ہو جانا, بھڑا ہو جانا
- Cold shoulder to, give the** *v.* ठकासी करना ।  
 دکھائی کرنا
- Cold, leave out in the** *v.* परवाह न करना, प्याण्ड न देना,  
 देख भाव न करना ।  
 پرواہ نہ کرنا, مہیاں نہ دینا, دیکھ بھال نہ کرنا
- Cold water on plan, throw** *v.* पानी फेर देना (किसी  
 काम या तजवीज पर) (किस काम या तजवीज پر)  
 پانی پھیر دینا
- Colic** *n.* पेटकी पीड़ा, पेटका दर्द, मरोड़ा ।  
 پیٹ کی پڑا, پیٹ کا درد, مڑوڑا
- Collaborate** *n.* हाथ बटाना, साथ देना, मिलकर काम करना ।  
 ہاتھ پٹانا, ساتھ دینا, مل کر کام کرنا
- Collapse** *v.* गिर पड़ना, बैठ जाना, ढेर हो जाना; हिम्मत  
 हारना, नी सोड़ना ।  
 گر پڑنا, بیٹھ جانا, ٹھہر ہو جانا, ہمت  
 ہارنا, نی سونڈنا
- Collapsible** *adj.* तह हो जानेवाला ।  
 تھ ہو جانے والا
- Collar** *n.* कम्हा, हँसली, पटा, गारनी; कायर ।  
 کھٹا, حسل, پٹا, گارنی, کار
- Collarbone** *n.* हँसली, गलेकी हड्डी ।  
 حسل, گلے کی ہڈی
- Collar** *v.* पकड़ना, गड़ेसे पकड़ना ।  
 پکڑنا, گلے سے پکڑنا
- Collate** *v.* तुलना और जोड़ करना, मिलाना ।  
 تمل اور جہج کرنا, ملا
- Collateral** *adj.* लगे-लगे, बराबर-बराबर, भेदही रहने का दावेका ।  
 لگے لگے, برابر برابر ایک ہی درجہ یا دائرے کا
- Collation** *n.* माफ़ा ।  
 ماتہ
- Colleague** *n.* साथी, संगी ।  
 ساتھی, سنگی
- Collect** *n.* छोटी प्रार्थना, दुआ ।  
 چھوٹی پرارتھنا, دوا
- Collect** *v.* मिकड़ा करना; मिकड़ा होना, बधा करना, बधा  
 होना; बटोरना; हुगाहना ।  
 اکتھا کرنا, اکتھا ہونا, جمع کرنا, بھا کرنا, بھا  
 ہونا, بٹورنا, ہوگاھنا
- Collect oneself, to** *v.* होशमें आना, सचेत होना ।  
 حوش میں آنا, سچیت ہونا
- Collection** *n.* चेरा, जमाव, जोड़; हुगाही; संग्रह, मन्मुआ ।  
 چہرا, جمار, جوڑ, اگامی, سگر, جمعہ
- Collective** *adj.* भिक्का; सबका ।  
 اکتھا, سب کا
- Collector** *n.* घर हुगाहनेवाला; भिक्का बड़ा अपहर ।  
 گھر اگامی والا, حسلے کا ڈرائیور
- College** *n.* विश्वपीठ, कालेज ।  
 ودیشیہ, کالج
- Collegian** *n.* विश्वपीठ या कालेजका विद्यार्थी ।  
 ودیشیہ یا کالج کا ودیشی
- Collegiate** *adj.* कालेज या विश्वपीठका ।  
 کالج یا ودیشیہ کا
- Collide** *v.* टकरना, टकरा जाना, मिकना; बटपड़ होना,  
 लकरा, लकर कहां, पड़ना ।  
 ٹکرن, ٹکڑا جانا, ٹیکنا, بٹپڑ ہونا,  
 لکڑا, لکڑ کھانا, پڑنا
- Collier** *n.* कोयला निकालने या कोदनेवाला; कोयलेका बहाक ।  
 کوئلہ نکالنے یا کوڈنے والا, کوئلہ کا جہاز
- Colliery** *n.* कोयलेकी खान ।  
 کوئلے کی کان
- Collision** *n.* टकर, मुटड़ेह ।  
 ٹکڑ, ٹھٹھ
- Collocate** *v.* ठकाना, ठेकाना, रचना ।  
 جٹا, سٹوڑا, رچنا

## HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## GANDHIJI'S BIHAR TOUR DIARY

5-3-'47

As this was Gandhiji's first visit to Bihar after an interval of seven years there was a huge gathering to greet him at the prayer meeting on the famous *maidan* of Patna. After the usual prayers Gandhiji, who was driven by Prof. Abdul Bari President of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, to the prayer meeting in a motor car apologized for having come in a motor car instead of walking to the prayer meeting. This was, he said, a reflection on the Biharis who should know the art of welcoming people in a quiet and dignified manner instead of the present embarrassing manner. They should have had consideration for his old age, he said, and spared him the shouts however well-meant they were but which were too much for his ears. He complimented the vast audience on the exemplary silence which they observed during the prayers. He then referred to the mission which had brought him to Bihar, the occasion being Dr. Syed Mahmud's letter sent through his private secretary. He had flattered himself with the belief that it will be unnecessary for him to visit what he affectionately described as 'his Bihar' by right of service. But Dr. Mahmud's letter led him to think that all was not as well as it should be. He knew that what the Hindus of Bihar had done towards their brethren, the Muslims, was infinitely worse than what Noakhali had done. He had hoped that they had done or were doing all the reparations that were possible and that was in magnitude as great as the crime. That meant that if there was real repentance, they should prove the truth of the great saying, "The greater the sinner, the greater the sin." He hoped that the Bihar Hindus will not be guilty of self-righteousness by saying that the Biharis, who had forgotten in a fit of insanity that they were human beings, were drawn from the *goonda* elements for whom the Congressmen of Bihar could not be held responsible. If they adopted the attitude of self-righteousness, they would reduce the Congress to a miserable party, whereas the Congress claimed, and he had repeated the claim in London at the Round Table Conference he had attended, that of all the organizations in India the Congress was the only one organization which rightfully claimed to represent the whole of India, whether it was called French India or Portuguese India or the India of the States, because the Congress claimed by right of service to represent not only the nominal Congressmen or its sympathizers but also its enemies. Therefore, the Congress had to make itself responsible for the misdeeds of all

communities and all classes. It should be its proud privilege to better and improve the moral, material and physical condition of the whole of India to entitle it to the proud claim it had made ever since its existence. As a matter of fact, it would be wrong even to say that there was not a single Congressman involved in the mad upheaval. That many Congressmen had staked their lives in order to save their Muslim friends and brethren was no answer to the charge that was justly hurled against the Bihar Hindus by indignant and injured Muslims who did not hesitate to describe the Bihar crime as having no parallel in history. If he was so minded, he would be able to show that there were to be found in history examples of human monsters having done crimes even worse than those of the Hindus of Bihar. But he did not want to be guilty of making comparisons and weigh the greatness of crimes in golden scales. On the contrary, a truly repentant man would never want to flatter himself by even thinking that he was not as bad as his predecessors. There was a legitimate place for rivalry in doing good and outdoing one's predecessors and one's own labours in the act of service. He was therefore grieved to find that there were thoughtless Hindus in all parts of India who falsely hugged the belief that Bihar had arrested the growth of lawlessness that was to be witnessed in Noakhali. He wished to remind them in forcible terms that that way of thinking and doing was the way to perdition and slavery, never to freedom and bravery. It was a cowardly thing for a man to believe that barbarity such as was exhibited could ever protect a civilization or a religion, or defend freedom. He was able from recent first-hand knowledge to say that where there was cowardice on the one hand there was cruelty on the other. The way, therefore, to take reprisals upon Noakhali was to learn how not to copy the barbarous deeds such as Noakhali had proved itself capable of but to return barbarism by manliness which consisted in daring to die without a thought of retaliation and without in any way compromising one's honour. He warned the audience and through them the whole of India that if they really wished to see India independent in every sense of the term, they must not imitate barbarous methods. Those who resorted to such methods would find that they were retarding the day of India's deliverance.

6-3-'47

Unlike the previous evening, Gandhiji walked tonight to the prayer ground in perfect peace through a passage lined by lady volunteers. The crowd had also become orderly. Gandhiji began

his post-prayer address by complimenting the audience as well as Bari Sahab, the President of the Provincial Congress Committee, and his comrades for the orderliness which had been successfully maintained during the evening. While the *Ramadhan* was being sung there were some beats out of time. His advice was that they should practise more until both the tune and the time were in perfect unison.

A note had been handed to him reminding him that the *Holi* was on the following day and people would like to hear his opinion as to how it ought to be celebrated. Gandhiji began by saying that he had no doubt in his mind that a religious ceremony like the *Holi* should never be marked by wild revelry, but by a disciplined effort to put oneself in communion with God.

There was a time, he continued, when the Hindus and the Musalmans lived side by side as peaceful neighbours. If things had today come to such a pass that they could not look upon one another as friends, let them at least not behave as enemies. There was fear among the Musalmans that the occasion of the *Holi* might be marked by renewed attacks upon them. It was surprising that he was hearing from them what he had heard from the Hindus in Noakhali and Tipperah and he felt ashamed to have to listen to the same tales in Patna as in Noakhali. He would, therefore, venture to say to his Muslim brothers in Bihar what he had said to the Hindus in Noakhali viz., that they should shed all fear of man and trust God; but he knew that it was a counsel of perfection.

Cries of *Vande Mataram*, *Jai Bharat* or *Jai Hind* frightened the Musalmans today. Were the shouts of *Bharat ki Jai* going to mean *Musalmans ki Kshat*? It was a matter of shame that things had been brought to such a pass. He had been meeting several Muslim League friends, who, he felt, had opened their hearts before him and asked him if the Musalmans would not really be allowed to remain in a province like Bihar. The Muslim friends who were in the Congress like Dr. Syed Mahmud had also expressed their uneasiness at the present situation. This terrorization of brother by brother, if it were true, was unbearable for him. Were they really going to return one act of madness by another? In that event India could only be drowned in a sea of blood.

Gandhiji was firmly of the opinion that this could never be our fate if we were determined to have it otherwise. His hope lay more in womenkind who, he had ever maintained, were the living embodiment of *ahimsa* and of self-sacrifice, without which *ahimsa* could never be a reality. Gandhiji wanted everyone to celebrate the *Holi* in such a manner that every single Muslim felt that the Hindus had not only repented for what had been done to them but had also gathered love for them to an extent which outdid their previous sentiments. If the *Holi* was marked by this revival of the old friendly relations then indeed it would be a truly religious celebration.

There was one thing more which Gandhiji wanted to tell his audience in the hope that justice would be done wherever his voice could reach. It had been conveyed to him that there were Muslim women even now kept perforce in Hindu homes. If that were true and if, of course, such women were still living, he would expect every one of them to be restored to their homes. The miscreants should show true repentance and every Hindu should consider it his duty to impress upon them that they should repent and courageously face punishment for their misdeeds. If that were too much for them, he would at least expect the women to be restored to him or to Rajendra Babu in perfect safety.

It was not enough that the Hindus should express lip-repentance or compensate the sufferers by means of money. What was really needed was that their hearts should become pure and, in place of the hatred or indifference which was sweeping over them, love should reign so that under its glow every single Muslim man, woman and child felt perfectly secure and free to pursue his or her own religious practices without the least let or hindrance. Let us all, he prayed, make the *Holi* an occasion for the initiation of this relation between the two sister communities.

7-3-47

Gandhiji began his address this evening by saying that just before starting for the prayer ground he had taken a brief rest. The whole of his waking hours during the day had been spent in listening to the reports and the accounts brought in by many Muslim and Hindu friends. None of them had been able to assure him that things had completely settled down to complete normality. This had fatigued him mentally and hence the needed rest.

The ideal of the *sthitaprajna* (man whose understanding is secure) described in the second chapter of the *Gita* was always before him and he was ceaseless in his efforts to reach that ideal. Whatever others might say of him he knew he was yet far from it. When one really reaches such a state, his very thought becomes charged with a power which transforms those around him. But where was that power in him now? He could only say that he was a common mortal, made of the same clay of which others were made, only ceaselessly striving to attain the lofty ideal which the *Gita* held before all mankind.

It was because his thoughts reached tonight only those brothers and sisters who had perhaps no direct influence upon the rioters that he had been seriously thinking if he should not march from village to village in the manner of Noakhali, so that what little power his thoughts contained might be conveyed directly to the most distant villager who had done a wrong to his brother Musalman.

Bihar was the land of Tulsidas' *Ramayana*. However uneducated or poor a Bihar might be, his voice ever rang with the music of that mighty epic. They knew what was sin and what was also meant by religious merit. The misdeeds which had

come out of their hands had been of terrible proportions. Should not then their *prayashchitta* (atonement) be of the same order? There was a saying: "The greater the sinner, the greater the sin." It was in this spirit that they should approach those who had suffered at their hands and try to do the right by them.

He had said last evening that all Muslim women who are alleged even now to be confined in Hindu homes should be returned. It would indeed be a brave thing if the miscreants came forward and openly confessed their sins and were prepared to bear all punishment justly meted out to them. But if such courage was lacking, they could at least restore the girls to him without any fear of harm coming to them. There was however one thing more he would like them to do. It had been reported that property worth about a crore of rupees had been looted or destroyed. It did not matter what the exact figure was. For, if a man was deprived of a couple of rupees when only he had that amount it meant that he had lost his all. It became then the duty of every Hindu to see that the looted property was returned and losses compensated for wherever they had occurred in the province. If the men concerned were no longer living, the restored property or the compensation should at least reach the surviving relatives.

This much he could surely expect from Biharis who lived in the land of the *Ramayana* and who tried to set their lives in accordance with the teachings of that noble book.

1

## MAULANA AZAD ON RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

[Extract from Maulana Azad's interview as it appeared in the *Hindustan Standard* of 19-2-47]

Speaking of imparting religious education in schools, Maulana Azad said that "in India, emphasis on religion has been and is greater than in other countries. Not only the past tradition of India but also the present temper of the people tend to emphasize the importance of religious instruction. If Government decide that religious instruction should be included in education, it seems imperative that the religious instruction offered should be of the best type.

"Religious instruction often imparted in India in private institutions is of a kind which, instead of broadening the outlook and inculcating a spirit of toleration and goodwill to all men, produces exactly the opposite results. It is likely that under State supervision even denominational teaching can be imparted in a more liberal spirit than under private control. The aim of all religious teaching should be to make men more tolerant and broad-minded and it is my opinion that this can be more effectively done if the State takes charge of the question than if it is left to private initiative. I will indicate the decision of the Government on this question at an early date.

"Another point on which I want to express my opinion is in respect of the educational activities of missionary societies. There is no doubt that missionary societies have played a very important part in the

dissemination of modern education and the development of modern outlook. This is true not only of India but of other countries of the East as well.

"With valuable examples of the work done by missionaries in the past, there is no reason why their work on the same humanitarian lines should not receive equal appreciation in the future. It is only in respect of one problem that difficulties arise at times. This is on the vexed question of conversions, and especially conversions *en masse*. World opinion has undergone great changes on the question and responsible missionaries have themselves come to recognize that mass conversions are in reality no conversions at all. Christ himself emphasized the baptism of the spirit rather than formal baptism by water, and missionaries would be true to the spirit of Christ if they preached his message of humanity instead of attempting to convert people to the dogma of a Church. If all missionary societies adopt this enlightened outlook, there is no reason why independent India should in any way hesitate to accept the services which it is theirs to offer."

2

## CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD'S RECOMMENDATIONS

New Delhi, Jan. 27th

"The Central Advisory Board of Education has endorsed the view of the Working Committee of the National War Academy that residential schools, where boys may obtain adequate facilities for developing the character and powers of leadership, should be started by Provinces and States to act as 'feeders' for the National War Academy.

"The Board is of opinion that the new type of schools contemplated in the Scheme of National Post-War Education will provide the necessary training for the leadership, character, intelligence, courage and physical fitness required by the military authorities for the Army, Navy and Air Force.

"It directs the attention of provincial authorities to the necessity of developing their schools on these lines which will actually serve as the kind of schools which the military authorities have in mind" . . . A. P. I.

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# HARIJAN

March 23

1947

## RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION, MILITARY TRAINING AND THE ROMAN SCRIPT

[In a letter to Shri E. W. Aryansayakam of the Hindustani Talmi Sangh Gandhiji has expressed his views definitely on all these three important questions that are exercising the public mind during this period of transition. As all the three points are vital to our growth as a free nation, we reproduce the letter here. The extract from Maulana Azad's interview and the recommendations of the Central Advisory Board are reproduced elsewhere in this number for reference. Ed.]

I was more than glad to have your brief visit and the briefest chat with you on matters of common interest

You have given me a cutting from the *Hindustan Standard* purporting to report the views of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on education. Assuming the correctness of the report I say categorically that it is inconsistent with the line followed by the Hindustani Talmi Sangh. It is in the villages of India where India lives, not in the few Westernized cities which are the citadels of a foreign power.

I do not believe that the State can concern itself or cope with religious education. I believe that religious education must be the sole concern of religious associations. Do not mix up religion and ethics. I believe that fundamental ethics is common to all religions. Teaching of fundamental ethics is undoubtedly a function of the State. By religion I have not in mind fundamental ethics but what goes by the name of denominationalism. We have suffered enough from State-aided religion and a State Church. A society or a group, which depends partly or wholly on State aid for the existence of its religion, does not deserve or, better still, does not have any religion worth the name. I do not need to give any illustrations in support of this obvious truth as it is to me.

The second point deserving attention in the report in question is regarding the replacing of the Urdu and Nagari scripts by the Roman Script. However attractive the proposition may appear to be and whatever is true of the Indian soldiers, in my opinion, the replacing would be a fatal blunder and we would find ourselves in the fire out of the frying pan. In this connection, I would like you to read my statement on the subject issued to the Press on January 21 last.

The third thing that pained me was the reference to military education. I think that we have to wait a long time before a nation-wide decision on the point is made. Otherwise, we are likely to become a curse rather than a blessing to the world. Leaders are not made, they are born. Should the State be in a hurry over this matter even before full independence is established? Therefore, I am

surprised that the Central Advisory Board should be party to such a sweeping recommendation as they have made.

Kazirkul, 21-2-'47

## KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES EXHIBITION

The National Week will be upon us soon. The Congress is now turning towards constructive work in all earnestness as is seen from the resolutions passed at Allahabad. It will, therefore, be useful to understand how our exhibitions are to be organized.

### 1. OBJECT

To demonstrate the fundamental ideals underlying *khadi* and Village Industries to the masses of our illiterate, poor country people, exhibition is the one effective medium. By its means they can be made to understand what the Village Movement means and how it can be achieved. Hence it is obvious that such exhibitions should be conducted with the sole and selfless object of educating our village folk on whose co-operation ultimately rests the success of the Village Movement. Exhibitions should not be organized with the object of fleecing the public for monetary gains.

### 2. GATE FEE

Only a nominal gate fee should be charged.

### 3. DECORATION

There is no need to be extravagant on this item. Decoration should be simple and effective. It should be in line with village art. Things that are available in the villages alone should be used for decoration. In these days of cloth shortage *khadi* should not be lavishly used for decoration purposes.

### 4. STALLS

Most of the stalls should be for demonstration purposes.

### 5. DEMONSTRATIONS

All the processes of an industry, right from the raw material stage to the finished stage, should be shown to the visitors, with all the details of manufacture.

### 6. SALES STALLS

The kind of articles that are made in the exhibition can be allowed to be sold in these stalls. Books and literature connected with the industries demonstrated and general books explaining the objective of the Village Movement can be allowed.

### 7. RESTAURANT STALLS

Imparting practical knowledge to the villagers on food reforms, nutrition, etc. is very important. Therefore, restaurants should form an integral part of the exhibition and should not be merely a convenience for the visitors. Hence, such stalls shall have to be run by the exhibition. Cow's milk, butter milk, separated milk curds etc. should be served to the villagers at a nominal cost. Luxurious sweets are out of place. Mill-made sugar, vegetable *gher*, mill-made oil, mill-ground flour, milled rice and such like should not be allowed in any of the preparations.

### 8. ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE DEMONSTRATIONS

All the industries that have to be demonstrated may not be local ones. To organize these, it may be necessary to bring in demonstrators from outside. For such persons adequate and satisfactory arrangements for boarding and lodging should be made. It would be



necessary to run a kitchen for them in the exhibition ground. This kitchen should be ably managed by the exhibition and should be utilized for cheap and nutritive food propaganda. Here too, none of the mill-made stuff should make its appearance. Cow's milk and *ghee* only should be served or supplied. Local workers too, should fall in line with the exhibition kitchen arrangements.

#### 9. STORE PURCHASES

Needless to say, everything should be genuine village made product. Stores Purchases officer should be an idealist who may not go in for things which may appear to be cheap. His sole object is to give encouragement to village industries and *khadi*. In case such things are not available, then the industries to produce them should be first started on the exhibition ground. For instance, if unpolished rice is not available, then paddy husking industry should be started days in advance to cope up with the coming demand. It will be cutting at the root of the exhibition itself if milled rice had to be eaten while carrying on paddy husking demonstration for advocating unpolished rice in the exhibition.

#### 10. WHEN TO START AN EXHIBITION

Considering the importance of the problem, there is no need to rush in for an exhibition with hardly any time for preparation. Exhibitions should be planned beforehand and there should be enough time allowed for collecting the materials and setting up the tools, implements etc. properly. Opening an exhibition for the visitors can even be performed when the industries have got into full swing.

#### 11. BUILDINGS AND SHEDS

There is no need for any *pucca* building. Only the store, kitchen and dining halls should be rain and weather proof, at least till the closing date of the exhibition. Sheds for housing the industries should all be thatched halls. Sides may be protected by some good mats uniformly arranged. For constructing these sheds only village products should be utilized. Zinc sheets only mar the beauty of the exhibition and are not in consonance with our ideals.

#### 12. LIGHTING

Lighting arrangements should be all out of vegetable oils. No kerosene should be brought into the exhibition.

#### 13. SANITATION

The whole ground will have to be swept and kept clean daily. Proper urinals and latrines should be provided. These in turn should serve as models for the villagers who come to see the exhibition. Flush outs etc. are out of place in an exhibition of this type. Movable latrines, trenches and buckets systems should be provided. There should be volunteers to guide the visitors as to how to use them properly. The purpose of such latrines and utilization of the manure should be fully explained to the visitors.

#### 14. POSTERS AND CHARTS

Every process and detail of the industry should be carefully described to the complete satisfaction of the visitors. To this end, posters and explanatory charts have to be provided in local languages. A great deal of lettering does not necessarily give satisfactory results. For the benefit of our illiterate villagers pictorial representation will be more beneficial.

#### 15. DRESS AND UNIFORM

All the demonstrators, workers, volunteers, officers and clerks inside the exhibition should be clad in spotless certified *khadi*.

#### 16. STATIONERY

All stationeries, letter-heads, covers, badges, tickets, passes, registers, record books, handbills, posters etc. should be only of handmade paper.

#### 17. ENTERTAINMENTS ETC.

These should not merely be a pastime. Folk songs, dances and music should be of a high order aimed to demonstrate the high water mark of our culture and art.

The lectures etc. should not be political harangues but purely elevating, informative and instructive.

#### 18. THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

The other items on the Constructive Programme should be demonstrated with the advice and aid of the institutions concerned.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

### RESOLUTION ON THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

The Working Committee of the All India National Congress passed the following resolution at its meeting of the 7th March, 1947:

The Working Committee generally approve of the resolution regarding the Constructive Programme passed unanimously at the Conference of Presidents and Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees and representatives of the All India Village Industries Association, the Charkha Sangh and the Talimi Sangh held at Allahabad and direct the General Secretaries to give effect to it in such manner as the Constructive Programme Committee hereby appointed may advise.

Further, with a view to guide and advise the Congress Committees and the public to carry out specially the following items Khadi, Village Industries, Basic Education, Harijan Work, Literacy and Hindustani Prachar—the Working Committee appoint a Constructive Programme Committee consisting of the following persons:

Shri Shankarrao Deo  
Shri Prafulla Chandra Ghose  
Shri Jugal Kishore  
Shri Jairamdas Daulatram  
Shri Diwakar  
Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani  
and one representative each of the Charkha Sangh, All India Village Industries Association and the Talimi Sangh, namely:  
Shri J. C. Kumarappa  
Shri Jajuji and  
Shri Aryanayakam

and suggest that each member of this Constructive Programme Committee, other than the representatives of the above Constructive Work Organizations, should be in charge of such items of the Programme as the Constructive Committee may decide to allocate.

The Working Committee direct the Constructive Programme Committee to submit to the Working Committee every quarter a report of its activities and of the progress of the Constructive Programme. The Committee further direct all Congress Organizations to extend their fullest co-operation to the Constructive Programme Committee in implementing the Programme which the Constructive Programme Committee may lay down from time to time.

## GANDHIJI'S WALKING TOUR DIARY

25-2-47

Gandhiji drew the attention of the audience to the meeting he was invited to attend by the relief commissioner, Nurannabi Choudhury Saheb. He advised them to follow the advice he had given without waiting for knowing what others would do. He said that he wanted the Kingdom of God on earth. Surely we did not want to wait for any one else to do so.

Then he dealt with the questions that were addressed to him.

Q. Do you not think that a strict enforcement of the *purdah* system would improve the moral condition of women?

A. He was warned by some Muslim critics against speaking on the *purdah*. He had therefore some hesitation in speaking about it. But he took heart when he turned round and saw that many Hindu women observed it and that numerous Malaya Muslim women of whom he had many friends did not observe the *purdah*. He also knew many distinguished Muslim women of India who did not observe it. Lastly the real *purdah* was of the heart. A woman who peeped through the *purdah* and contemplated a male on whom her gaze fell violated the spirit behind it. If a woman observed it in spirit, she was truly carrying out what the great Prophet had said.

Q. To those who had lost all their trade your advice is that they should voluntarily turn themselves into labourers. Who will then look after education, commerce and the like? If you thus dissolve the division of labour, will not the cause of civilization suffer?

A. The question betrayed ignorance of his meaning. If a man could not carry on his original mercantile business, it was not open to him but obligatory on him to take to physical labour, say scavenging or breaking stones. He believed in the division of labour or work. But he did insist on equality of wages. The lawyer, the doctor, or the teacher was entitled to no more than the *bhangis*. Then only would division of work uplift the nation or the earth. There was no other royal road to true civilization or happiness.

Spirit giveth life, the letter killeth. A *Ganapati* with an elephant's head was a monster but as a representation of *om* was an uplifting symbol. Ravana with ten heads was a fabled fool but if it meant a man who carried no head about him and was tossed to and fro by the fleeting passions, he was a many-headed demon.

Q. How can the caste-Hindus look after the interests of the Untouchables? How can they realize the feelings of the classes who have suffered so long at their hands? Is it not then better to entrust the interests of the Untouchables to men of their own caste?

A. He was of the opinion that the caste-Hindu owed a sacred duty to the so-called Untouchables. He must become a *bhangi* in name and action. When that happened the Untouchables would rise at a bound and Hinduism would leave a rich legacy to

the world. If that happened, the system of cleaning closets would undergo transformation. In England real *bhangis* were famous engineers and sanitarians. That could not happen in India so long as society was sluggish and slothful.

26-2-47

Q. When things are all going wrong at the Centre, what can common people do to restore unity?

A. There was a law of science which enunciated that two forces were simultaneously at work: the centripetal and the centrifugal. He wanted to apply the law to life also. The centre, therefore, of the Government attracted us all to it and in good government we would respond to that centripetal force. Similit was the centrifugal force in obedience to which we, the villagers of Hamchar, attracted the centre. Thus, where these forces worked well there would be ordered and orderly government at the centre and the circumference. When, however, the centre was going wrong, it should be pointless to dominate the seven hundred thousand villages. On the other hand, the villagers would live in perfect amity if they were wise in leaving alone the centre to look after its so-called high politics.

Q. A man who sacrifices self-interest for the sake of his community is at least unselfish to that extent. How can the heart of such a man be affected so that he will sacrifice communal interests for the interest of the nation?

A. A man whose spirit of sacrifice did not go beyond his own community became selfish himself and also made his community selfish. In his opinion the logical conclusion of self-sacrifice was that the individual sacrificed himself for the community, the community sacrificed itself for the district, the district for the province, the province for the nation and the nation for the world. A drop torn from the ocean perished without doing any good. If it remained a part of the ocean, it shared the glory of carrying on its bosom a fleet of mighty ships.

Q. In Free India whose interest shall be supreme? If a neighbouring State is in want, what should Free India do?

A. Gandhiji said that the first part of the question has been answered in the above. A truly independent Free India was bound to run to the help of its neighbours in distress. He instanced Afghanistan, Ceylon and Burma and said that the rule also applied to the neighbours of the last three and, thus by implication, they became India's neighbours too. And thus he said that if individual sacrifice was a living sacrifice, it embraced the whole of humanity.

27-2-47

Gandhiji offered prayer this evening at the prayer house which was destroyed during the riot period and was rebuilt by the Government. He had a paper put in his hands about the prayer house. It showed that the *mandir* itself escaped destruction because its resourceful priest had put away the idol in a safe place. It also stated that some old rusty tins were used in the rebuilding. They hoped and Gandhiji shared the hope that the rusty tins would be well painted so as to prevent further deterioration.

Q. Can a man serve his immediate neighbours and yet serve the whole of humanity? What is the true meaning of *swadeshi*?

A. Gandhiji said that the question had been answered by him on the previous evening. He believed in the truth implicitly that a man could serve his neighbours and humanity at the same time, the condition being that the service of the neighbours was in no way selfish or exclusive, i.e. did not in any way involve the exploitation of any other human being. The neighbours would then understand the spirit in which such service was given. They would also know that they would be expected to give their services to their neighbours. Thus considered, it would spread like the proverbial snowball gathering strength in geometrical progression encircling the whole earth.

It followed that *swadeshi* was that spirit which dictated man to serve his next door neighbour to the exclusion of any other. The condition that he had already mentioned was that the neighbour thus served had in his turn to serve his own neighbour. In this sense *swadeshi* was never exclusive. It recognized the scientific limitation of human capacity for service.

Q. The Government has been introducing schemes of industrializing the country for the maximum utilization of her raw materials, not of her abundant and unused man-power which is left to rot in idleness. Can such schemes be considered *swadeshi*?

A. Gandhiji remarked that the question had been well put. He did not exactly know what the Government plan was. But he heartily endorsed the proposition that any plan which exploited the raw materials of a country and neglected the potentially more powerful man-power was lopsided and could never tend to establish human equality.

America was the most industrialized country in the world and yet it had not banished poverty and degradation. That was because it neglected the universal man-power and concentrated power in the hands of the few who amassed fortunes at the expense of the many. The result was that its industrialization had become a menace to its own poor and to the rest of the world.

If India was to escape such disaster, it had to imitate what was best in America and the other western countries and leave aside its attractive looking but destructive economic policies. Therefore, real planning consisted in the best utilization of the whole man-power of India and the distribution of the raw products of India in her numerous villages instead of sending them outside and rebuying finished articles at fabulous prices.

After the questions had been answered, Gandhiji touched upon the fact that he had a visit from some members of the Scheduled Classes. He had told them that his mission was to teach people how to be really brave. They need not be afraid for their lives because the so-called high caste men had not yet returned to their places. If they shed their fear they would have no enemies. The Muslims would

be their friends when they recognized bravery in them. Cowards were ever exposed to the enmity of all whether Muslims or others. The way to the attainment of that courage lay not in the possession of the sword and the efficiency to kill one's opponent, but in the refusal to recognize in any other human being an enemy, along with the determination to lay down one's life and yet not surrender at the point of the sword.

Gandhiji then referred in detail to some of the abuses current in local society like child marriage, absence of widow remarriage etc. which resulted in lowering the moral stature of the people. If they could shed these weaknesses, they would gain the power to die for their faith and honour.  
28-2-47

Gandhiji took up the thread of his remarks of the previous evening about the *Namasudras*. He had no time to refer to the question of education. The blame for the neglect of education among them must lie solely upon the so-called high caste Hindus. It was preposterous to expect those who were deliberately suppressed by Hindu society that they would themselves take to education. What he, however, deplored was that there were men among them who taught them not to accept good things from the so-called high caste Hindus. He was of the opinion that it was mischievous propaganda. Therefore, he expected the *Namasudras* to give definite assurances about land and the attendance of boys and girls. In that case he had no doubt that there were enough penitent Hindus who would gladly take up the duty of educating these neglected children. He invited the *Namasudras* to send the required assurances to Thakkar Bapa who might be trusted by them to do the rest and he hoped that there were enough local Hindus who would offer their money and ability for the performance of the honourable duty of educating these children.

He then referred to the prospect of his having to go to Bihar and about the atrocities that had been committed by the Hindus of Bihar before which the happenings in Noakhali or Tipperah paled into insignificance. He had enough pressure put upon him by the Muslims in Bengal to go to Bihar. He had refused to listen to the advice because he had the hope that he could work with equal effect among the Bihar Hindus without having to go there. But he had a visit from the secretary of Dr. Syed Mahmud. He had brought a long letter from Dr. Mahmud. They should know that Dr. Mahmud was a valued friend of his. He was himself Development Member of the Bihar Ministry. In answer to his question, Dr. Mahmud had written to him asking him to visit Bihar as soon as he could. He had said that all was not as rosy as it should be and that his presence in Bihar would ease the situation and reassure the Muslims that he was equally concerned about the welfare of the Muslims as of the Hindus. He could not resist Dr. Mahmud's letter. He had, therefore, sent an urgent wire to Bihar and it was highly likely

that he might have to hurry to Bihar. In that case, he would have to interrupt the tour in Noakhali and Tipperah. But the message he would leave for the Hindus and Musalmans here, during the short stay he expected to be absent, was that they should live with one another as brothers. This they could only do if each shed internal weaknesses and were prepared to lay down their lives without retaliation for the defence of what they considered sacred.

Gandhiji then passed on to a question which had been referred to him that evening. It was with regard to the partition of Bengal into two provinces, one having a Hindu and the other a Muslim majority. Bengalis had once fought against and successfully annulled the partition of their province. But according to some, he proceeded, the time had now come when such a division had become desirable in the interest of peace. Gandhiji expressed the opinion that personally he had always been anti-partition. But it was not uncommon even for brothers to fight and separate from one another. There were many things which India had to put up with in the past under compulsion, but he himself was built in a totally different way.

In a similar manner, if the Hindus, who formed the majority in the whole of India, desired to keep everyone united by means of compulsion, he would resist it in the same manner as before. He was as much against forced partition as against forced unity.

Gandhiji then proceeded to say that whatever might have been the history of British rule in the past, there was no shadow of doubt that the British were going to quit India in the near future. It was time, therefore, that the Hindus and the Muslims should determine to live in peace and amity. The alternative was civil war which would only serve to tear the country to pieces. One did not know what the future had in store for them. If the people really and sincerely, and with a pure heart, wished unitedly for a particular thing, speaking in human language, it could be said that God, being the servant of His servants, would Himself carry out that will.

2-3-'47

It was a crowded meeting which contained men and women from Bajapti. They had come to complain that Bajapti was dropped out from the programme. As to this Gandhiji said that he would try to cover Bajapti also on his return. He could not fix the time. He was not leaving Noakhali or Tipperah without the establishment of heart unity. There was time for satisfying all reasonable expectations. He was trying to go to Bihar on Sunday. He did not expect to stay there long. He would not be able to hold the prayer meeting in Haimchar but would like to have it in Chandpur.

Q. You have referred to numerous social abuses prevalent among us. They are there, but then if the men are unwilling to effect the necessary social changes what can we women do about it?

A. Gandhiji said that there was no occasion for women to consider themselves subordinate or inferior to men. Languages proclaimed that woman was half of man and by parity of reasoning man was half of woman. They were not two separate entities but halves of one. The English language went further and called woman the better half of man. Therefore, he advised women to resort to civil rebellion against all undesirable and unworthy restraints. All restraints to be beneficial must be voluntary. There was no possibility of harm resulting from civil rebellion. It presupposed purity and reasoned resistance.

Q. Those who have lost their dear ones, or the homes which they built up through years of patient care, find it extremely difficult to forgive and forget. How can they get over that feeling and look upon the community from which the miscreants came with a feeling of brotherhood?

A. The speaker said the one way to forget and forgive was to contemplate Bihar which had done much worse than Noakhali and Tipperah. Did they want the Muslims to take dire vengeance for the Hindu atrocities there? They could not. From this they should learn to forget and forgive, if they did not wish to descend to the lowest depths of barbarity. Moreover, they must not harbour an inferiority complex. They should be brave. And forgiveness was an attribute and adornment of bravery. Let them be truly brave. True bravery refused to strike, it would suffer all infliction with patient cheerfulness. That would be the truest way of disarming opposition.

Q. Speaking about the proposed partition of Bengal one of the proposals is that there should be only two separate administrative divisions without any exchange of populations taking place. This arrangement would keep each community in its place in peace. What is your objection to such a proposal?

A. Gandhiji considered two administrative divisions to be as impracticable as exchange of populations. That would result in an armed neutrality which was bound to kill all healthy growth. The leaders of both the communities must come together as friends and reduce their differences and suffer them. Any other way was the way of barbarism and subordination to a third power.

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## HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## FISHERY AS A BASIC CRAFT

[Shri Mahadevi is a teacher attached to the cause of National Education. He is a highly educated and experienced teacher. Here is a suggestion from him, which is worthy of consideration by schools in the coastal regions. Fishery cannot be a basic craft but the same objective can be reached by a process of correlation between agriculture and fishery and by a process of correlation to human existence, not in possible correlation with almost all the subjects covered in the curriculum.]

The writer has expressed a doubt whether catching fish would be consistent with Gandhi's doctrine of *ahimsa*.

*Ahimsa*, doubtless, does mean reverence for all life and a votary of *ahimsa* would set no limit to this spirit of reverence for and oneness with life in all its forms. But we cannot grow beyond ourselves in a trice. Mankind, as a whole, has not accepted vegetarianism as a code of conduct. Millions would have to starve if they have to eschew fish or flesh from their diet.

The doctrine of non-violence, as it is placed before the world today, seeks to eschew all violence in human relations. Anger, hatred, greed, heartless exploitation that leads ultimately to strife, bitterness and war have got to be controlled and subjugated. Mankind will have made the greatest stride in its history if we succeed in eschewing violence in relations between man and man. Once this is achieved, it is an easy step—kindness to animals and reverence for all sentient life. Let us not try to run before we can walk. The spirit of non-violence, once established, is sure to grow. It is wrong to suppose that people who eat fish or flesh are wedded to violence.

—K. K.]

The Zakir Husain Committee has recommended spinning and weaving, carpentry, agriculture and leather work as basic crafts for imparting basic education to children. With the exception, perhaps, of leather work, the other three crafts are being tried in various parts of India. The Committee while recommending these crafts has clearly opined that any other craft for which local and geographical conditions are favourable may be selected, provided it satisfies two essential conditions: educational and economic. Here I would make bold to place before the Wardha Educationists for their favourable consideration and acceptance Fishing as a basic craft.

Fishing is a premier industry which can supply nourishing food to our underfed millions. Those of us who live by the seaside and have observed the fisherman at work with his various implements will not fail to see its educative value. A basic craft to be chosen as a medium of education must fulfil

one of the fundamental human necessities. Fishing affords one of the primary needs of mankind, food to the people living near the sea as much as agriculture does. It has its own place in the home and national economy.

The syllabus as outlined in the Zakir Husain Committee report can be covered through the medium of and in correlation with fishing which is a productive activity. The same whose educative possibilities have now been widely recognised is used universally for spinning yarn from hemp for purposes of net making by the women even today. Growing of hemp, spinning yarn from it, *takk* and net manufacture may be carried on in the first five grades. Even fishing with such nets as the pupil can handle may be taken up. Making nets of various kinds for catching fish of different varieties will call for a knowledge of measurements and geometry so that the course under mathematics may be easily covered in correlation with this craft. In no craft—not even in spinning and weaving—will be found so many natural points of correlation with such subjects as Geography (which is included under social studies) and General Science as in fishing. Fishery would also inspire the method of teaching other subjects like the Mother Tongue, Drawing and Music. Actual fishing with projects like boat making, scientific methods of fish curing, fish preservation and manufacture of fish products, fish culture and fish technology may be taken up in the last two grades.

Coming now to the self-supporting aspect of the fishing craft, I may say, without fear of being contradicted, that it is economically as much sound as, nay even sounder than, spinning and weaving. Hemp yarn, nets of various kinds, fish—fresh, smoked, canned, pickled and salted, fish products like fish guano, fish meal, fish oil and collection of biological specimens for sale to colleges and schools will command a ready market and will cover the running expenses of the school if conducted on right lines.

In short, fishery as a basic craft will (a) be a sound vehicle of education, (b) serve the pupil as a means of livelihood after going through a seven years' course of basic education, (c) contribute towards the current expenditure of the school, (d) train the pupil in the habit of disciplined cooperative activity, (e) give fishing a social status and (f) bring about the general uplift of the fishing communities which are backward educationally and economically.

The only doubt I have is as to how far this craft would fit in with Gandhi's basis of non-violence for the *Nai Talim*.

India has a vast sea coast running over 3000 miles in the provinces of Bombay, Madras and Orissa where Congress Ministries wedded to Basic Education and also development of fisheries are ruling today. It is up to them to explore the possibilities of fishery as a basic craft and start such schools all along the coast. The Hindustani Talimi Sangh also would do well to carry on experiments in this direction without confining itself only to spinning and weaving and agriculture.

Karwar

H. M. MANJREKAR

### A. I. R. LANGUAGE POLICY

[It is common knowledge that for the last few years the language policy of the A. I. R. has been a matter of bitter controversy between the protagonists respectively of literary Hindi and Urdu; and the association for the promotion of literary Hindi, namely, the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, had to go to the extent of boycotting the A. I. R. Thanks to the wise and statesmanlike decision that the Interim National Government have now arrived at regarding this vexed problem, we may hope, this avoidable controversy will now cease, and Hindustani, which is an all India medium of expression, will prosper through the A. I. R. Lovers of this all India language will be pleased to read in the Government Statement of policy given below that "a great body of listeners does not wish that Hindustani should be smothered in the controversy between the protagonists of literary Hindi and Urdu. Government, therefore, consider that a beginning should be made in the matter of the organization of programmes in simple Hindustani as distinct from literary Hindi or Urdu." The Statement of policy, as reported by the A. P. I., is given below. Ed.]

Government accept the unanimous recommendation of the Standing Advisory Committee that the following principles should guide the choice of vocabulary for Hindustani:

(a) The words to be found in the basic fund of Hindustani vocabulary should, irrespective of their origin, be the first to be employed as far as possible, either as they stand or for coining new words; (b) where the basic fund does not provide enough material for the vocabulary required, preference should be given to indigenous words and indigenous inflexion forms; (c) when tapping indigenous sources the guiding principle should be wide intelligibility.

In regard to the choice of Hindustani equivalents, the best course in Government's view is for a permanent Standing Advisory Committee for Hindustani to be constituted, in the first place, to examine the A. I. R. lexicon and suggest, in the light of the opinions already obtained, the Hindustani equivalents of the words covered by the lexicon and subsequently to advise the Director-General in all matters connected with the bringing up to date of the lexicon and on measures to promote and encourage Hindustani through the A. I. R. The constitution of this Committee will be announced separately.

Government feel that a great body of listeners does not wish that Hindustani should be smothered in the controversy between the protagonists respec-

tively of literary Hindi and Urdu. Government, therefore, consider that a beginning should be made in the matter of the organization of programmes in simple Hindustani as distinct from literary Hindi or Urdu and from this point of view they have decided that in the programme broadcasts some proportion must be allotted to Hindustani programmes.

In the light of these decisions Government have accepted the following other unanimous recommendations of the Standing Advisory Committee:

1. That spoken word items other than news must be either from standard Urdu and Hindi, literature or should be contributed by recognized Hindi and Urdu writers and scholars subject to the modification that there should be some items in Hindustani as well.

2. That programmes for women and children and other special audiences should be given separately in Hindi and Urdu according to the proportions fixed for Hindi and Urdu for different stations; further, that attempt should be made to increase the time allotted to such educative programmes subject to the modification that a large portion of these programmes should be in Hindustani.

3. That the language of the rural programmes was not suitable for villagers for whom it was intended and that stations should have advisory committees consisting of public men from the districts concerned to advise on all matters concerning rural programmes.

4. That *kavitas* (poems) of standard Hindi poets should be set to music and sung just as *gasals* of standard Urdu poets are being broadcast in the music programmes.

5. That there should be a Standing Advisory Committee for each of the two languages to advise the A. I. R. on all questions connected with various types of broadcasts in Hindi and Urdu. Government propose that there should be a similar committee for Hindustani also.

6. That the pronunciation of Hindi and Urdu words in classical songs should be carefully checked and the original correct pronunciation should be adhered to.

7. There should be adequate Hindi and Urdu-knowing personnel in all categories of the staff concerned with the programmes.

8. That the staff concerned with Hindustani broadcasts should know both Hindi and Urdu.

Government consider that the opening and closing announcements should be in simple language with a bias towards Hindi or Urdu according to the language of the items to which they relate, and salutations or greetings should follow the general popular salutations and greetings current in the region covered by the broadcasting station. Government consider that the equivalent of *decimat* should be *dashamalava* from which, quite clearly, the word *decimat* itself is derived.

As regards the proportions between the different languages Government have come to the following conclusions.



PESHAWAR: The programme of spoken word items should have a definite "Pashtu" bias but so as not to exceed 50 per cent including the rural programmes. The balance should be allocated between Urdu and Hindustani in the proportion of nine to one.

LAHORE: Items of mass interest and appeal should be in the local language *Punjabi* but the total proportion of *Punjabi* including the rural programmes, should not exceed 25 per cent and the balance should be allocated between Urdu, Hindi and Hindustani in the proportion of 75 per cent, 15 per cent and 10 per cent respectively.

LUCKNOW: Hindi 70 per cent, Urdu 20 per cent, Hindustani 10 per cent.

BOMBAY: Hindustani, Hindi, and Urdu should be allocated equal proportion.

CALCUTTA and Dacca: Same as above.

DELHI: Hindi 40 per cent, Urdu 40 per cent, Hindustani 20 per cent.

The aim which Government, in the larger interests of the country, have placed before themselves is to promote and encourage Hindustani, which is defined as the common language generally spoken and understood in Northern India and written in Devnagari or Urdu script. Government feel that the conclusions which they have reached would generally be acceptable to the public at large, even though they may not entirely satisfy the two parties to the controversy. The conclusions, of necessity, keep in view the general objective and strike a balance between the needs of the general body of listeners and the requirements of those among them with literary tastes.

## FRAUD OF VEGETABLE GHEE

When Dr. Hasan, the Minister for Public Health, Central Provinces and Berar, was asked the other day in the Provincial Assembly, whether the Government intended to impose restrictions on the sale of vegetable ghee, the Minister replied "The Government is advised that it will not be in the interests of public health to prohibit the sale of 'pure' vegetable ghee or to tax it to raise its price."

I was extremely surprised to read this report. Only a few weeks back Mahatma Gandhi, in the columns of the *Harijan*, emphatically condemned the sale of vegetable ghee (*vanaspathi ghee*) and described it as a great "fraud" on the public. Even from the scientific point of view, it has been now established beyond doubt that vegetable ghee is injurious to health. It is, therefore, astonishing that the Minister for Public Health should not realize the gravity of the situation.

In this connection I cannot do better than quote the following portions of a symposium on the subject of vegetable ghee, held during the Science Congress week at Bangalore last year:

"The problem of the nutritional value of vegetable ghee was discussed in all its bearings and it was felt that the widespread and unrestricted employ-

ment of vegetable ghee in the Indian dietary, in the absence of an authoritative and trustworthy pronouncement of its nutritional value or at least its innocuousness, was fraught with danger to the national health. As Professor Damodaran of Madras pointed out, it is curious that in spite of the growth and prosperity of the industry, there was little information regarding its nutritive value. Powerful vested interests have no doubt conspired to ignore certain facts about vegetable ghee since they would adversely affect their industry.

"It is fortunate, however, that a few scientists in this country have interested themselves in the problem of determining the nutritional values of the product. Dr. V. N. Patwardhan (Bombay) who spoke at the symposium revealed that vegetable ghee adversely affected the growth and the reproductive function of animals. His researches have demonstrated that litters of rats bred and maintained on vegetable ghee as the only source of fat, suffer from infantile mortality and the few survivors do not grow well. Dr. Patwardhan said that of the fats he investigated butter stood out as the fat *par excellence* viewed from any angle—growth, maintenance, reproduction and lactation. No particular nutritional advantage was derived by hydrogenation of a vegetable oil since the untreated oil was equally nutritive. On the other hand, information available from other sources indicated that the ill effects of hydrogenated oils may manifest themselves in the second or third generation of animals brought up and bred on diets containing hydrogenated fats.

"The refining and the hydrogenation of oils—the two essential processes involved in the production of vegetable ghee—are probably responsible for 'devitalizing' the oil and for depriving it of all the essential vitamins, unsaturated fatty acids and other growth-factors. Insect feeding experiments, conducted by M. S. De Souza in the Section of Fermentation Technology, Indian Institute of Science, support this fact.

"From the nutritional standpoint, the refined and hydrogenated vegetable ghee, whose popularity is reaching dangerous proportions, is not only inferior to ghee made from butter but possibly harmful to the consumer. The verdict of the scientists who participated in the discussion was clear and unambiguous. Consume butter if you can afford, otherwise take any of the ordinary edible oils, without any treatment, as the next best."

The production of vegetable ghee is indeed one of the worst forms of capitalistic exploitation of the masses and it is high time that the Congress Ministries realized the need for restricting its sale without loss of time. In fact the hydrogenation of vegetable oil should be immediately banned altogether. Advertisements deceiving the public into the belief that vegetable ghee is beneficial to health should be legally stopped. Those who cannot afford to purchase ghee should be induced to use pure vegetable oil and not 'ghee'. It is, therefore, necessary for popular governments to educate

public opinion on this point. The enlightened public should also raise its powerful voice against this crime against society

S. N. AGARWAL

## HARIJAN

March 30

1947

### FIELDS AND PASTURES NEW

The Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. has accepted the unanimous resolution of the Conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees held at Allahabad in regard to constructive work. We are happy to note that in so doing the Working Committee is alive to its changing responsibilities. A few months ago, when Mr. Churchill was thrown out and Labour was ushered into power in Britain, the world was amazed at the alertness of the British public to the needs of the peace time activities. The present resolution of the Working Committee in regard to constructive work, which has been published in the previous issue, calling upon the Provincial Congress Committees to implement the recommendations of the Allahabad Conference, is no less revolutionary in its character.

The qualities needed for constructive work are very different from those required in a programme of political agitation. It calls for sustained effort, concentration and training in the service of the villages in several fields of usefulness, such as social, economic, dietetic, health and hygiene and educational. If the resolution of the Allahabad Conference is to be implemented in all earnestness, erstwhile Congress workers will have immediately to seek the necessary training before they attempt to shoulder the hard and trying responsibilities of constructive work. We hope short courses in theoretical subjects and effective practical training will be arranged for by the Committees concerned without any loss of time.

Hitherto the 'constructive bodies kept out of their membership active political workers. Now that the Congress is switching over to constructive work, it would seem that active membership of these organizations must be thrown open to all who wish to work for the betterment of the villages. Hence forward training in democracy in an Independent India will also have to be construed as constructive work. Up to the present, as the country was engaged in a fight for freedom, most of our selfless workers were drawn into the political arena. We hope, now that other fields are open for the activities of these proved patriots, they will come in with the same zeal and spirit of service to improve the condition of the life of our people.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

### GANDHIJI'S BIHAR TOUR DIARY

8-3-'47

Gandhiji said at the prayer meeting that he hoped the audience would forgive him for speaking always and exclusively on the theme which had brought him to Bihar. It had become his duty to listen to the tale of woe that the Muslim sufferers unfolded before him from day to day. One of them had come to him and complained that, even so recently as two days ago, things were pilfered from Muslim houses. If such was the case, it was most unfortunate and if it was at all general, it betrayed a lack of the spirit of repentance without which there was no possibility of concord between the two communities in Bihar, indeed in the whole of India.

The speaker, therefore, expressed his surprise that he had received a telegram warning him that he must not condemn the Hindus in Bihar, for, what they had done was purely from a sense of duty. He had no hesitation in saying that the writer did no good to India or to Hinduism by issuing the warning. He spoke as a Hindu having a living faith in his own religion and he claimed to be a better Hindu for claiming to be a good Muslim, Christian, Parsi or Jew even as he was a Hindu. He invited everyone of his audience to feel likewise. And as such, he would forfeit his claim to be a Hindu if he bolstered up the wrong-doing of fellow Hindus or any other fellow being.

He claimed to do them a service by opening their eyes to their wrong-doing. They must not be carried away by the mischief, for instance, which was being done in the Punjab. If they were qualifying themselves as free citizens of India become free, they must not resort to wrong-doing on hearing of the wrongs perpetrated in other parts of India or anywhere else. Their and his duty was to imitate and assimilate whatever was good, no matter where found.

Now that he had been four days among them, he ventured to draw their attention to the duty they owed to themselves and to the distressed Muslims, viz., that they should pay whatever they could towards the relief of the sufferers. He, therefore, invited them to give whatever they could towards that cause by way of a token of repentance. It was unfortunate that he had to remind them of the obvious thing. Many Hindu donors sent him donations for the sufferers in Noakhali, which he thought amounted to nearly three lakhs of rupees. Having received the reminder, he hoped that they would come forth with handsome donations. Naturally, every pie spent would be accounted for. They should not deceive themselves into the belief that now that they had a representative Government, they would do everything in the way of finances.

The more democratic a Government, the more it laboured under disadvantages in making use of public funds. Therefore, in a well-ordered society, the legitimate limitations which Government suffered from were only crossed by wise public donations.

10-3-'47

As the audience took some time to settle down during this evening's prayer Gandhiji remarked at

the beginning of his address that it would be difficult for him to tell all that he wanted to do if they continued in the same manner. He expected that they had come to the prayer ground with an earnest desire to pray and then do the work of God, not for mere sight-seeing.

Several correspondents had complained to him that he was utilizing his prayer meetings for the propagation of his favourite political ideas. But the speaker never suffered from any feeling of guilt on that account. Human life being an undivided whole, no line could ever be drawn between its different compartments, nor between ethics and politics. A trader who earned his wealth by deception only succeeded in deceiving himself when he thought that his sins could be washed away by spending some amount of his ill-gotten gains on the so-called religious purposes. One's everyday life was never capable of being separated from his spiritual being. Both acted and reacted upon one another.

Indeed, it might even be said, continued Gandhiji, that the Law which held together the universe was indistinguishable from the Law-Maker. Speaking in human language, one might even go so far as to say that God Himself was subject to the Wheel of the Law. We were used to the saying that "the king could do no wrong." But in God's universe even such a distinction was hardly permissible. One could only say that "there could be no wrong in the Law, for the Law and the Law-Maker were one and the same." There was no scope for even the least little blade of grass to be free from the operation of God's laws.

Gandhiji then referred to a certain letter he had received from a very frank and honest friend. The letter had reminded him that the efforts for religious toleration that he had been making were all in vain for, after all, the quarrel between the Hindus and the Muslims was not on account of religious differences but was essentially political in origin; religion had only been made to serve as a label for political distinctions. The friend had expressed the opinion that it was a tussle between United India on the one hand and India Divided on the other. Gandhiji confessed that he did not yet know what the full meaning of dividing India really was. But what he wanted to impress upon the audience was that supposing it were only a so-called political struggle, did it mean that all rules of decency and morals should be thrown to the winds? When human conflicts were divorced from ethical considerations, the road could only lead to the use of the atom bomb where every trace of humanity was held completely in abeyance. If there were honest differences among the people of India, should it then mean that the forty crores should descend to the level of beasts, slaughter men, women and children, innocent and guilty alike, without the least compunction? Could they not agree to settle their differences decently and in a comradely spirit? If they failed, only slavery of an unredeemable type could await them at the end of the road.

At this stage the audience near the dias became rather noisy and Gandhiji had to cut short his speech. Unlike other days he stayed on for the collection for the Muslim sufferers. He made a fervent appeal to the audience to untie their purse strings generously and contribute all that they possibly could towards the fund. Referring to the question whether the Muslims had contributed similarly for relief in Noakhali, Gandhiji said that it was indeed true that little had come to him from that quarter. But the reason, he believed, had been that he was now looked upon as enemy No. 1 rather than a friend by the majority of the Muslim community in India. Yet even in Comilla, there had been a case where some Muslim and Christian friends had contributed more than Rs. 800 along with a parcel of conch-shell bangles and vermilion for distribution among the Hindu women from whom such ceremonial signs had been forcibly removed during the disturbances.

11-3-'47

In the beginning of his address Gandhiji said that that was perhaps his last evening prayer for the time being in the city of Patna, because his tour was going to begin on the following day. For the next few days he would tour with the city as the centre and return to it every night for rest, the prayers being naturally held elsewhere. He expected, however, that the spirit in which the previous evening's contributions to the fund for the Muslim sufferers had been made would continue unabated. The collections had amounted to nearly Rs. 2,000, besides there were some ornaments which yet remained to be auctioned. He was glad that women had given their ornaments, and he reminded them in this connection that the true ornament of woman was a pure heart, the place of which could never be taken by any physical adornment.

Then Gandhiji referred to a letter from a correspondent which had lately reached him. It was in answer to that letter that he wanted to say that if a man abused him, it would never do for him to return the abuse. An evil returned by another evil only succeeded in multiplying it, instead of leading to its reduction. It was a universal law, he said, that violence could never be quenched by superior violence but could only be quenched by non-violence or non-resistance. But the true meaning of non-resistance had often been misunderstood or even distorted. It never implied that a non-violent man should bend before the violence of an aggressor. While not returning the latter's violence by violence, he should refuse to submit to the latter's illegitimate demand even to the point of death. That was the true meaning of non-resistance.

If, for instance, proceeded the speaker, someone asked him under threat of violence to admit a claim, say, like that of Pakistan, he should not immediately rush to return the violence thus offered. In all humility he would ask the aggressor what was really meant by the demand and if he was really satisfied that it was something worth striving for, then he would have no hesitation in proclaiming from the housetop that the demand

was just and it had to be admitted by everyone concerned. But if the demand was backed by force, then the only course open to the non-violent man was to offer non-resistance against it as long as he was not convinced of its justice. He was not to return violence by violence but neutralize it by withholding one's hand and, at the same time, refusing to submit to the demand. This was the only civilized way of going on in the world. Any other course could only lead to a race for armaments interspersed by periods of peace which was by necessity and brought about by exhaustion, when preparations would be going on for violence of a superior order. Peace through superior violence inevitably led to the atom bomb and all that it stood for. It was the completest negation of non-violence and of democracy which was not possible without the former.

The non-violent resistance described above required courage of a superior order to that needed in violent warfare. Forgiveness was the quality of the brave, not of the cowardly. Gandhiji here related a story from the *Mahabharata*, when one of the Pandava brothers was accidentally injured while living in disguise in the home of King Virata. The brothers not only hid what had happened, but for fear that harm might come to the host if a drop of blood touched the ground, they prevented it from doing so by means of a golden bowl. It was this type of forbearance and courage which Gandhiji wished every Indian to develop whether he was a Hindu, Musalman, Christian, Parsi or Sikh. That alone could rescue them from their present fallen condition.

The lesson of non-violence was present in every religion but Gandhiji fondly believed that perhaps it was here in India that its practice had been reduced to a science. Innumerable saints had laid down their lives in *tapashcharya* until poets had felt that the Himalayas became purified in their snowy whiteness by means of their sacrifice. But all that practice of non-violence was nearly dead today. It was necessary to revive the eternal law of answering anger by love and violence by non-violence; and where could this be more readily done than in this land of King Janaka and Ramachandra?

12-3-43

Gandhiji held his prayer by the side of the *Mangles Talao* in Patna city this evening. On his way, he had visited the village of Kumrahar where a prosperous Muslim family had been ruined by wholesale plunder. All books, furniture and other belongings had been destroyed, while a neighbouring *masjid* had been stripped of its wood work and then left practically in ruins.

Gandhiji referred in the beginning of his address to the decision of the British Government to quit India. The latter were a nation with a strong sense of reality; and when they realized that it did not pay to rule, they did not hesitate to withdraw their power over a country. This had been the course of British history in the past. If the British were going, as they surely were, what should be the duty of Indians at the same time, asked Gandhiji. Were we to

return blow for blow among ourselves, and thus perpetuate our slavery, only to tear up our Motherland, in the end, into bits which went by the name of Hindustan and Pakistan, Brahministan and Achhuti-  
stan? What greater madness could there be than what had taken place in Bengal and Bihar, or what was taking place in the Punjab or the Frontier Province?

Should we forget our humanity and return a blow for a blow? If some misdirected individual took it into his head to desecrate a temple or break idols, should a Hindu in return desecrate a mosque on that account? Did it any way help to protect the temple or to save the cause of Hinduism? Personally, said Gandhiji, he was as much an idol-worshipper as an idol-breaker, and he suggested that the whole of the audience, whether Hindu, Muslim or any other, were also so, whether they admitted it or not. He knew that mankind thirsted for symbolism. Were not *masjids* or churches in reality the same as *mandirs*? God resided everywhere, no less in stock or stone than in a single hair on the body of man. But men associated sacredness with particular places and things more than with others. Such sentiment was worthy of respect when it did not mean restrictions on similar freedom for others. To every Hindu and Musalman, Gandhiji's advice was that if there was compulsion anywhere, they should gently but firmly refuse to submit to it. Personally, he himself would hug an idol and lay down his life to protect it rather than brook any restriction upon his freedom of worship.

That required courage of a higher order than was needed in violent resistance. Gandhiji then narrated the story of Badshah Khan's conversion to non-violence. The latter came from a tribe whose tradition was to return a blow for a blow, there being cases where blood feud had been handed down from sire to son. Badshah Khan himself felt that such endless reprisals only served to perpetuate the slavery of the Pathans. When he took to non-violence, he realized a kind of transformation coming over the Pathan tribes. It did not mean that every Pathan had undergone the transformation or that Badshah Khan who was endearingly called a *fakir* because he had won the heart of everybody by love and service, had himself reached the highest goal of non-violence. As far as he, the speaker, knew he (Badshah Khan) was every day nearing the goal because he realized the truth of it. It was this type of brave non-violence which Gandhiji wished the audience to imitate.

Gandhiji continued that he had come to Bihar in order to help the people in realizing the extent of the madness to which they had stooped. His object was to induce them to repent and thus undo the wrongs which had been perpetrated. The ruined houses of the Muslim family, he had just visited, had almost brought tears to his eyes. But he had steeled his heart and had come to teach the Hindu his duty towards his Muslim brother. True repentance required true courage. And Bihar, which had risen to great heights during the *satyagraha* in Champaran and which was the land over which the Buddha had roamed and taught was surely capable once more

of rising to heights from which it could radiate its effulgence over the rest of India. Only unadulterated non-violence could raise it to that status.

Gandhiji added that, in his opinion, the departure from the straight path of non-violence they had made at times in 1942 was very probably responsible for the aberration to which he had referred. He instanced also the spirit of general lawlessness which had seized them inasmuch as they dared to travel without tickets, pull chains unlawfully or in senseless vindictiveness, burnt zamindari crops or belongings. He was no lover of the zamindari system. He had often spoken against it, but he frankly confessed that he was not the enemy of the zamindars. He owned no enemies. The best way to bring about reform in the economic and social systems, whose evils were admittedly many, was through the royal road of self-suffering. Any departure from it only resulted in merely changing the form of the evil that was sought to be liquidated violently. Violence was incapable of destroying the evil root and branch.

Lastly, Gandhiji referred to a letter he had received from the Harijans asking him to visit their quarters and to live with them. He would have loved to do both the things; but he had to restrict himself to the mission that had brought him to Bihar. But having made himself a *bhanga* in thought and deed, he could never forget the Harijans. He was sorry to say that the latter were still suffering from any disabilities at all and that they did not get ready redress of their grievances.

13-3-47

Gandhiji visited the ruined Muslim homes of the village of Pasa before he reached the prayer ground at Ebbadulah Chawk. He began his address by a reference to the sight which had just greeted his eyes and he expressed surprise at the madness which had temporarily swept over the otherwise peaceful inhabitants of Bihar. To anyone who felt that Bihar was avenging Noakhali by what it did, he would firmly say that this was not the way of vengeance. The mentality which made one section of Indians look upon another as enemies was suicidal; it could only serve to perpetuate their slavery. In the end, such a mentality might even lead a person into the parochial feeling, when he would prize the freedom of his own village above everything else, if that were at all possible. What he really wanted every Indian to develop was the sense that an evil deed committed anywhere in India was the concern of every other Indian. Each should hold himself personally responsible for it and share the burden of undoing the wrong. Any other course could only lead them to happenings which the Punjab was witnessing today.

Invitations had come to him to leave Bihar in charge of the people's representatives and proceed to the Punjab for the restoration of peace. But Gandhiji did not consider himself so vain as to think that he could serve everywhere. He considered himself to be an humble instrument in the hands of God. His hope was to do or die in the quest for peace and amity between the sister communities in Bihar and Bengal. And he could only go away when both the communities had become friendly

with one another and no longer needed his services. In spite of the fact that he could not see his way of going to the Punjab, he hoped that his voice would reach the Hindus, the Musalmans and the Sikhs of that province, who should try to put an end to the senseless savagery which had gripped them in its hold.

Gandhiji then appealed to the local villagers to restore all the property looted from Muslim homes. They should also clean up the debris that had been created by their mischief and make it possible for their Muslim neighbours to return home quickly and safely. Incidentally he drew the attention of the audience to the fact that the village he had visited was as filthy as could be imagined. He wanted all villagers to volunteer their services, set the paths right, fill up the ditches and replace them by gardens for the recreation of the inhabitants and, in short, convert the dung heaps into abodes of peace and happiness. They could at least begin with those villages which had been laid waste by their insane anger against their Muslim brothers.

14-3-47

Khusrupur is one of the small towns where the comparatively prosperous Muslim residents were subjected to concentrated attack. Prior to arrival at the prayer ground Gandhiji visited several such ruined homes and, when he began his address after the prayer, he appealed to the audience to lend him not only their ears but also their hearts as well.

His aim was the restoration of the old feelings which formerly prevailed among the Bihar Hindus and Musalmans. Then it could be said of them that they did not merely live like brothers, but were veritably as brothers and sisters to one another. Now and then there might have been differences and even quarrels, but it never went to the point when heart was rent from heart, as it seemed to be now. Painful things had happened which it was even difficult for him to relate; but then he wanted them to keep such happenings in the back ground and think of what their duty was in the present context.

There were only two ways lying before the country: the course that the Punjab seemed to have taken of returning a blow for a blow, and the other of unadulterated non-violence. Referring to the method of violence, Gandhiji said that some sort of peace might perhaps be established in the province by means of force. He would hope, but it could never be said with confidence, that the evil would not spread throughout India, as it happened in the case of 1857. Similar things, as we know, had happened during the Sepoy War when it was quelled by means of superior arms. Outwardly, things quieted down but the hatred against an imposed rule went deep underground, with the result that we were even today reaping the harvest of what was then sown. The British Government took the place of the East India Company. They established schools and law courts and Indians took to these with enthusiasm; they even cooperated in the diffusion of Western culture; but, in spite of all this, they could never bear the insult or the degradation involved in political subjugation. Similarly, but in a worse manner, if the Punjab quietened

down by reason of superior force used against the people of the Punjab, the seed of further quarrel and bitterness between brothers and sisters that the Hindus and the Muslims were would go still deeper.

Violence, continued Gandhiji, thus could never be ended by counter-violence. The only effective alternative to it was the way of non-violence. Bihar has had a lesson of it in Champaran in 1917, but he could perhaps say at this distance of time that although the farmers who were responsible for the movement were soon disciplined to stay their hands while non-cooperating with the English planters, their non-violence was the non-violence of the weak. Now that Indians were fighting violently as between brother and brother such non-violence could be of no avail, only non-violence of the strong could prove really effective.

That required, as the first step, that there should be true repentance, based not on bravado but on the genuine feeling that right had to be done by those who had suffered from our momentary madness. Gandhiji wished everyone not to be swayed by his personal influence or by reason of his past services but think calmly and with sufficient detachment; and, if they felt that the way of non-violence appealed to their head and heart, then they should come forward for the reparation of the injury done to the Muslim brother.

The Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League who had been good enough to come to him had complained that although the Government had made arrangement for repatriations, the mental attitude of the Hindus was not sufficiently reassuring. Gandhiji firmly said that the reality had to be faced and a determined effort made by everyone of them to root out the least trace of the feeling of hostility and make it possible for their Muslim neighbours to live in brotherly love once more.

He proceeded by saying that if the Bihari Hindus did not honestly feel like it and imagined that the way of violence alone was the proper answer to the challenge of the times, then let them say so frankly and truthfully. He would not be hurt by the truth but would prefer not to live and see the day when the method of non-violence was thus beaten. It did not matter where he laid down his life for bringing about his cherished aim; anywhere in India would still be India for him. But he still hugged the hope that non-violence would surely be crowned by victory in the end, for in the example which Bihar might set in this line today, lay future hope of peace and progress for our unhappy land.

15-3-47

Gandhiji had gone on a visit to the Governor about an hour before prayer time from where he returned five minutes too late to the prayer ground. When he began his address he first referred to that visit and said that people might naturally be interested to learn why he had gone there. For him it was a courtesy call because he could not go expecting any favours or services from the Governor as of yore. Under a responsible Government, which theirs was, services and favours he could expect

only from the ministers who were the representatives of the people. The Governor had undoubtedly powers with reference to the minorities but these too he could exercise only with great restraint. What he discussed was for him to communicate to the ministers. One thing, however, the speaker was free to tell them. To his agreeable surprise the Governor had said that those who were responsible to the people had to begin with themselves. If they did not begin with their individual lives and showed relative perfection, they could not be real reformers or servants of the people.

Gandhiji wanted people also to disabuse themselves of any thought that they had usurped any power from the British. Non-violent non-cooperation did not admit of any such assumption. What they performed was a simple duty. The result undoubtedly was that the British naturally and voluntarily divested themselves of much authority and powers and it was up to them to do their duty along the lines of non-violence, if they were to have complete power in and for the people. The late events in Bihar were a departure from that right conduct and, if the truth was not recognized and the infection of the Punjab spread, he had not a shadow of doubt that they would lose what was within their grasp. He, therefore, expected Bihar to recognize the fact and do its duty honourably and well.

Gandhiji then proceeded to relate his experiences during the three short visits which had been paid to the neighbouring villages. It was painful for him to find the homes in the same condition as when the rioters had left them. If they wanted their Muslim neighbours to come back, it was necessary that the proper conditions should be restored and the debris completely cleared. Every individual who felt it was his duty to make the return of the refugees smooth, could at once lend a hand in rendering the broken homes habitable once more.

Gandhiji then referred to the healthy competition which had been noticed among the rural people for contributing towards the relief fund. In quantity the collections might have fallen short of what went to the credit of the inhabitants of Bankipore, but quantity was there made up by quality, for most of the rural contributions were made up of very small sums of money.

Gandhiji then told the audience what promises he had made on their behalf to the Muslim sufferers who had come to him in the course of the day. He had assured them, in their name, that a repetition of the recent tragedy was impossible in Bihar. He had assured a flourishing Muslim merchant that he should not be afraid of restarting his business in full confidence, for he was sure that the Bihari Hindu would honour that pledge.

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Come at **ق**. पहुँचना । آنا  
 Come away **ق**. چلے آنا; हट जाना । آना  
 Come by **ق**. मिलना; हाथ आना, हाथ लगना ।  
 ملا, हाथ आना, हाथ लगा  
 Come down **ق**. नीचे आना, गिरना ।  
 Come down upon **ق**. झड़कना, झाड़ना ।  
 Come forward **ق**. सामने या आगे आना, मैदलमें आना ।  
 सामने आना, मैदल में आना  
 Come home to **ق**. समझमें आना, दिलको लगना ।  
 समझ में आना, दिल को लगा  
 Come in **ق**. अन्दर आना, रिवाज पाना ।  
 Come in for **ق**. हिस्सा पाना, लेना ।  
 Come in one's way **ق**. रुकावट डालना, रोक्ना ।  
 रुकावट डालना, रुक  
 Come into **ق**. पाना ।  
 Come into one's head **ق**. मनमें आना, कयाल पैदा होना ।  
 मन में आना, कयाल पैदा होना  
 Come in useful **ق**. काममें आना ।  
 Come off **ق**. अलग होना, बचकर निकल आना; पूरा होना,  
 निकलना पाना ।  
 Come on **ق**. आगे बढ़ना, फटना, फूटना ।  
 Come out **ق**. फूटना, निकलना, चलना, सामने या बाहर आना;  
 काम छोड़ देना; हड़ताल करना; छुटना ।  
 फूटना, निकलना, चलना, सामने या बाहर आना; काम छोड़ देना; हड़ताल करना; छुटना  
 Come out with **ق**. कह देना, बताना, बताना देना ।  
 कह देना, बताना, बताना देना  
 Come over **ق**. दूरे आना, मिलने आना; अक्षरमें आना ।  
 दूरे आना; मिलने आना; अक्षर में आना  
 Come round **ق**. सामना, मान लेना, सही होना; आना ।  
 सामना, मान लेना, सही होना; आना  
 Come to **ق**. होना; पहुँचना; होशमें आना ।  
 होना; पहुँचना; होश में आना  
 Come to an end **ق**. खतम या पूरा होना ।  
 Come to blows **ق**. लड़ाई पर झुट्ट आना ।  
 Come to light **ق**. रोशनीमें आना; साक्ष्य हो जाना ।  
 रोशनी में आना; साक्ष्य हो जाना  
 Come short **ق**. कम होना, कम पड़ना ।  
 Come under **ق**. गिनतीमें आना; अक्षरमें आना ।  
 गिनती में आना; अक्षर में आना  
 Come up **ق**. बुगना, निकलना; सामने आना; बाहर होना ।  
 बुगना, निकलना; सामने आना; बाहर होना  
 Come upto scratch **ق**. पूरा उतरना ।  
 Come upon **ق**. आ पड़ना, मिलना; हट पड़ना ।  
 आ पड़ना, मिलना; हट पड़ना  
 Come up to time **ق**. बखतर आना ।  
 Come and go **ق**. आना-जाना ।  
 Come light go, light बार दिनकी चौदनी ।  
 Come what may जो भी हो, कुछ भी हो ।  
 जो भी हो, कुछ भी हो  
 Come-at-able **adj**. पहुँचमें, पहुँचके अन्दर ।  
 Comedian **n**. मोंड, खौली, नाटक भिन्ननेवाला ।  
 मोंड, खौली, नाटक भिन्ननेवाला  
 Comedienne **n**. मोंड, खौली (भरीत) ।

Comedy **n**. हँसनेवाला नाटक ।  
 Comely **adj**. सुहावनी, सुन्दर, खूबसूरत ।  
 Comestibles **n**. खाने खाद्य चीजें ।  
 Comet **n**. दुसदर तारा, पुच्छल तारा ।  
 Comfit **n**. मिठावची दाना; मिठाई ।  
 Comfort **ق**. दिलासा देना, धीरज बँधाना, लक्ष्मी देना ।  
 दिलासा देना, धीरज बँधाना, लक्ष्मी देना  
 Comfort **n**. तसल्ली, दिलासा, आराम, सुख ।  
 तसल्ली, दिलासा, आराम, सुख  
 Comforts, creature **n**. अलग जाना, कपड़ा पहिर, आरामकी चीजें ।  
 Comforter **n**. सुख पहुँचानेवाला, सूनी पुनर्बन्ध ।  
 सुख पहुँचानेवाला, सूनी पुनर्बन्ध  
 Comforter, Job's **n**. झूठी तसल्ली देनेवाला ।  
 झूठी तसल्ली देनेवाला  
 Comic **adj**. हँसनेवाला ।  
 Comity **n**. सच्चा बरताव, भयमनसाहृत; भाभीपारा ।  
 सच्चा बरताव, भयमनसाहृत; भाभीपारा  
 Comity of nations **n**. देशका आपसमें अन्तर्गत बरताव ।  
 देशका आपसमें अन्तर्गत बरताव  
 Comma **n**, (,) पढ़ने या लिखनेमें जरूरी ठहरनेका चिह्न ।  
 पढ़ने या लिखने में जरूरी ठहरने का चिह्न  
 Commas, inverted **n**. (") अवतरण या भिन्नताके चिह्न और सहीरके चिह्न ।  
 अवतरण या भिन्नता के चिह्न और सहीर के चिह्न  
 Command **ق**. हुक्म या आज्ञा देना; राज करना; सरकारी करार; सिरपर होना, बूँचे होना ।  
 हुक्म या आज्ञा देना; राज करना; सरकारी करार; सिरपर होना, बूँचे होना  
 Command **n**. हुक्म; सरकारी; हुक्म, आज्ञा ।  
 हुक्म; सरकारी; हुक्म, आज्ञा  
 Commandant **n**. सरदार—आमदार किले या गढ़का ।  
 सरदार—आमदार किले या गढ़का  
 Commander **n**. सरदार, सेनापति ।  
 Commander-in-chief **n**. जमी तार, जमी सरदार ।  
 जमी तार, जमी सरदार  
 Commandeer **ق**. ज़ोरी बिलेवाले के लिये ले लेना; छीन लेना, बेगारमें लेना ।  
 ज़ोरी बिलेवाले के लिये ले लेना; छीन लेना, बेगारमें लेना  
 Commandment **n**. श्रावण हुक्म, भीखारी आज्ञा ।  
 श्रावण हुक्म, भीखारी आज्ञा  
 Commandments, the ten **n**. दस हुक्म (जो मूना पैगम्बरको मंगलावधि तरफसे मिले) ।  
 दस हुक्म (जो मूना पैगम्बर को मंगलावधि तरफसे मिले)  
 Commando **n**. ज़ोरी दल ।  
 Commemorate **ق**. मनाना, रवाना, याद या स्मरण दिलावना, यादगार कायम करना ।  
 मनाना, रवाना, याद या स्मरण दिलावना, यादगार कायम करना  
 Commemoration **n**. भाद, स्मरण, मानता, यादगारी ।  
 भाद, स्मरण, मानता, यादगारी  
 Commence **ق**. शुरू करना, शुरू होना, चल पड़ना, छिड़कना, शुरू करना ।  
 शुरू करना, शुरू होना, चल पड़ना, छिड़कना, शुरू करना  
 Commencement **n**. शुरू, शुरूआत, आरम्भ ।  
 शुरू, शुरूआत, आरम्भ  
 Commend **ق**. शीमा, सुपुर् कराना; सराहना, मज्जा पाना ।  
 शीमा, सुपुर् कराना; सराहना, मज्जा पाना

**Commend me to (person)** *v.* मेरा क़त्ब करना, मेरा प्रशंसा करना। (किरीको) (किसी को) मेरा प्रशंसा किया, मेरा प्रशंसा किया।

**Commendable** *adj.* सराहना या तारीफ़ के लायक, जिसके बारे में अच्छा कहा जा सके।

**Commendation** *n.* सराहना, तारीफ़, सिफ़ारिश।

**Commensurable** *adj.* मेक सम्बन्धित, समान, बराबर।

**Commensurate** *adj.* मेक अनुपात का, समान, बराबर।

**Comment** *n.* राय, मत; टीका, टिप्पणी।

**Commentary** *n.* टीका, शब्द।

**Commerce** *n.* व्यापार, निज्जत।

**Commerce, chamber of** *n.* व्यापार सभा, सिविली कमिशन।

**Commercial traveller** *n.* व्यापारी या सिविली फ़ेरीवाला।

**Commingle** *v.* मिश्रित, मिलाना।

**Commingle** *v.* टुकड़े-टुकड़े करना, छोटे-छोटे हिस्से करना।

**Commiserate** *v.* दया करना, तरस जाना, रस्य करना।

**Commissar** *n.* कमीसर (रूस में किसी महकमेका सरदार)।

**Commissariat** *n.* रसदका महकमा, कमिसरियट।

**Commissary** *n.* प्रतिनिधि; नायब; दरोघ; मुफ़्तला, रसदरसानी।

**Commission** *n.* शोध, सुपुर्दगी; परवाना, सनद; सिफ़ारिश, अधिकारी; दस्तूरी, दफ़्तरी, आदत; आज्ञा, हुकूम; विशेष सजा, शासक समायत।

**Commission** *v.* शौरना, सिफ़ारिश देना, अधिकार देना।

**Commissioner** *n.* अमीन, बड़ा अफसर; शासक समायत का सहायक सरदार।

**Commit** *v.* शोधना, हवाले करना, सुपुर्द करना; करना।

**Commit oneself** *v.* बचन देना, बंध जाना, फंस जाना।

**Commit to memory** *v.* याद करना, रट लेना।

**Commit to prison** *v.* कैद कर देना, जेल भेजना।

**Commitment** *n.* वादा, बचन, पारंगी।

**Committee** *n.* सभा, संघायत, कमेटी।

**Committee, standing** *n.* स्थायी कमेटी।

**Committee, working** *n.* कार्य समिति।

**Commode** *n.* पाकघरे की बौखी।

**Commodious** *adj.* सुहा, समान-बोहा, काफ़ी, आरामदायक।

**Commodity** *n.* माल, वस्तु, सामान।

**Commodore** *n.* समुद्री सेनाका मेक अफसर, बहरी बेड़ेका मेक अफसर।

**Commodore, air** *n.* हवाई बेड़ेका मेक अफसर।

**Common** *adj.* आम, सरल, सतेका; सामूहिक, सामूहिक; बहुत; कमीना, गीब।

**Common gender** *n.* लिंग, नर-महिला, लिंग।

**Common law** *n.* सिविली कानून।

**Common noun** *n.* आतिवाकक शब्द, आम वस्तु।

**Common prayer, Book of** *n.* अंग्रेजी गिरजेकी प्रार्थना या पुस्तक।

**Common room** *n.* आम बैठकघर।

**Common people** *n.* आम लोग, जनता।

**Common practice** *n.* आम रस्द, आम रिवाज।

**Common sense** *n.* अकल सलीस, साधारण बुद्धि, सोटी समझ।

**Common time or measure** *n.* दो या चारकी ताल।

**Common** *n.* सरल, सामान्य, सामान्य, मेदान।

**Common, in** *adv.* सरल, सरल।

**Common with, in** *adv.* सरल, सरल।

**Common, out of the** *adv.* अंग्रेजी, अंग्रेजी।

**Commonality** *n.* प्रजा, जनता, आम लोग।

**Commoner** *n.* आम लोग या जनतामेंसे, रस्य।

**Commonplace** *n.* आम बातें, आम कहानियाँ।

**Commonplace** *adj.* सामान्य, सामान्य।

**Commons** *n.* प्रजा, जनता, आम लोग।

**Commons, House of** *n.* प्रजासभा, हाउस ऑफ़ कॉमन्स।

**Commonwealth** *n.* प्रजासत्ताक, सिविली।

**Commotion** *n.* गड़बड़, हलचल; बेवैनी; बलवा।

**Communal** *adj.* सामूहिक, सामूहिक; सिविली, सामूहिक।

**Communalism** *n.* सिविली, सिविली।

**Commune with** *v.* आत्मचिन्ता, आत्मचिन्ता।

**Communicate** *v.* करना, बताना, जताना, बताना या बताना, सिफ़ारिश करना; मिलना, मिले होना।

**Communication** *n.* बताना, सिफ़ारिश; बताना, मिलना; रस्द।

**Communication** *n.* आवाज के करिये, आवाज के रस्ते।

**Communicative** *adj.* सामूहिक, सामूहिक, बताने के रस्ते।



## HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## CREATIVE FREEDOM

[The following is a summary of Acharya Kripalani's address at the Conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees held at Allahabad. — J. C. K.]

Among us are those who in the past gave up our studies or our careers, courted imprisonment and suffered lathi blows. I hope the ideals of simplicity and sacrifice which inspired us then will continue to sustain us.

## REWARDS

At that time we did not even dream of material rewards for our sacrifices. But today as the prospect of such rewards has gained actuality, we are exposed to dangerous temptations. Not all of us have been able to resist them. We are becoming soft and ease-loving. We hunt for offices and ministerial appointments and are jealous of those who secure them.

When in office, we often ape the ways of our British predecessors whom we are so fond of condemning. Our organization has been built on voluntary sacrifice and self-restraint, and if we give up these ideals so easily we shall fail to bring real Swaraj to our people.

## SELF-RESTRAINT

In fact there can be no real freedom without self-restraint. If freedom meant the right of everyone to do as he pleased then we have more of such freedom in India than is found anywhere else in the world.

We can spit anywhere and commit nuisance wherever we like. Our house-wives regularly throw the daily rubbish on the street. We are free to keep our children illiterate and to infect our neighbours with whatever diseases we breed in our homes.

We have more freedom to pollute the Ganges which we worship than the Englishman has to pollute the Thames which he does not pretend to worship. To take another example, our young students, with little experience of life, presume to dictate to us, as no English student would have dared to dictate to Churchill how to prosecute the war against Germany.

During my recent tour in Bihar, young students freely boarded my train without ticket and several times pulled the chain with impunity and detained the train ostensibly to honour the Congress President. Such manifestations of freedom are unheard of in England and other free countries.

## TRUE FREEDOM

True freedom is creative and not self-destructive. It grows with self-restraint. Gandhi is not free to smoke, to drink or to frequent the cinema, though

he is the freest individual we have. His freedom is the freedom of the dancer who has to step on the edge of a sword.

He is at once the most free and the most restrained of men. He taught us revolt as well as self-restraint. The former being easy was learnt well by us. The latter we have not cared to learn. A great task and a small mind go ill together.

We cannot win Swaraj until we have learnt to subordinate the smaller to the larger interest.

Let me cite an example from my recent experience in Bihar. We were late in arriving at a railway junction. I was worried, but the local Congress Secretary assured me that it did not matter as he had kept the train waiting for me. Was it a compliment or an insult to me?

If Congressmen begin to behave as if they were the rulers of the people and not their servants, then it is legitimate to say that what we have today are Congress Governments and not the people's Governments. Such a rule would be no better than the patterns of Pathan, Moghul, Rajput, Maratha or Sikh rule which India had formerly in her history.

Delhi has been the seat as well as the grave of empires. If anyone thinks that by capturing power at Delhi we can attain Swaraj, he is much mistaken. Our Swaraj can only be attained in the villages by the service of the people. To kick the ladder by which one ascends is suicidal.

## DANGER FROM VIOLENCE

I have talked of the twin danger of succumbing to material temptations and of subordinating the larger national interest to the narrow interest of the party, caste or clique. Our third great danger and perhaps the greatest of all dangers is violence.

I have no desire to enter into a controversy on the merits or demerits of violence *versus* non-violence. All I wish to stress at the moment is that circumstanced as we are today, violence will be disastrous for us. If we resort to violence against the British, we shall sooner or later, and sooner rather than later, direct it against one another.

We lack the necessary self-discipline and the necessary conventions to limit its use as, for example, the British have learnt.

There are no less rivalries and animosities between the different political parties in Great Britain than there are amongst us. Nevertheless, no party thinks of resorting to violence to terrorize the other. Not only that. It would not have occurred to Churchill, however ruthless and unscrupulous he might be in his dealings with Germans or with Indians, to use his Governmental machinery to tamper

with the ballot boxes in England even when he knew that the result of the poll would be his downfall.

#### POLITICAL MORALITY

We have so many divisions and unreasoning animosities in our political and religious life and so little of self-discipline and restraint that if we once take to violence to assert our will, we shall never know when or where to stop.

In fact, so bitter and vile tend to become our mutual jealousies and rivalries that we often forget who our real enemies are. Not only the communalists but even some Congressmen sometimes talk and behave as if their real enemies were those whom they regarded as their political rivals.

So low is our political morality that the episode of Prithviraj and Jaichand has never become obsolete. We find it easier to co-operate with the foreigner than with our own countrymen. If in our present state we take recourse to violence, we are in danger of annihilating ourselves.

#### SELF-DISCIPLINE

We shall only succeed in discrediting democracy and pave the way for a dictatorship. In political life, as in the spiritual, self-discipline is the foundation of all other virtues.

Do not think that I am free from the failings against which I have warned you.

I am one of you and no better and, let me hope, no worse than most of you. We are all equally prone to failings and equally capable of rising above them, if we hold fast to the standards which Gandhiji has kept before us. Having been a Professor for many years I have never outgrown the habit of lecturing when I can. Moreover, having elected me as your President, you have left me no other choice.

#### SAVING CEREALS

In view of the present cereal shortage in the country, certain experiments on diet were tried in Maganvadi. The following results which have been tested at Maganvadi will be helpful to save cereal consumption to some extent.

Rationing authorities in certain places are distributing *atta* instead of cereals and as the cereals employed are of lower quality there is a suggestion of adding calcium salt to the *atta* to make it more nutritious. We would suggest an addition to the *atta* of 15% of cleaned groundnut cake. This will have many advantages:

1. There will be an outright saving of 15% in cereals.

2. The protein content of the *atta* will be practically doubled.

3. There will be no increase in the cost; if anything it may scale down the cost.

4. The groundnut cake is very rich in vitamin B complex particularly in vitamin B<sub>1</sub>.

There is no danger of the cake powder getting rancid as in the proportion in which it will be present in the *atta*, the anti-oxidant property of the *atta* will be effective to check any hydrolysis.

Only good fresh seeds should be taken, cleaned by hand-picking and pressed in bullock-driven *ghans*

presses. The extraction of oil being by cold process no nutritious ingredients of the groundnut are lost. The oil is pressed out leaving only about 10 to 11% in the cake. The cakes are broken into small pieces and dried in the sun. The cake so treated will remain quite fresh for at least one week and retain its flavour. They get bone hard and can be cracked to a fine meal in a pestle and mortar. This meal can be fed in the hand *chakkis* to pulverize and bring it to *atta* consistency.

The 15% of its addition will mean in the normal diet a daily consumption of less than 1½ *chhataks*. There is no difficulty in making the preparations of the *atta*. It retains all the good points of the whole-cereal *atta* plus a special nutty flavour which makes food all the more tasty. This flavour may be very negligible when only 15% of groundnut-oilcake *atta* is added and only on a larger addition can the taste be fully appreciated.

The cake contains over 50 % of high grade protein.

Scientific experiments elsewhere have also established high grade digestibility coefficient of groundnut protein. It ranks with the microbial protein of yeast and closely approximates animal protein as found in milk, eggs and mutton.

After many experiments we have come to the conclusion that 1 to 2 *chhataks* of groundnut oilcake can be easily digested and taken along with cereals making the preparation more palatable. The cake bits are soaked in water and in two hours or so they disintegrate forming a uniform paste. This paste can be mixed with *atta* and made into *chapatis*. The proportion of 1:5 is quite good. The paste adds to the flavour of the *dal* or *vegetable*, if cooked along with these. It is very tasty when used in the preparation of *dalia* or porridge with cereals half and half or even without that.

Such use of groundnut cake will release some of the cereal needed and will be a very good health-giving food.

**Sweet Potatoes:** Sweet potatoes are rich in starch and can form a good substitute for cereals. These should be cooked over steam. If cooked with water, almost all the water should be allowed to evaporate, for, otherwise much of the mineral salts will get dissolved in the water and would have to be discarded with the water.

Sweet potatoes can be taken mixed with vegetables, milk, curds or in any other convenient form. If at any of the meals, cereals are to be totally substituted by this, a little more of sweet potatoes should be taken on the weight of the usual consumption quantity of cereal.

DEVENDRA KUMAR GUPTA (A. L. V. L. A.)

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Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD



## BIBI AMTUL SALAAM

Bibi Amtul Salaam has for years lived for Hindu-Muslim unity. She comes from a well-known family of Mussalmans in the Patiala State in the Punjab. But she put aside the comforts that her birth offered her and joined Gandhiji's Ashram in 1930. She has ever since endeavoured to shape her life according to the ideals propounded by Gandhiji. Having come under the influence of Theosophy in her early childhood, she has cultivated equal respect for all religions though she remains a staunch Muslim herself. In her zeal for unity she even edited an Urdu weekly called the *Ittehad* for sometime in 1942. But for various reasons she had to stop it.

During the Bengal famine she came to East Bengal and worked in Tipperah district rendering yeoman service to the afflicted people. But though she has a strong will, her body is very frail and she had to go to Sevagram for recuperation. Riots broke out in Bengal. Reports of the happenings in Noakhali made her restless and she came to Bengal and had started working in the affected areas a few days before Gandhiji's arrival at Chaumuhani.

What she saw oppressed her. She worked in Dasgharia at first. Being a highly religious woman, she could not bear to see people deprived of religious solace. Then she shifted to the village Shirandi. For reasons into which I need not go, she went on a fast there while she was running a temperature of 104° F.

On the ninth day of the fast she dictated a statement to me, explaining the idea behind her fast into which I must not go at present. I shall permit myself to say this much only that she fasted to evoke genuine repentance among her co-religionists. The fast dragged on and I became anxious about her life.

We were all in a fix. Bibi Amtul Salaam alone was at peace. She had resigned herself to God's will and was prepared to die. It was a test of faith. Towards the last week she would not let her temperature be taken. We wanted to test her urine. She protested. What was the good? It would simply cause more anxiety. Friends came from far and near to see her and were struck by her brave suffering. She had the *Quran* and the *Gita* recited to her every day and the recitation soothed her. A doctor friend pleaded with her, "Sister, your life is not your own. Won't you let me give you an injection of glucose? At least give me permission to do so if you become unconscious." She opened her eyes and spoke with an effort. Her voice was feeble but clear and steady. "My life I have surrendered to God. His will be done. If He wishes me to live, I cannot die. I must not take injections. The fast must continue until its object is fulfilled."

The Police and the local leaders were also worried. They tried their utmost. They all went to Gandhiji and wanted him somehow to put an end to the fast. He could not do so. She had embarked upon the fast on her own initiative and had taken his word that he won't compel her to break it.

He was scheduled to go to Shirandi on the 20th January, the 25th day of her fast, in the course of his tour. We were sceptical whether she would hold out so long and wanted him to go there earlier. We all felt that his presence at Shirandi might be able to achieve what nothing else had and the fast might come to a successful end. Gandhiji was disinclined to change the tour programme and she herself was not keen. "Let him come when I am near the end, so that I can die in his lap", she said. And so Gandhiji arrived at Shirandi on the 20th. Even in her terribly weak state from her sick bed she supervised all arrangements for his stay. Such has been her devotion to Gandhiji. And she sent me and Abba Gandhi to receive him as she could not walk herself.

A Muslim Deputation waited on Gandhiji at 3 p. m. They were extremely sorry for what had happened. Replying to their plea that he should intervene to end the fast, Gandhiji said that he had come as the friend of the Hindus and the Mussalmans. If they could tear open his heart they would find there nothing but love. Bibi Amtul Salaam was more than a daughter to him. He did not wish to lose her. He had taught the Muslim boys under his care to be firm in their faith and had seen to it that they said their *namaz* and observed *Ramzan*. She had embarked on the fast because she could not stand the religious intolerance of her Muslim brethren. She loved Islam, but she did not hate the Hindus. She had not taken his permission to go on fast. He was the last person to trifle with her faith. The object of the fast has to be fulfilled. It was to make the Muslims see the wrong that they had done and repent for it. If they were genuinely repentant and assured non-recurrence of such things in the future, he would plead with her to break the fast. After all God was one and the same by whatever name men called Him.

He had read in the *Morning News* that Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah had said that Pakistan could not be established through force. He had also said that in Pakistan there would be perfect freedom and safety for the minorities. He had not come to East Bengal on a political mission. His was a purely humanitarian mission. If they wanted the Hindus to leave East Bengal, they should say so plainly. If not, they should redress the wrong done and give assurances for the future. Then he would certainly persuade Bibi Amtul Salaam to break her fast. If they said one thing and meant another, if they broke their word afterwards, they would have to reckon with his fast instead of Amtul Salaam's. He could not hold them responsible for the whole district. But they should take up the responsibility for the peace of their area. By doing so they would be laying the foundation of peace for the whole of Noakhali, nay for the whole of East Bengal. After mutual consultation they evolved a formula expressing sorrow for what had happened and guaranteeing the religious freedom of the Hindus in future in the village of Shirandi and four adjoining villages.

It was signed by the leading members of the Muslim community representing the five villages mentioned. It was past 9 P. M. when the agreement was finally completed and Gandhiji handed over a cup of orange juice to Bibi Amtul Salaam after recitation of the *Quran* by the Muslim friends.

S. N.

## HARIJAN

April 6

1947

### BLINDNESS AT A PRICE

We had already written about the evil effects of *vanaspathi ghee*. Sir S. S. Sokhey, Director of the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, states that experiments conducted in the Haffkine Institute on the nutritive values of hydrogenated oil show that

- (1) the consumption of hydrogenated oils resulted in inferior growth,
- (2) their consumption interfered with the absorption of calcium in the body; and
- (3) their consumption resulted in a change in the fat composition of the body.

Recently, in the Council of State, Dr. Rajendra Prasad stated that the Research Institute at Izzatnagar had reported that the use of *vanaspathi* was bad for health and affected the eyesight. Experiments conducted on rats show that the third generation of them become blind. In the light of these scientific experiments one would have thought that any Government with the welfare of the people in their mind would have banned *vanaspathi* out of the country and locked up the *vanaspathi* manufacturers as anti-social beings. But India is tolerant even to the extent of hugging its evil-doers.

We understand that the Government is contemplating provision for the detection of adulteration of *ghee* with *vanaspathi* by adding 5% basic oil and colouring it. We fear that this will be absolutely of no use. *Vanaspathi* is generally made of groundnut oil cotton-seed or oil. The addition of these oils in a small proportion will be of no avail for detection. Scientists are of opinion that at least 10% of sesame oil (oil) is the least amount that can be effective, and no other oils would be useful. Besides, the colouring can be removed at a very small cost. One wonders why there should be the need for all this circumventing of the issue.

It is clear that the expenditures incurred by these manufacturers are of no avail to the nation as a whole. They add nothing to the existing fat of the country. If anything, they decrease their assimilability by hydrogenation and to the extent they are destructive of the fat stock of the land. The fresh oils that are produced at comparatively low rates are acquired by these factories and at a cost which is often double the original cost; they destroy the natural food values and make the nation subject to

various deficiency diseases, and for this disservice the nation has to pay in the utilization of its manpower, capital and human effort. We are amazed at our action when we sit down calmly and think over the pros and cons in regard to this question.

In so far as adulteration of dairy *ghee* is the main objective of this industry it is a direct hit on the dairy industry. In a country which is largely vegetarian, reduction of *ghee* consumption, however caused, will undermine the health of the people. The argument that Western nations use margarine will not hold in our country. Margarine is used like butter over slices of bread and in a temperate climate the hydrogenation needs to be carried out to a very little extent. In our country such a treatment will still leave the product in a liquid state. Besides Europeans obtain animal fats from various other sources as they are meat eaters and their cooking is done mainly with lard (animal fat). Hence, any comparison with other countries is fallacious.

India's is a cow-centered economy. We need cows for the plough, for transport, for carriage and for yielding milk. Hence, any measure that adversely affects the maintenance of the cow will also adversely affect our national economy. A correct view of the affairs in the proper perspective would make *vanaspathi* production equivalent to cow slaughter, and we hope at least those who venerate the cow will look at this aspect of the question conscientiously and refrain from an industry which is based on pure avarice, ignoring all considerations of national welfare.

From the economic point of view the *vanaspathi* mills in so far as they enter the market for vegetable oils tend to put up the prices of ordinary oils. So the poorer consumers of vegetable oil have to pay a higher price for the only source of fat that is available to them. The well-to-do classes who use this hydrogenated oil pay a still higher price for materials which may prove even harmful to them and perhaps obtaining nothing in return even by way of fat if the digestibility is impaired by hydrogenation. Apart from the raising of the price of oils even under controlled rates, because of the advent of capitalists in the market, the tendency is towards black-marketing, which again has an injurious effect on the budget of the poorer consumers.

We are amazed at the recommendation of the Advisory Planning Board which has suggested the raising of the target of production of this article from 82,000 tons in 1941 to 400,000 in 1950. Are we thinking of industries as a means of making wealth for a few, or should our industries be the means of supplying the needed articles to satisfy human needs? Are there no moral considerations to guide us in this matter? Is our industrial policy to be devoid of all humanity? If so, we are heading for the jungle. We trust that no time will be lost in calling a halt as far as this industry is concerned.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## GANDHIJI'S BIHAR TOUR DIARY

17-3-'47

The gathering at Masurhi was, according to estimates, more than thirty thousand and during the Ramadhun, a very large section of the men and women present participated in the recital. Gandhiji began by congratulating the audience on their account. Then he told them that his Bihar tour had not been undertaken for pleasure, but on account of serious and grave reasons. He would visit those places where Muslims had suffered. His appeal to the Hindus was to show repentance by means of worthy and suitable acts.

During the mad days of November, women and children were remorselessly murdered, while men also been done to death in such numbers as to make Noakhali in the shade, although events there had been of a sufficiently serious character. He appealed the Hindus of Bihar to show true repentance and not merely shout "Jai" or victory in his name. He not only expected them to contribute towards the relief fund but what he expected them to do more was that they should come forward and confess at least to him the wrongs that they had done. This alone could bring him true peace of mind.

Gandhiji said that he had asked for reports of events from various sources. One of them stated that the initial aggression had been from the side of the Musalmans. He was not at all concerned how the trouble actually started: the problem was, as the Hindus were in such overwhelming majority, how could they stoop so low as to indulge in murdering the innocents? True repentance, with the consequent reparatory action, alone could restore abiding peace between the two sister communities.

The report also accused the Government of indifference to wrongs suffered by the Hindus at the hands of the Muslims. Similar reports had also been received from Muslim quarters complaining of indifference to Muslim complaints. Gandhiji continued that he was slow to believe either report. A popular Government that was so indifferent or partial one way or the other could not exist for any length of time. The Government had already declared that they would presently appoint an impartial Commission to hear all complaints, examine the causes of the terrible disturbances and discover ways and means for avoiding repetition of the tragedy. They would also advise as to the reparation to be made to the sufferers. Let those who had sent their letters to him, he continued, be ready with their evidence to be put before the Commission. His was not the way of a judge or of a prosecutor. His was the humble role of a reformer and humanitarian. He had, therefore, to deal with known facts and invite offenders to repent for their follies.

18-3-'47

Gandhiji referred to his visit to Masurhi and described with emotion the wreckage he had witnessed. He pointed out that he had read about the happenings in Masurhi in the Muslim League report which, he regretted to have to say, he had believed to be grossly exaggerated. But he had to

confess now that much of the description about Masurhi seemed to him to be borne out. And what one read, however honest it might be, was wholly different in effect from the actual sight. He was told that the tragedy was largely due to the excitement caused by the observance of Noakhali Day. He was told, too, that the Muslims of Bihar were perturbed by the talk that was going about that the Punjab Day was to be observed on the 23rd. He hoped that it was a mere rumour which had no foundation in fact. Such an observance anywhere would mean a clear invitation for mutual slaughter between brother and brother. He had told the Muslim friends that if such a misfortune took place in Bihar he would want to perish in the flames. His incessant prayer to God was that he would not keep him alive to witness such an awful and disgraceful scene.

Gandhiji then read two letters which he had received on the way to Bir from the adjacent villages. One was from Sain and the other from Barni. He wished that the friendly spirit running through the letters which were described to be as from the Hindu and Muslim residents of the villages would become universal.

Collections were made after the speech. Gandhiji remained whilst the collections were made.

21-3-'47

Gandhiji commenced with a reference to his visit to Garahwan village where men, women and children had been brutally done to death and asked those assembled before him to sit in mournful silence in sympathy with the deceased. He asked them to consider for themselves why innocent women and children had been killed. Was it to save any religion? No religion, Gandhiji emphasized, taught anyone to kill his neighbours. What was done was nothing but wanton destruction - he did not stop to think whether it was done from motives of self interest or any other.

The houses which a few months ago were full of life, Gandhiji said, were now desolate and everyone knew about it. But then what was to be done next? People went to bathe in the Ganges, believing that their sins could thus be washed off. The ruins before them should remind them of the sin they had committed on helpless women and children and they should seek to expiate it by considering in what way they could redeem themselves. Gandhiji told them that they should clean the ruined houses and make them neat and habitable. They should also express to their Muslim brethren their repentance for the past occurrences and persuade them to return to their villages, telling them that then alone they would have peace of mind. It was possible that the Muslims might turn round and ask how they could go back and live in the houses where their kith and kin had been done to death. The Muslims, Gandhiji said, would be justified in saying so. But, if the guilty men or their relations could go to the Muslims with truly penitent hearts and assure them that what was past was past and would never be repeated, he was sure that even a stone heart would melt.

Amidst this mad upheaval, Gandhiji continued, there were men, like oasis in a desert, who risked the wrath of the violent mobs and saved many Muslim lives and Muslim property. Those people deserved congratulations, though they did not need any. If he did not go to them, Gandhiji said, it did not mean that he had not recognized their work. But he was in the nature of a doctor who went not to the well but to the suffering.

He had been told, Gandhiji proceeding said, that the Hindus had also suffered in the conflict. If there were any such, they too needed help and would be included in the relief.

Gandhiji mentioned that about fifty persons, who were wanted in connection with the riot cases, had surrendered the day after his arrival at Masurhi. He welcomed it and hoped that others who had taken part in the riots would surrender to the proper authorities, making a clean breast of the crimes they had committed and taking whatever punishment might be given to them. If people had not the courage to surrender to the authorities, Gandhiji said, they could come to him or Badshah Khan or Major General Shah Nawaz with their confessions.

Lastly, Gandhiji referred to the fear entertained by the Hindus of Noakhali about preparations that were being made by the Muslims to observe Pakistan Day on the 23rd inst. A friend from Khadi Pratishthan had also come to him and explained to him that the situation in Noakhali was deteriorating. Gandhiji said that he had told that friend that he would not be persuaded to leave his post in Bihar at the present moment, for he believed that his mission, if fully successful in Bihar, would cast its effect on Bengal and perhaps on the rest of India. The Muslims of Bihar and the Hindus of Bengal should accept him as security for the safety of their life and property from the hands of the communalists. He had come here, Gandhiji said, to do or die. Therefore, there was no question of abandoning his post of duty till the Hindus and the Muslims could assure him that they did not need his services.

22-3-'47

Gandhiji who returned to Patna this morning after a six days tour of the affected area in Masurhi Thana gave an account of his impressions to the gathering assembled at the evening prayer meeting at the Bankipore Maidan. Gandhiji expressed satisfaction with the attitude of the villagers who were not only genuinely penitent over the past happenings but were also willing to atone for the past in the manner he might suggest. Liberal contributions, as liberal as it could be in rural India, were made by them for the relief of the Muslims, and even when he drove in the car he was stopped and presented with purses. Besides purses, Gandhiji said, he had also received letters from them expressing their readiness and willingness to help in the rehabilitation of the Muslims.

In a number of places, Gandhiji proceeding said, due to the bravery of the local Hindus, no incidents had occurred. He was told by the Muslims them-

selves that in Dinapore Sub-division no trouble occurred though the Muslims were greatly nervous.

Gandhiji said that he had addressed the Muslim women refugees in the morning at Piplawan. He did not wish at present to enter into a description of the feelings of these women and their present condition. His heart was too full and he did not wish to shed tears. He only wanted to tell them how to repent. He tried as best as he could to console them and persuaded them to pick up courage and return to their villages, placing reliance on God. At this meeting he was told that Muslim women and men dreaded the approach of March 23rd, as it had been reported that Punjab Day would be observed in Bihar on that date. He had told them that the Bihar Government had banned the observance of any kind of day, be it Pakistan Day or Punjab Day. The Minister who was present also gave the assurance that no celebration of any kind would be permitted and that the ban would be strictly enforced throughout the Province. The Bihar Government, Gandhiji said, had banned the Kisan Rally also. In his opinion, that was rightly done. The present atmosphere in the country was such that any kind of rally or procession led to one kind of trouble or other. In the language of the *Bhagwad Gita*, very often action lay in inaction and inaction in action. Gandhiji illustrated this truth by giving striking modern instances. Thus in modern warfare, very often inactivity was obligatory and could therefore be described as real activity, and at such a time any activity, so-called, would savour of criminality. He would, therefore, urge both the Hindus and the Muslims to refrain from celebrating these days. A true *satyagrahi* should implicitly obey the directions of those he had himself put in power. What he said did not refer only to March 23rd. It applied to the future also and at no time should these celebrations be indulged in, so long as the atmosphere remained as it was that day.

Continuing Gandhiji said that if the Hindus realized the error of their past conduct, then he would expect the Hindus in the affected areas to contribute physical labour for the renovation of damaged houses. That act performed voluntarily, freely and sincerely would inspire lost confidence as nothing else could.

Gandhiji mentioned that after his arrival at Masurhi about fifty persons who were wanted in connection with the riots had surrendered to the authorities. By this time the number had probably gone up and he hoped many more would come forward to acknowledge their guilt. Confession of their guilt, Gandhiji concluded, not only evoked respect for their courage but would ultimately enhance the prestige of the province as a whole.

23-3-'47

Gandhiji's weekly silence having commenced, his written message in Hindustani was read out to the congregation after the prayers. It was his earnest prayer that those who were present and those others whom his voice could reach should understand the aim of life. The aim of life was that they

should serve the Power that had created them, and on Whose mercy or consent depended their very breath, by heartily serving Its creation. That meant love, not hate which one saw everywhere. They had forgotten that aim and were either actually fighting each other or preparing for that fight. If they could not escape that calamity, they should regard India's independence as an impossible dream. If they thought that they would get independence by the simple fact of the British power quitting the land, they were sadly mistaken. The British were leaving India. But if they continued fighting one another, some other power or powers would step in. If they thought they could fight the whole world with its weapons, it was a folly.

A friend had written, continued Gandhiji, that a sort of peace seemed to have been established in the Punjab through military occupation. That peace was the peace of the grave. The people were silently preparing for an open and deadlier fight. Weapons were being collected. After that even the military would find it impossible to control the people. It was his firm conviction that the peace established with the aid of the military or the police would be no peace. True peace would only come when at least one side, if not both, adopted the true bravery that non-violence gave.

Bihar had realized, said Gandhiji, that there was no bravery in killing women and children. It was sheer cowardice. It would be a grand thing if Bihar could manifest the true bravery of silent strength, and show thereby the true path of life to the whole world.

At the end Gandhiji informed the audience that the prayer meeting on Monday would be held near Poonpoo.

24-3-'47

The prayer meeting at Rajghat was very noisy. There was a very large number of women not used to meetings. They set up an incessant chatter. The usual prayer was nevertheless conducted amid the din. When the time for Gandhiji's speech came, he said that he was not anxious to hear his own voice. He would not speak to them if the chatter continued. His remarks were, therefore, addressed to the volunteers who, he said, ought to prepare especially new audiences such as that day's by word of mouth or otherwise telling them the rules that govern public meetings. He advised preparation of short leaflets for distribution among such people.

He then said he had visited Behrawan where Hindu houses had been damaged. He said that for him the Hindus and the Muslims were like two eyes, as Sir Syed Ahmed had said. Such isolated instances ought not to diminish the heinousness of the Hindus' crime against the Muslims.

25-3-'47

At today's prayer meeting perfect silence was observed by the audience to the end. Gandhiji congratulated them for it. He told them that he had heard that the Hindus were boycotting the Muslims. If that was so, it was a bad omen. True repentance demanded true friendship in which

there could be no room for boycott. Hence, if they were truly repentant, they ought not to boycott the Muslims. He then referred to a visit of Muslim League friends who were prepared to co-operate in every way in rehabilitation and he added that without the co-operation of the League friends in Bihar there could be no friendship which depended not on the bayonet but on mutual goodwill.

Gandhiji had a visit from a friend from Noakhali who had come to report that things had worsened there after his departure. He had replied that the work he was doing in Bihar could not but affect the Noakhali work for the better. He advised the Noakhali friend to report every misdeed to the proper authorities. Whatever came to his notice he would gladly pass on to the authorities with confidence. In any case he would advise them to be calm, courageous and to have faith in God as the true and only Helper.

Lastly, he referred to a visit from Dome friends, whom it was the duty of every Hindu to befriend. They, he was told, were under a double disability. They were treated as outcastes by the caste Hindus and as the lowest in the hierarchy of untouchables. This was a shame which the Hindus were bound to wipe out at the earliest moment, if Hinduism was not to perish.

### 'LEARN FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHERS'

[The Chinese have a proverb: 'A wise man learns from his experience; a wiser man learns from the experience of others'. The following article by Louis Bromfield appears in the *Reader's Digest* of October last and teaches us the lesson that we in India at any rate cannot afford to trifle with the soil, but must deal with it gently and reverentially. — V. G. D.]

On a clear, beautiful day last spring I flew from Austin, Texas, to Chicago. Unrolled like a map beneath our plane lay a good part of the vast Mississippi Basin, once the richest and most productive agricultural area of its size in the world.

It is still rich in spots, but most of it now is an area of steadily waning productivity. Most of its forests have been cut down, and much of its agricultural land has been ruined. All this has happened in less than 100 years and in some parts in little more than a generation.

Halfway through Iowa my companion looking down, said, 'My, that's a pretty sight! There's an awful lot of food being raised down there.'

From an aesthetic point of view it was a pretty sight. . .

It was pretty all right, but my companion, a city fellow, saw only the surface. He did not see the ugly, frightening things which were taking money out of his pockets, and perhaps even the calcium out of his bones and the phosphorus out of his brain. Presently I began telling him what lay beneath the pretty picture, beginning with the moment we had taken off in the Black Lands in Texas.

The Black Lands, as virgin soil, were wonderfully deep and heavy with decayed organic material lying over a limestone or marl base. Such soil

exists in few parts of the earth, notably in Texas, Alabama, Mississippi and Russia's Ukraine. As the plane rose, however, it became evident that in the Texas Black Lands great streaks and circular areas had turned grey or white. The grey meant that the rich topsoil was almost gone, the white, where the limestone showed, meant that the topsoil was gone altogether. Many years and a vast expenditure of money will be needed to make that eroded marl grey base once more productive. When the white limestone shows through, there will be no more production for a million years.

How had this rich soil gone? It had been washed or blown away, because it had been ploughed year after year and left bare to the ravages of rain and wind.

Presently we passed into the red land of Northern Texas and Southern Oklahoma, once as fine grazing land as there was in the world. Here millions of buffaloes fed on the succulent bluestem and buffalo grasses, and the streams ran clear. But now the land, over-grazed by cattle and burnt over each year, grow only a thin weedy cover or coarse Johnson grass which most ranchmen regard as a pest. The dilapidated ranch houses were few and far between, and only a few skinny cattle grazed the once-rich land.

Worst of all, except where a few wise farmers had terraced their fields, the red soil was gashed by great gullies that were growing constantly into the land, devouring billions of tons of soil every year. The streams and rivers, swollen by spring rains ran red as blood. . .

Government figures show an increase during the past few years in the average yield per acre of our major crops. . . . When analyzed, however, this statistical increase is not what it appears to be. No account was taken of the thousands of acres that have been abandoned because they can no longer produce, and of the fact that the yield on land still used is boosted by improved (hybrid) seed which 'artificially' increases production . . . and which has nothing to do with soil.

It is well-known that the yield of virgin corn-belt lands (prior to 1850) was often 120 bushels per acre and upward without fertilizers. The current yield in Mc Lean County, Illinois, one of the best producing corn areas in the country, is only about 55 bushels per acre. That is the measure of our soil's decline.

What we saw on the flight was the record of rich land worn out or destroyed. It hadn't occurred to my companion that this tragedy was costing him money in higher food prices, in the higher taxes that are required to pay subsidies, and perhaps to pay for future relief and made-work projects. He didn't realize that depleted land, which lacks minerals vital to the health of human beings, inevitably produces crops and livestock that are also deficient in these elements, and that people who eat the products of depleted soils gradually become physically and mentally deficient.

Many persons believe that all lettuce, for example, has the same vitamin and mineral content. This is

not true. One head of lettuce can be high in mineral and vitamin content and another may have little more nutritional value than a glass of water. This is because the mineral, and to a large extent the vitamin, content of any vegetable is determined by the mineral content of the soil on which it is grown. Healthy citizens cannot be produced from eroded and depleted soils.

My companion had never realized that as the natural fertility of the soil goes down the cost of production mounts; hence the price goes up for consumers and the farmer's profit declines.

What the 'pretty' landscape actually showed was an appalling record of the destruction of natural resources upon which the strength, wealth and power of this nation are founded. If the steady destruction of agricultural land continues, the price of food may increase until only the rich can afford steak, butter and cream. . . .

It would be wrong to ignore the progress being made in soil and water conservation and in soil restoration in various parts of the United States. Soil conservation laws have been an immense step forward. They are administered by farmers themselves, but the U. S. Soil Conservation Service stands ready to give engineering aid and advice.

The State as well as some of our great industrial corporations and societies such as the Friends of the Land and the Friends of the Soil are all doing important work.

Over large parts of our country the great task of anchoring our soil and keeping our rain water where it falls still remains to be done. The ultimate responsibility for this job lies with the farmer. But in certain areas the soil has been so depleted that food raised on it wholly lacks essential minerals, and this has so weakened the rural population that they are unable to help themselves. Here some measure of Government aid is necessary. Money appropriated for the battle against erosion and floods will pay large dividends to the nation.

You can read the truth of the whole story in the passing landscape from the window of a train or an automobile. Try it some time. Bear in mind that every eroded field, silt-clogged river and burned-over forest, every ruined and abandoned farm, is costing you money—in higher prices, in more taxes, in more subsidies, in strikes for higher pay because the higher cost of food has eaten deeper into the purchasing power of the dollar. Remember that when our soil and forests and other natural resources are gone it will not matter if we have all the gold in the world buried at Fort Knox or if the Treasury Department turns out truckloads of banknotes, for we shall be finished as a nation.

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## HOW GANDHIJI VIEWS HIS PEACE MISSION

[In the *Searchlight* of Patna of the 30th March 1947 appears a report of the proceedings of a meeting Gandhiji held at a refugees' camp in Bihar. The answers that he gave to the various demands of the refugees strikingly reveal his approach to the question of the restoration of peace and friendliness between the two communities.

These answers deserve the careful attention of all those who seek the restoration of peace and friendliness in place of the madness that is stalking this hapless land at the moment. Ed.]

"As far as possible I have refrained from discussing the affairs in Noakhali in my speeches. But whenever I have had occasion to speak about Noakhali, I admit that I have spoken with great restraint. Do the Muslims want that I should not speak about the sins committed by them in Noakhali and that I should only speak about the sins of the Hindus in Bihar? If I do that, I will be a coward. To me the sins of the Noakhali Muslims and the Bihar Hindus are of the same magnitude and equally condemnable," observed Gandhiji while replying to a series of grievances set forth in written memoranda which were submitted to him this morning by the local Muslim refugees at a camp here.

One memorandum suggested that Gandhiji's reference to the Noakhali incidents in his speeches instead of suppressing the Hindu feeling here would aggravate it. Gandhiji said that as the Muslims today generally considered him as their enemy, he was sometimes obliged to speak with restraint. In the Punjab worse things were happening and at first he did not believe the newspaper stories, but his subsequent enquiries made him believe that far more excesses than the newspapers reported were being committed in the Punjab. Because it was the doing of a particular community, should he not speak about it? His mission could not be successful by such suppression, he said.

Gandhiji thereafter replying to another memorandum, which stated that the signatories had no confidence in the present ministry, said, "I told the Hindus of Noakhali, who also expressed such no confidence in Mr. Saheed Suhrawardy, that they could not remove Saheed Saheb from the ministry as he was returned by the separate electorate system. So long as Saheed Saheb enjoys the confidence of the community he represents, no one can remove him. Similarly, how can you remove the ministers when they have been sent by the Hindu

electorate? This unfortunate situation has been created by the communal electorate system which you know. I have always condemned. Dr. Khan Sahab also said the same thing the other day that so long as he enjoyed the confidence of the Pathans there was no question of resignation. Moreover what will happen if the ministry goes out? There will again be the rule of the bureaucratic government. That apart, I can take good work from these ministers as my relationship with them is most friendly."

Referring to the demand that fifty per cent of the officers and constables put in charge of new thanas should be Muslims, Gandhiji replied: "I disapproved of the very same demand of the Noakhali Hindus. This demand cuts across my peace mission. If conceded, this will mean so many small Pakistans and a division of Bihar. After all, wherever you live, you have to live by creating mutual goodwill and friendly relations with your neighbours. Even the Qud-e-Azam once said that in the Pakistan areas the majority must so behave as to win the confidence of the minority. In the same manner, I am urging upon the Hindus here to win your confidence. Either Pakistan or Hindustan, whichever is established, it must be based on justice and fairplay.

Referring to another demand that the Muslims may be allowed to resettle in certain exclusive areas, Gandhiji said, "You cannot force the Government to keep you in certain exclusive areas. Could I tell that to Saheed Saheb for the Noakhali Hindus? I never gave any encouragement to the Noakhali Hindus for such a move. I told the Hindus of Noakhali that if they were afraid, they could go anywhere if they got compensation. And why should the Government not pay compensation when they got the properties? Similarly, I will tell you to go anywhere provided you get adequate compensation. But I must tell you that it is not my heart's desire. Leaving your homestead in such a manner is nothing but cowardice. If Government is not prepared to pay compensation, I should say it is unworthy of them and Government cannot refuse it. Moreover, if the ministers who have been returned by the Hindu votes say that the Hindus here have gone beyond control, it is better for them to consume themselves in the flames of the Hindu rage than continue in office. Government has to do justice and cannot afford injustice in any manner.

Gandhiji thereafter referred to the Muslim grievances as put forward in the memorandum regarding the reported appointment of Mr. Justice Rueben to conduct the Bihar Riots Enquiry. Gandhiji

said: "The memorandum suggested that the Muslims had no faith in Mr. Rueben. But they never suggested whom they wanted. We must have faith in some non-Muslim as Mr. Justice Rueben was. There is no harm in the One Man Commission. If the Muslims want, they can submit a panel of names from which the committee should be appointed. Then I can inform the authorities."

With regard to the demand of restoration and finding out of abducted women, Gandhiji said: "Since my arrival in Bihar I have been telling all those Muslims who told me about the abducted girls to give me the names and the family connections of such girls in order to help finding them out if they were still alive. But until now not one name has been submitted to me. I again ask you to submit the names of the unfortunate girls."

In the meeting place within the refugee camp, Mahant Bhagwat Das, M. L. A., was also present against whom Muslims brought forward charges that he infuriated the Hindu mob during the riots. Bhagwat Das then stood up and told Gandhiji that he was innocent and asked the Muslims to bring forward specific instances to prove the charge. To the greatest satisfaction of Gandhiji, Mr. Bhagwat Das said: "Gandhiji, I am prepared to face any enquiry and I suggest that the Muslims themselves form an enquiry committee and judge me and my conduct during the riots. I have full confidence in those persons who are accusing me and let them judge my conduct."

### BIGGER YIELDS, LESS NUTRITIVE VALUE

\*[The following appears as an editorial note in the *Vegetarian Messenger* of December 1946. V. G. D.]

Some investigations concerning the nutritional value of New Zealand spinach and the relation between bigger yields and nutritive value were recently carried out by the Department of Agriculture, Missouri. As in the case of ordinary spinach the comparatively large proportion of oxalic acid which it contains does not permit of its calcium being utilized. The results of the investigation showed that New Zealand spinach contains from 21 to 30 milligrammes of Vitamin C per 100 grammes of fresh material, ordinary spinach from 40 to 100 milligrammes, and Kale, turnip greens and broccoli, 75 to 200 milligrammes. The degrees of greenness in a vegetable, it was suggested, does not indicate any standard by which its vitamin or mineral content may be judged.

An interesting item in the investigation was that when New Zealand spinach was encouraged to grow in profusion by the addition of nitrogenous fertilizers, its vitamin C content was reduced. Comments upon this, made in an Australian medical journal, suggest that "the ever-continuing search for bigger yields may be a matter of regret from the point of view of nutrition." In this country there is probably not sufficient evidence available at the present time to confirm this fact, but one thing is quite evident: where greens have been heavily fed with artificial fertilizers their size has

been extraordinary, but their flavour has deteriorated very considerably. The 'forced' greens which we get early in the season also suffer from the same lack of flavour. As in the case of so many other food stuffs, the more we interfere (beyond a certain minimum) with their natural growth or "make up" as in the case of whole grains, the less of their nutritive elements will we obtain.

### AMERICAN DRUGS RACKET

In the *Readers' Digest* of October last there is an article by Mr. W. La Varre with the caption 'Quarantine for Dr. Quack' introduced by the editor with this sentence.

"Our Latin-American neighbours want us to stop selling them dangerous and fraudulent drugs."

Now that instead of a British be-(k)nighted Indian we have a man of the people as our representative in the United States, we hope he will lose no time in inducing the Government of the United States to lay an embargo on the export to India of every quack remedy against which it protects the people of the United States. Meanwhile as these nostrums are being advertised and sold in India, it is necessary that our people should be asked to be on their guard against their tempting claims.

One of the drugs on this black list is MENDACO which in the United States is labelled with the warning that it must not be given to children under ten or to tuberculosis sufferers, as it contains potassium iodide. No such label, we are told, warns the millions of simple Latin-Americans. That being so, we are not likely to go wrong, if we presume that the bottles sold in India also carry no such warning. Then there are CYSTEX, FORMODE, VI-TABS, HYNEX, ROGENA and CEREGEN claiming to cure one complaint or another, but United States drug inspectors say that these drugs are spurious, and the advertising claims fraudulent. This list is only illustrative, not exhaustive.

Some of the facts disclosed by Mr. La Varre are startling and throw a flood of light on the methods of unscrupulous manufacturers.

A major drug factory produced penicillin under contract for U.S. Army and Navy use. Federal inspectors rejected a large batch; it was faulty, might be lethal. However the dangerous stuff labelled 'For export only' was shipped to South America where it was bought up at premium prices by hospitals and physicians. South America similarly became the unfortunate recipient of a batch of thousands of packages of gauze bandage, which, not having been properly sterilized and being found to be contaminated, were returned to the manufacturer by Government inspectors. A Chicago manufacturer concocts a dangerous abortifacient, capable of producing serious or even fatal consequences. Prevented from selling his dope in the United States, he swapped English labels for Spanish and is making his fortune in Latin America.

Let the Indian buyer beware of course, but the Government of India must prohibit the import of these fraudulent drugs, and Provincial Governments should take a leaf out of Denmark's book and forbid all patent medicine advertising in the public press.

V. G. D.

## STORY HOUR

(Continued from page 507. No. 51-52, Vol. X.)

[XI is taken from *World Digest* of January 1947.

—V. G. D.]

### XI

There was a *fakir* who was silent most of the time and spared his words when a nod or sign would do.

A gentleman once went up to him and said with mock humility: "May I trouble you, holy father, with three questions?"

The *fakir* nodded assent.

"The first question, father, is about God. People say He is, but I cannot see Him and no one will show Him to me, and therefore I cannot believe in Him. Will you explain?"

The *fakir* gave a nod.

"My second question is about the devil. The Koran says he is made of fire. But if so, how can hell fire hurt him?"

A nod.

"The third question concerns myself. The Koran says every action of man is decreed. But if I must do a certain thing, how can God judge me for it, having Himself decreed it? Please answer me."

The *fakir* nodded once again, seized a clod of earth and flung it with all his might in the face of the questioner.

The gentleman was angry and caused the *fakir* to be arrested and brought before the judge to whom he complained, adding that his pain was so great he could hardly bear it. The judge asked the *fakir* if the story was true.

"This man came to me," replied the *fakir*, "and asked me three questions which I carefully answered. He told me that people said that there is God but that he could not see Him, nor could anyone show him God and so he could not believe in Him. Now he says he has that pain in his face from the clod of earth I threw at him, but I cannot see it. Will your Honour ask him to show us his pain, for how can I believe in it if I cannot see it?"

The judge looked at the complainant and both smiled.

"Again this man asked how if Satan were made of fire, hell fire could hurt him? Now he will admit that Adam was created of earth and that he himself also is earth. But if he is of earth, how could earth hurt him?"

"As to the third question," continued the *fakir*, "if it was decreed that I should throw a clod in this man's face, how dare he bring me here for so doing?"

The judge allowed that the *fakir* had answered the three questions with his clod, and advised him, however, to reply to future questions in a non-violent manner.

## NOTES

### The Title

[Explaining the title of his recently published brochure\*, Prof. Kumarappa has sent the following short note which will surely interest the readers. —Ed.]

Lord Clive is generally known as the founder of the British Empire in India.

Robert Clive (1725-1774) as a child was the despair of his teachers. He was sent out to India as a "writer" with the East India Company at 18 years of age. When he returned to England at the age of 35 he had acquired a fortune of £300,000 and a quit rent of £27,000 a year. The principles of public finance and honesty laid down by this marauder statesman have held sway with the Government of India to this day.

Lord Keynes has overshadowed British finance, both International and Home, since the beginning of this century.

John Maynard Keynes (1884-1946) has been the genius behind British treaties, claims for reparations, settlement of war debts, monetary policy of deflation in Great Britain, and the guiding spirit behind the Bretton Woods Conference. His influence on British Indian finance has been no less important. It started with his "Indian Currency and Finance" about 34 years ago.

As Lord Clive was the first of the dynasty let us hope Lord Keynes was the last of the line.

\* *Clive to Keynes* (A brief survey of our Public Debts and Credits) by J. C. Kumarappa, Navajivan Publishing House Ahmedabad. Price Annas Twelve, Postage Anna One.

### Hindustani Examinations Results

Gujarat Hindustani Prachar Samiti, Gujarat Vidyanith, Ahmedabad, holds four Examinations - First, Second, Third and Fourth - in Hindustani, twice in a year, in February and September. The summary of the results of the Examinations held on 2-2-'47 is given below.

Examination	Applications received	Candidates appeared	Successful	Unsuccessful	P.C.*
First	2952	2186	1458	726	66.75
Second	902	746	533	205	71.5
Third	249	213	128	85	60.0
Fourth	60	48	29	19	62.5

I take this opportunity to inform all the Hindustani Centres in Gujarat and Kathiawad that the Examinations held by the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha, are meant for the provinces where there is no organization to hold the examinations in Hindustani. "Hindustani Kabil" is an all India Examination to be held by the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha. Till the time of writing no information has been received as to when this examination will be held, what are its rules and regulations, and what are the text-books prescribed for this examination.

GIRIRAJ KISHORE  
Examinations Secretary

\* Results withheld 8

# HARIJAN

April 13

1947

## WHAT IS PROGRESS?

The idea of spreading large scale industries seems to be associated with being up-to-date, scientific and progressive. Correspondents often harp on this and enquire if the discouragement of textile mills and banning of rice mills are not putting the clock back. Hence it is profitable to spend a few moments to ponder over what is progress and what is scientific.

Today the public may be made to believe anything provided they are told often enough what to believe. Propaganda has become a science and is ousting all individual thought. Even education in our colleges and schools is taking the form of promulgation of undigested half truths. When rightly understood, science is the basis of all village industries, and village industries afford the fullest scope for scientific research and application.

## WHAT IS SCIENCE?

Science is not the creation of man. Nature works in well-defined grooves according to immutable laws. When man understands these laws and reduces them to a system of knowledge, we call it science. It follows, therefore, that any course of action to be termed scientific should conform to nature in all its bearings and where we deviate from nature, to that extent we are unscientific. Man may understand vaguely the lines on which nature works, and make use of that partial knowledge for his own purpose, deviating by so doing from the course ordained by nature. Such deviation will lead ultimately to his own destruction because he himself is a product of nature. Destruction so caused may be at his own hands or through mal-application of a partial understanding.

## PROGRESS

Progress signifies both the search after knowledge and truth as found in nature and its application to satisfy human needs. In the measure in which we are able to pull alongside nature's dictates, we shall be progressing in the right direction. But in so far as we are plying against the course of nature, we shall be creating violence and destruction which may take the form of social conflicts, personal ill health and the spread of anti-social feelings, such as, hatred, suspicion and fear. From these symptoms we shall know whether we are progressing scientifically or not. If our course of action leads to goodwill, peace and contentment, we shall be on the side of progress, however little the material attainments may be and if it ends in dissatisfaction and conflict, we shall be retrogressing, however much in abundance we may possess material things.

## ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

The activity of man to satisfy his elementary needs must, therefore, not merely produce the material goods but should also be conducive towards the growth and development of his own personality. When a man eats food it does not only satisfy his palate but replenishes the waste products of his body, maintains it in good condition and allows for growth and further development. If the food that he ate only satisfied the palate without contributing to the two other aspects of his needs, it will be of no use. If a person drank water sweetened by saccharin all the time, however much he may like the sweet taste, he cannot enjoy good health and strength as all the elements necessary for his body building, maintenance, replacement of wastage are not present in proper proportions. Taste is a good thing but it is not all. The main function that food plays is performed after it has left our palate. It is the manner in which the food gets assimilated in the body that is going to tell ultimately. Similarly, work also must not be judged by its outward appearance,—nor by the quantity of things produced. Work should develop the human personality and be as food to all the human faculties. When we, through greed or false notions or a wrong sense of proportion, interfere with nature hoping to obtain short-cuts, we generally end up by being wasteful. Nature does not believe in short-cuts. The mills of God grind slowly. Hence in our hurry, we often bring destruction on our heads and we imagine such quick results to be a sign of progress.

## FOOD

For instance, nature packs up all nutritious articles, e. g. foodgrains, fruits, eggs, etc. carefully in such a way that the ingredients are kept intact and in proper proportion as will be necessary for the users. But when we destroy nature's packing we create counter influences which also destroy the value of food.

Rice, to cite one example, is packed up well in the husk, coated with bran and equipped with pericarp and the grain. When this is to be eaten all that we have to do is to dehusk the rice. Such dehusked rice, because of its nutritive nature, will be attacked by weevils, vermins, rats, etc. Therefore, when we require rice we should dehusk what is needed at the moment and keep the rest as paddy. Then alone we get the whole benefit from eating the cereal. But man in his hurry uses a rice mill and as he cannot store rice when dehusked he proceeds to polish it and takes away all its nutritious elements. By so doing he no doubt increases the storage properties of rice but at the cost of its food value. This is an instance in which human interference with nature is thoroughly unscientific and injures man. Hence, rice mills are against progress and however skilfully the mechanism may have been devised, it is unscientific in the true sense.

## HUSBANDING OF RESOURCES

A scientific use of resources should mean that we get the fullest benefit out of what we find around us. Man in his eagerness to use mechanical devices is often irrational in the utilization of resources. For instance, if paper is to be made out of bamboo by the simple hand process, we do not use bamboos cut fresh from the forest. The bamboos in the forest when they are first cut are used in various ways for roofing, for being made into mats, sieves, baskets and other household articles and then, when they have served their term as such, the broken and used-up bamboo pieces are converted into pulp, and paper is made from it.

But the so-called scientific industrialist cannot afford to work on this basis as his machines are to be kept going all the time, so in his hurry he has to get the tender bamboos from the forest and feed them into his mills to be converted into paper. For this purpose, he has to cultivate forests of bamboos, directing human energy into lines which were totally unnecessary in the former case. Hence, the mill process of making paper as we have shown, is thoroughly unscientific and wasteful in the utilization of natural resources.

Similarly, if we have to utilize as food the nutritious elements found in nature, we may get *gur* from palm trees that grow wild on uncultivable lands and obtain the whole benefit of the sap, minus the water which it contains, along with sugar in a digestible form, and various minerals and salts.

But man in his anxiety to use his knowledge puts up sugar mills, converts good lands which may be used for cultivation of cereals into sugar-cane growing lands and then the sugar-cane is converted into sugar, wasting bulk of the minerals and salts in the molasses which are thrown out as unfit for human consumption and from which he prepares rum and gin to poison the people and to acquire for himself the money they possess.

Even if sugar be required to be produced by hand, the *rab* prepared from palm juice can be centrifuged, and having obtained the sugar, the molasses left can now be converted into edible *gur* rich in minerals and salts. Molasses produced from the sugar mills, as they are affected by the use of sulphur compounds in the processes, are not fit for human consumption and have to be wasted or converted into intoxicating drinks as stated above.

Here again we see that sugar mills are thoroughly unscientific and wasteful of human resources. They, like the rice mills, are only to satisfy the greed for accumulation of wealth by individuals at the cost of nutritious food products found in nature.

## UTILIZATION OF RESOURCES

In our quest for ways and means of satisfying our needs we have to take into consideration the resources available to us and make the best use of them possible. It will be unscientific to use coal for fuel where it is not available and where crude oil can be easily obtained. Similarly, where coal is available and where no firewood is available, it would be senseless to bring firewood from distant

places for purposes of fuel. In the same manner, where human energy is available cheaply and in abundance it will be irrational to obtain other motive forces from distant places. In India, where people are suffering from unemployment and lack of occupation, to produce our needs to resort to mill production, which ultimately spreads unemployment, is unthinkable. From this point of view, hand spinning, however slow it may be, is scientific and in line with human progress while textile mills are irrational and spell ruin to the people.

## PERVERSION OF TASTE

Through propaganda people's natural taste is perverted. They are made to believe smell and colour are to be avoided. They may be taught soon to hold that paper roses are better than natural ones as the latter do not "stink". The best example of this type of perversion for business purposes is the present drive to popularize *vanaspathi ghee*. Here the mill prostitutes scientific knowledge to deodorize and decolourize the natural oil, to substitute nutritionally inferior oils for the traditionally used ones, to solidify vegetable oils while lowering or destroying their digestibility. They render all this disservice at an enhanced price. Is this not taking liberties with nature, science and progress? Do we not deserve it if in return nature visits us with blindness, loss of powers of growth and reproduction? This is industrialization in all its nakedness. Such is what passes for science and progress today, heralding their advent by highly paid advertisements, exploiting the ignorance of the people.

## MACHINES AND TOOLS

This does not mean that there is no room for machines. Where standardization and regimentation of labour are called for, the use of large scale machines is indicated. Where precision tools are to be made and standardized articles are essential, then production of these through machines will be necessary. But in consumption goods duplication and standardization are not of the very essence of their being. A comb may be made of horn by hand, but no two combs so made will be precisely alike. There is no purpose in standardizing such articles. Hence making combs from plastics is not called for. Similarly there are many articles in common use which do not call for standardization. On the other hand, most consumption goods call for the catering of individual need and taste. In such cases, only cottage and village industries can answer the purpose. When a man has to be fitted with a pair of shoes, the shoes have to be made for his feet, even so as to conform to any deformities that he may possess. Such making of shoes for a particular person's feet is scientific and will help the shoe-maker to use his resourcefulness and ingenuity to meet the need and thus help him to develop his capacity; while standardized shoes, though they may produce the articles in abundance, cannot be said to be thoroughly scientific in so far as they are not calculated to fit any particular foot exactly. So large scale production of shoes as compared with the work of the *mochi* is again unscientific and so against progress.

## VIOLENCE AND DESTRUCTION

In the last two generations we have known the results of mechanical production of standardized goods. The raw materials are needed in large quantities and they have to be collected from the four corners of the world and the finished products have to be assured of a definite market and for these the ocean routes have to be kept clear and safe. These conditions have brought about the two catastrophic global wars. In the course of these wars much of the human production and skill has gone into destruction. Any war is definitely against progress, it turns men back to the jungle and so can be termed unscientific. Since our activities to satisfy our human needs have culminated in these global wars, they are unscientific and retrogressive.

## CONCLUSION

Therefore, when we attempt to plan production in our country to satisfy our needs, we have to be careful to choose the most scientific method and the most progressive ways. We must remember that production of a multiplicity of goods is not synonymous with progress, nor is destruction a sign of science. Attainment of quick results are not conducive to the production of culture. Nature works in mysterious ways and demands its own time. No man in a hurry can be either progressive or scientific. We need patience and we need a ballast to our lives. This we can find only through satisfying our needs by village industries and decentralized production.

Large scale industries may be used as a necessary evil as has already been referred to above in the production of tools and machines needed for cottage and village industries and provision of basic raw materials such as sulphuric acid, steel, etc. It can also provide natural monopolies such as, communications, means of transport, public utilities like water and power. Anything more than this will spell ruin and destruction to humanity. It calls for great care and forethought to be able to judge. However, we cannot resort to centralized methods of production in the satisfaction of our daily needs. Wherever there is a doubt it is safer to fall back on the decentralized methods of production. Hence, we hold that the proper application of science and the way to real progress lies in resorting to village and cottage industries to satisfy our daily needs.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

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## GANDHIJI'S BIHAR TOUR DIARY

26-3-'47

Gandhiji began his post-prayer speech by referring to the common weakness of misunderstanding opponents attributing to them motives which could not be proved. Such behaviour often led to untoward results which prudent people would avoid. Such misunderstanding was responsible for differences between the Congress and the League. Both the organizations had a large following. The responsibility resting on them was all the greater for their popularity. Their conduct towards each other had to be above suspicion.

Gandhiji next referred to his visit to Kako Relief Camp and the village of Saistabad. Men and women burst into tears as they saw him. He told them that to break under one's sorrow did not become brave people. All religions taught that sorrow should be bravely borne.

As he watched crowds of sturdy men pursuing him, catching hold of his car and shouting vociferously *Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai* etc., he could well imagine the havoc they must have wrought when they attacked a handful of Musalmans. The Hindus should be ashamed of the act. They should take a vow never to slip into the madness again. Nor should they think of taking revenge for the incidents of the Punjab or the like. Would they themselves become beasts simply because others happened to sink to that level? If ever they became mad again, they should destroy him first. His prayer in that case would be that God may give him the strength to pray to Him to forgive his murderers, that is to purify their hearts. He prayed that God may enable him to show by example what true bravery was. No one could mistake arson and murder of innocent women and children as a brave act. It was cowardice of the meanest type.

Gandhiji next referred to a complaint that he had received from the Hindus of Kako enumerating their sufferings at the hands of Muslim *zamindars*. He interpreted it as intended to minimize their own offence against the Musalmans. It was not manliness to attempt to do so.

Again Gandhiji referred to a report that he had heard of the Hindus threatening the Musalmans that they would wreak vengeance on them when he (Gandhiji) was gone. It ill-became the votaries of the *Ramayana* to try to suppress the fourteen or fifteen per cent of the Muslims in their midst. Men aspiring to be free could hardly think of enslaving others. If they tried to do so, they would only be binding their own chains of slavery tighter. It became their duty to go and beg forgiveness of the Musalmans, and by their true repentance they should try to persuade them to go back to their homes. They should rebuild their houses. They should make their sorrow their own.

27-3-'47

In his post-prayer speech at Okri village this evening, Gandhiji uttered the warning that Indians might lose the golden apple of independence which was almost within their grasp, out of insanity.



which had caused scenes of desolation and destruction and stated that the peace that reigned in the land was only on the surface. He said this while referring to his visit during the morning and afternoon to some riot-affected villages.

Gandhiji added that they knew the very first pronouncement that the Viceroy had made when he assumed office stated that he was sent as the last Viceroy to wind up British rule in India. They must have noticed that the pronouncement was deliberate, unconditional and unequivocal. He knew that it had become a fashion, though not without cause, to distrust every British declaration. He for one would advise the acceptance of every declaration at its face value without qualifying it in the light of past experience to the contrary. His experience was that it was the deceiver who always lost and never the dupe if he was honest and brave. But he very much feared on account of what had happened in the country that by their folly or, what was worse than that, insanity, they might let slip out of their hands their hard-won prize before it was strongly locked in their unbreakable fist.

Gandhiji referred to Bihar and the Punjab and said that he had wisdom enough to see that they themselves might tempt the Viceroy to eat his own words, uttered solemnly on a solemn occasion. Heaven forbid that such an occasion should arise, but, if it did, even though his might be a voice in the wilderness, he would declare that the Viceroy should firmly and truly carry out his declaration and complete the British withdrawal.

Gandhiji referred to the police strike, and said that the police, like the scavengers, should never go on strike. There was an essential service and they should render that service irrespective of pay.

There were many other effective and honourable means of getting grievances redressed. If he was a Cabinet Minister, he would offer the strikers nothing whatever under the threat of a strike, which implied force. He would give them the choice of an impartial arbitration, without any condition.

"It will be a bad day for India if the military, including the police, rule India," Gandhiji said. He hoped the police would call off their strike unconditionally, and request the Ministry to appoint an impartial arbitrator to investigate their case.

Gandhiji also appealed to the policemen not to behave in the manner in which they were behaving then. Every policeman, he said, was a servant of the people and his duty was to behave like the *Khudai Khidmatgars*. Policemen were the custodians of law.

Continuing, Gandhiji said that if every man, woman and child tried to understand his or her duty and if there was no theft or dacoity, then there would be no need for policemen. Everyone could then be a policeman and help each other.

Gandhiji expressed regret that the Bihar Government had employed British soldiers to deal with the strikers. No matter what the cause was, and wherever it was, the Indian Governments must never requisition the services of British soldiers to

deal with civil disturbances. Otherwise it would mean that the Indian Governments were helpless without British arms.

28-3-'47

At the prayer meeting Gandhiji began by saying that he had passed a very full and heavy day. The day was begun with a long meeting with the members of the local Muslim League at the bungalow of Mr. Azharul Haq, local League leader. He was with them for over an hour and had a hearty chat with them answering all kinds of questions. Then he had a meeting at his residential quarters with Hindus and Muslims belonging to Jehanabad and the surrounding villages. He had then a meeting with the Congressmen which included members of the various Congress Committees. Later he met the members of the local Hindu Mahasabha. Finally he had a heart-to-heart talk with over 25 members of the police force on strike. Then at half past three again he visited the villages of Malathi, Gangasagar, Bola and Allahganj, in which Muslims had suffered badly.

Referring to his visit to the villages, Gandhiji said that naturally he was full of topics on which he wanted to speak and bespeak their attention. He was sorry to tell that Hindu repentance was not open and sincere enough to inspire confidence among the Muslims. He had told the afternoon meeting that it was open to representative Hindus who were present at the meeting to disabuse the Muslims of their suspicion. He was sorry to say that not one Hindu got up to give the needed assurance. He had not the heart, therefore, to ask his Muslim hearers whether they (the Hindus) had cleansed their hearts. They were the injured party in Bihar and it was not open to anyone to expect a satisfactory answer from them unless the guilty Hindu party had led the way by repentance. There were yet ring leaders like Mathura Singh roaming about and successfully evading arrest. There was, therefore, little cause for wonder if the Muslims were afraid to return to their respective villages. Gandhiji said that he could not help feeling that the culprit could not long remain at large if the Hindu population did not give him shelter. He asked Mathura Singh's friends and sympathizers to advise him to discover himself and face the consequences of his action. He would also like to tell him that it was no act of bravery for him to evade arrest. He was thus rendering a disservice to himself, his religion and his country. He suggested to the Congressmen, in whose midst the inhumanities were enacted, that they could not free themselves, unless they made every effort to induce all the culprits to come out into the open to wash their guilt as publicly as they had committed the crimes.

Continuing, Gandhiji said that he had visited a mosque in the village Bola which was damaged during the disturbances. He was told that on the *Holi* day the mosque was again desecrated by some villagers who played *Holi* inside the mosque premises on the *Holi* day. If it was true, Gandhiji said, it was undoubtedly a notice given by them to the Muslims

not to enter their homes even when they were rebuilt nor dare to visit the mosque. If this reported desecration on the *Holi* day was a fact, it was a bad omen for the Hindus, for Bihar and for the whole country.

Gandhiji went on to say that he had heard at the Muslim League meeting in the morning and at the meeting of the Hindus and the Muslims in the afternoon that Mahant Bhagwat Das who was a member of the Bihar Legislative Assembly was himself a participator in the crime and was himself present at both the meetings. The speaker advised him whilst he was under suspicion to give up his membership. He was glad to say that Mahant Bhagwat Das, without a moment's hesitation, welcomed the advice and promised at once to act up to it. He also added that he was in no way a participator directly or indirectly in the crime and that he was quite ready to face an open, impartial enquiry to be made by the Muslim League itself. If it was a sincere declaration, Gandhiji said, it was certainly a refreshing thing at a time when there was no real sign of sincere sorrow and repentance on the part of the Hindus in the affected areas. This he was obliged to say in spite of welcome letters of repentance to which he had made reference at the previous evening's meeting.

29.3.47

At the outset Gandhiji told the audience that he would be leaving for Delhi the next day and hoped to return in about four or five days.

Gandhiji then feelingly referred to the death on the previous evening of Prof. Abdul Bari, President of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, under tragic circumstances. Prof. Bari was a disciple and co-worker of Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has built for himself a unique and undisputed position and influence in that province by his service and sacrifice. Prof. Bari also has by his service in the cause of the workers in Jamshedpur and other places endeared himself to the people and rose to occupy the position of the President of the Provincial Congress Committee. A fearless fighter, Prof. Bari was with the Congress during the different phases of its struggle for freedom.

Gandhiji referred to his visit earlier in the day to Prof. Bari's house to console the members of the bereaved family and wean them from weeping and hearten them for the work that specially descended upon the weak shoulders of his children. Gandhiji said that as he entered the house he was struck with its simplicity and the simple life Prof. Bari had led. The house was located in an ordinary narrow lane and what he saw inside the house fully bore out what everyone had said about Prof. Bari that he was a poor man and that though he had opportunities he scrupulously maintained his integrity as far as public finances were concerned. At a time when the administration of the country was in Congress hands and crores of rupees had to be administered, men of Prof. Bari's honesty would

have been of invaluable help. He had hoped on his return from the third tour just finished, Gandhiji said, to be more and more associated with him and make an effective appeal to him to modify, if not altogether get rid of, his short temper which went ill with the very high office, in fact the highest in the province of Bihar, especially when there was a nationalist ministry at the head of affairs which naturally had to be influenced by the premier provincial Congress organization. Gandhiji said that he had full faith in Prof. Bari and knew that his word carried great weight with him. But God had willed otherwise and He had deprived Bihar of the great service of a very brave man with the heart of a *fakir*. But men like Bari never died, Gandhiji said, and it was for those who remained to carry on the noble work he had left behind.

Gandhiji then referred to the circumstances of Prof. Bari's death and said that in an unfortunate altercation that ensued between him and one Gurkha member of the anti-smuggling force and former member of the Indian National Army the latter shot him. He warned the audience that there was no politics of any kind in the death and that it would be wrong and unjustified to associate the whole I. N. A. organization with the death of Prof. Bari because of what one single individual did.

### RACE: HUMAN

The following is taken from *American Unity* (November 1944), a monthly issued by the Council against Intolerance in America. —V. G. D.]

Before Jan Masaryk, the Deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, was admitted to the U. S. A., he had to go through the usual immigration procedure in New York, filling out a form listing his name, birthplace, age etc.

When Masaryk came to the item 'race' on the form, he thought for a moment and then wrote simply: 'Human'.

"But, Mr. Masaryk," protested the immigration officer, "that isn't what it means. You come from Czechoslovakia; why don't you write 'Czechoslovakian'?"

"The Czechoslovakians aren't a race," Masaryk replied. "They are just a nationality, made up of Czechs, Slovaks and many other peoples. I am a Czechoslovakian by nationality, but I belong to the human race."

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## ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## INSTALMENT — XVII

## ENGLISH

## HINDUSTANI

Comply *v.* मानना, पूरा करना, बर्ता माना। *مانا، پورا کرنا، بھرتا مانا*

Component *n.* अंश, टुकड़ा, भाग, सुहा। *اংশ، ٹکڑا، حصہ، سوا*

Comport *v.* बनना, बरतना। *بننا، برتنا*

Comport with *v.* साफ़िक आना, ठीक होना, पबना।

*موافق آنا، ٹھیک ہونا، پھنا*

Compose *v.* बनाना, संवारना, रचना; लिखना; अक्षर वा इकक जोड़ना (छापनेके लिखे); हान्त करना, धीरज बैधाना, दिलासा देना।

*بنانا، سنوارنا، رچنا، لکھنا، اکسر یا حروف جوڑنا (چاپنے کے لئے)؛ ہانت کرنا، دھیرج بیدھانا، دिलासा देना*

*شانہ کرنا، دھیرج بندھانا، دِلایا دینا*

Compose oneself to *v.* मैरा हो बैठना (किसी कामके लिखे)।

*تیار ہو بیٹنا (کسی کام کے لئے)*

Compose oneself *v.* सैमान बैठना, दिख दिखाने करना, हाइस वा धीरज बांधना।

*सैमान بیٹना، दिख दिखाने करना، हाइस वा धीरज बांधना*

Compose music or verses *v.* सुर वा राग बनाना; कविता, शेर वा मन्त्र लिखना।

*सुर वा राग बनाना; कविता, शेर वा मन्त्र लिखना*

Composer *n.* सुसजक, शायर; संगकर्ता, कवि; राग बनानेवाला;

*सुसजक, शायर; संगकर्ता, कवि; राग बनानेवाला;*

*रचयिता। रचयिता*

Composite *adj.* मिलवा, मिलाबुला; दोहे कबाना भागोहे बना

*टुआ। मिलावट, मिलाबुला; दोहे कबाना भागोहे बना*

Composite carriage *v.* रेलकी गाड़ी जिसमें सब दरजोंके

*टिके हो। रेलकी गाड़ी जिसमें सब दरजोंके टिके हो*

Composition *n.* मेल, मिलावट, संगठन, बनवट, संवावट।

*मेल, मिलावट, संगठन, बनवट, संवावट*

Compositor *n.* अक्षर वा इकक जोड़नेवाला।

*अक्षर वा इकक जोड़नेवाला*

Composmentis *adj.* होचमें।

*होचमें*

Composmentis, none *adj.* होचमें नहीं, पावक।

*होचमें नहीं, पावक*

Compost *n.* खाद, पास, कड़ी।

*खाद, पास, कड़ी*

Composure *n.* शान्ति, जितमिमान।

*शान्ति, जितमिमान*

Compote *n.* बीरेमें पकाया हुआ फल।

*बीरेमें पकाया हुआ फल*

Compound *v.* मिताना, संयुक्त करना, बीर ककर करना; भावसे

*मिताना, संयुक्त करना, बीर ककर करना; भावसे*

समझना करना; फैसला करना।

*समझना करना; फैसला करना*

Compound a felony *v.* समझना करके दोषीको छेड़ देना।

*समझना करके दोषीको छेड़ देना*

Compound *n.* अहाता।

*अहाता*

Compound fracture *n.* हड्डीका भिन्न ताह टटना कि मांस

*हड्डीका भिन्न ताह टटना कि मांस*

और हाक तक जखम हो जाय।

*और हाक तक जखम हो जाय*

Compound interest *n.* सूद पर सूद, ध्याज पर ध्याज।

*सूद पर सूद, ध्याज पर ध्याज*

Compounder *n.* दवा बनानेवाला।

*दवा बनानेवाला*

Comprehend *v.* समझना; अन्दर लेना, शामिल करना।

*समझना; अन्दर लेना, शामिल करना*

Comprehension *n.* समझ, बोध, बूझ।

*समझ, बोध, बूझ*

Comprehensive *adj.* फैला हुआ, व्यापक, बुद्धिमान, समझदार।

*फैला हुआ, व्यापक, बुद्धिमान, समझदार*

Compress *v.* दबाना, भीचना; छोटा करना।

*दबाना, भीचना; छोटा करना*

Compress *n.* गद्दी, पहा; भीगा कपड़ा (जो जखम पर सूजन

*सुजानेके लिखे रखा जाता है)।*

*गद्दी, पहा; भीगा कपड़ा (जो जखम पर सूजन*

*सुजानेके लिखे रखा जाता है)।*

Comprise *v.* शामिल करना, अन्दर लेना, भीतर होना।

*शामल करना, अन्दर लेना, भीतर होना*

Compromise *n.* समझौता, निपटारा, सहमति।

*समझौता, निपटारा, सहमति*

Compromise *v.* समझौता होना या करना, सगढ़ा चुकाना,

*निपटारा करना, जोखममें डालना, सुलझाना।*

*समझौता होना या करना, सगढ़ा चुकाना, निपटारा करना, जोखममें डालना, सुलझाना।*

Compulsion *n.* दबाव, जोर, कबरदस्ती, सज।

*दबाव, जोर, कबरदस्ती, सज*

Compulsory *adj.* लाज़मी, आवश्यक, लचरी।

*लाज़मी, आवश्यक, लचरी*

Compuaction *n.* खेद, दुःख, पछताना; शका, शुकहा, दिवक।

*खेद, दुःख, पछताना; शका, शुकहा, दिवक*

Compute *v.* गिनना, बाँटना, हिसाब लगाना।

*गिनना, बाँटना, हिसाब लगाना*

Comrade *n.* साथी, सगी, हमदम।

*साथी, सगी, हमदम*

Con *v.* सीसना, बाद करना, रटना; जहाजको सीधा चलाना।

*सीसना, बाद करना, रटना; जहाजको सीधा चलाना*

Con *prep.* साद।

*साद*

Concave *adj.* महाबदार, धनुसाकरी।

*महाबदार, धनुसाकरी*

Conceal *v.* छिपना, छिपाना।

*छिपना, छिपाना*

Concede *v.* मानना, करने देना; देना, रियायत करना, अधिकार देना।

*मानना, करने देना; देना, रियायत करना, अधिकार देना*

Conceit *n.* अभिमान, खुद पसन्दी।

*अभिमान, खुद पसन्दी*

Conceivable *adj.* समझमें आनेवाला, हो सकनेवाला।

*समझमें आनेवाला, हो सकनेवाला*

Conceive *v.* गर्भेहे होना, बैठे होना; खयालमें लसना, बिचारना;

*गर्भेहे होना, बैठे होना; खयालमें लसना, बिचारना;*

*गर्भेहे होना, बैठे होना; खयालमें लसना, बिचारना;*

Concentrate *v.* अेक जगह करना, जोर देना, जोर कड़ाना,

*अेक जगह करना, जोर देना, जोर कड़ाना,*

*अेक जगह करना, जोर देना, जोर कड़ाना,*

Concentration camp *n.* कहरबन्दोंका कैदखाना।

*कहरबन्दोंका कैदखाना*

Concentric *adj.* अेक चीजवाला।

*अेक चीजवाला*

Concept or conception *n.* कयाल, बिचार; गर्भ, हमल।

*कयाल, बिचार; गर्भ, हमल*

Concern *n.* संबन्ध, सगाव, बास्ता, काम; बिता, टिक, परेशानी,

*संबन्ध, सगाव, बास्ता, काम; बिता, टिक, परेशानी,*

*संबन्ध, सगाव, बास्ता, काम; बिता, टिक, परेशानी,*

Concerning *prep.* विषयमें, बबत, बारेमें।

*विषयमें, बबत, बारेमें*

Concert *n.* अेक, मिलाप, मेल; अेक आवाज़, अेक ताल; गाने-

*अेक, मिलाप, मेल; अेक आवाज़, अेक ताल; गाने-*

*अेक, मिलाप, मेल; अेक आवाज़, अेक ताल; गाने-*

Conch *n.* घोषा, बंद।

*घोषा, बंद*

**Concierge** *n.* दरवान, द्वारपाल (फ्रेंचमें) ।  
 دربان, دروازہ دار (فرانسیسی)

**Conciliate** *v.* समझाना, दली करना, समझौता करना, बेवमिनाप करना ।  
 माना, वासी करना, समझौता करना, मिल-जुल कराना

**Concise** *adj.* संक्षिप्त, मुक्तसार, बोधे सङ्क्षेप या वाचस्पेय ।  
 संक्षेप, संक्षेप, संक्षेप, संक्षेप, संक्षेप, संक्षेप

**Conclave** *n.* धर्म के चुनाव के निमित्त काठ सभा, गुप्त सभा, बुद्धिमान सभलिस ।  
 गुप्त सभा, गुप्त सभा, गुप्त सभा, गुप्त सभा, गुप्त सभा

**Conclude** *v.* पूरा करना, पूरा होना, खतम होना या करना; तय करना, तय होना, बुझाना, निपटाना; बनीमा निष्कर्षना ।  
 पूरा करना, पूरा होना, खतम होना या करना; तय करना, तय होना, बुझाना, निपटाना; बनीमा निष्कर्षना

**Conclusion** *n.* बनीमा, अन्त, अन्तर ।  
 निष्कर्ष, अन्त, अन्त, अन्त, अन्त, अन्त

**Conclusive** *adj.* पक्का, आखिरी ।  
 पक्का, आखिरी, पक्का, आखिरी, पक्का, आखिरी

**Concoct** *v.* पकाना, बनाना, पढ़ना, गढ़ना ।  
 पकाना, बनाना, पढ़ना, गढ़ना, पकाना, बनाना

**Concoction** *n.* दवाबी; बनावट; बनावटी कढ़ानी ।  
 दवाबी, बनावट, बनावटी कढ़ानी, बनावट, बनावटी कढ़ानी

**Concomitant** *adj.* जुड़ा हुआ, दिना हुआ, साथ या जोड़की चीज ।  
 जुड़ा हुआ, दिना हुआ, साथ या जोड़की चीज, जुड़ा हुआ, दिना हुआ

**Concord** *n.* मेक, मेकन, मेका, संगम; तालमेल ।  
 मेक, मेकन, मेका, संगम, तालमेल, मेक, मेकन

**Concordance** *n.* मेक, संगम; विषयवृत्ति या कोश जो किसी किताबके शब्दों या वाक्यों की फेरिहल दे (सातकर बासीबिलकी) ।  
 मेक, संगम, विषयवृत्ति या कोश जो किसी किताबके शब्दों या वाक्यों की फेरिहल दे

**Concordat** *n.* रोपका किसी सरकारसे समझौता ।  
 रोपका, किसी सरकारसे समझौता, रोपका, किसी सरकारसे समझौता

**Concourse** *n.* भीड़, जमपट, संगत ।  
 भीड़, जमपट, संगत, भीड़, जमपट, संगत

**Concrescence** *n.* मेक साथ जुगना ।  
 मेक साथ जुगना, मेक साथ जुगना, मेक साथ जुगना

**Concrete** *adj.* जो महभूल किया जाय; बसाया हुआ रोका, घना, बाहु बपेरा, संकोट ।  
 जो महभूल किया जाय, बसाया हुआ रोका, घना, बाहु बपेरा, संकोट

**Concubine** *n.* एकली हुसी भोरत ।  
 एकली हुसी भोरत, एकली हुसी भोरत, एकली हुसी भोरत

**Concupiscence** *n.* काम, बसनी, काम भोग ।  
 काम, बसनी, काम भोग, काम, बसनी, काम भोग

**Concur** *v.* मेक साथ या मेक वजन होना; मेक राय या मेक मत होना ।  
 मेक साथ या मेक वजन होना, मेक राय या मेक मत होना, मेक साथ या मेक वजन होना

**Concurrece** *n.* मेक, साथ, मजदुरी, हो करना ।  
 मेक, साथ, मजदुरी, हो करना, मेक, साथ, मजदुरी

**Concurrent** *adj.* मेक साथ, साथ साथ, साथ साथ चलने या होनेवाला ।  
 मेक साथ, साथ साथ, साथ साथ चलने या होनेवाला, मेक साथ, साथ साथ

**Concussion** *n.* बड़ा चक्का, टक्कर, चोट, सिरकी चोट ।  
 बड़ा चक्का, टक्कर, चोट, सिरकी चोट, बड़ा चक्का, टक्कर

**Condemn** *v.* घुटा बगाना, घुटा भला कहना, इस्तेमाल या दोषी ठहराना; सजा या दण्ड देना, मोत या फांसीका हुक्म सुनाना; रद्द कर देना, निष्कर्षना बताना ।  
 घुटा बगाना, घुटा भला कहना, इस्तेमाल या दोषी ठहराना; सजा या दण्ड देना, मोत या फांसीका हुक्म सुनाना; रद्द कर देना, निष्कर्षना बताना

**Condemnation** *n.* दण्डकी आहवा; निंदा; भिन्नता का दोष लगाना ।  
 दण्डकी आहवा, निंदा, भिन्नता का दोष लगाना, दण्डकी आहवा, निंदा

**Condense** *v.* घटाना (पका कर) घाँटा करना; छोटा करना ।  
 घटाना (पका कर) घाँटा करना, छोटा करना, घटाना (पका कर)

**Condescend** *v.* घुटना, नच होना, नीचोके साथ अवज्ञा बरताना ।  
 घुटना, नच होना, नीचोके साथ अवज्ञा बरताना, घुटना, नच होना

**Condescension** *n.* नीचोके साथ बड़े जादमी बनकर बरताना ।  
 नीचोके साथ बड़े जादमी बनकर बरताना, नीचोके साथ बड़े जादमी बनकर बरताना

**Condign** *adj.* सुचित, सुनासिब ।  
 सुचित, सुनासिब, सुचित, सुनासिब, सुचित, सुनासिब

**Condiment** *n.* चटनी, अचार, मसाला, बपार ।  
 चटनी, अचार, मसाला, बपार, चटनी, अचार

**Condition** *n.* शर्त; हाल, हालत, दसा, दरसा ।  
 शर्त, हाल, हालत, दसा, दरसा, शर्त, हाल

**Condition, change one's** *v.* चाही या विवाह करना ।  
 चाही या विवाह करना, चाही या विवाह करना, चाही या विवाह करना

**Condition, in** *n.* अच्छी हालतमें, ठीक ।  
 अच्छी हालतमें, ठीक, अच्छी हालतमें, ठीक

**Condition, out of** *n.* भुरे हालमें, बीमार ।  
 भुरे हालमें, बीमार, भुरे हालमें, बीमार

**Condition that, on** *n.* भिन्न शर्त पर ।  
 भिन्न शर्त पर, भिन्न शर्त पर, भिन्न शर्त पर

**Conditional** *adj.* शर्तपर, शर्तके साथ ।  
 शर्तपर, शर्तके साथ, शर्तपर, शर्तके साथ

**Conditioned** *adj.* किसी हालत में ।  
 किसी हालत में, किसी हालत में, किसी हालत में

**Conditioned room, air** *n.* ठंढा कमरा, ठंढा किया हुआ कमरा ।  
 ठंढा कमरा, ठंढा किया हुआ कमरा, ठंढा कमरा, ठंढा किया हुआ कमरा

**Condole** *v.* दुःखमें साझी होना, हयददी करना, पुरसा देना ।  
 दुःखमें साझी होना, हयददी करना, पुरसा देना, दुःखमें साझी होना

**Condolence** *n.* हयददी, सहायुम्नि, शोक, पुरसा ।  
 हयददी, सहायुम्नि, शोक, पुरसा, हयददी, सहायुम्नि

**Condone** *v.* क्षमा या माफ करना, प्यार न देना ।  
 क्षमा या माफ करना, प्यार न देना, क्षमा या माफ करना

**Conduce** *v.* बहाना, सारा देना ।  
 बहाना, सारा देना, बहाना, सारा देना

**Conduct** *n.* बात-बचन, ठौर-ठौरा, बताना, अगुआई, भिन्नता, प्रवृत्ति ।  
 बात-बचन, ठौर-ठौरा, बताना, अगुआई, भिन्नता, प्रवृत्ति

**Conduct** *v.* चतनी, सारा दिखाना, के जाना, भिन्नता का प्रवृत्ति करना; चलना, बताना ।  
 चतनी, सारा दिखाना, के जाना, भिन्नता का प्रवृत्ति करना; चलना, बताना

**Conduction** *n.* मेक अगहसे दूसरी अगह केजाना या पहुँचाना ।  
 मेक अगहसे दूसरी अगह केजाना या पहुँचाना, मेक अगहसे दूसरी अगह केजाना

**Conductor** *n.* अगुआ, नेता; कानक, बताने या पहुँचानेवाला ।  
 अगुआ, नेता, कानक, बताने या पहुँचानेवाला, अगुआ, नेता

**Conductor, lightning** *n.* बिजली केबानेवाली कड़, बिजली केबानेवाली कड़िका बपना ।  
 बिजली केबानेवाली कड़, बिजली केबानेवाली कड़िका बपना, बिजली केबानेवाली कड़

**Conduit** *n.* माना, नाली, मोरी ।  
 माना, नाली, मोरी, माना, नाली, मोरी

**Condy's fluid** *n.* काठ दवाबी—पोटाघ परमेगनेड और लाल दवाबी—जोलाय प्रमिक्त और पानी का मेल ।  
 काठ दवाबी—पोटाघ परमेगनेड और लाल दवाबी—जोलाय प्रमिक्त और पानी का मेल

**Cone** *n.* नाबुल, गमरदेल; देवदार, सनोबर या पौधेके पेड़का कंडम, गमरदेल; देवदार, सनोबर या पौधेके पेड़का कंडम ।  
 नाबुल, गमरदेल; देवदार, सनोबर या पौधेके पेड़का कंडम, गमरदेल; देवदार, सनोबर

**Confabulate** *v.* बातचीत करना, बातें करना ।  
 बातचीत करना, बातें करना, बातचीत करना

**Confection** *n.* मिठाबी, मुरब्बा, पाक, मिलाना, बनाना ।  
 मिठाबी, मुरब्बा, पाक, मिलाना, बनाना, मिठाबी, मुरब्बा

**Confectioner** *n.* हलवाबी, मिठाबी या मुरब्बा बनाने का बेवनेवाला ।  
 हलवाबी, मिठाबी या मुरब्बा बनाने का बेवनेवाला, हलवाबी, मिठाबी

**Confederacy** *n.* मेक, मेका, गुह; रिफासतोका कला या गिरोह ।  
 मेक, मेका, गुह; रिफासतोका कला या गिरोह, मेक, मेका

**Confederate** *n.* मित्र, साथी, मिला हुआ (बातकर भुरे काममें) ।  
 मित्र, साथी, मिला हुआ (बातकर भुरे काममें), मित्र, साथी

**Confederation** *n.* संघ, गिरोह (रिफासतोका) ।  
 संघ, गिरोह (रिफासतोका), संघ, गिरोह

**Confer** *v.* देना; बातचीत करना, सनाह करना, सलाह देना ।  
 देना; बातचीत करना, सनाह करना, सलाह देना, देना; बातचीत करना

Conference n. बातचीत, اجتماع, सभा, सम्मेलन ।

باہم چہدہ چہدہ سہا، حیلہ

Confess v. اعتراف کرنا، स्वीकार کرنا، मानना, अपना पाप बताना, पाप सुनना ।

الوار کرنا، سوچار کرنا، ماننا، اپنا पाप بتانا، पाप सुनना

Confession n. اعتراف; स्वीकार ।

Confessional n. वह कुर्सी, जहाँ बैठकर पादरी गुनाह वा पापका अंतरा सुनता है ।

وہ کرسی جہاں بیٹھ کر پادری گناہ یا پاپ کا اقرار سنا ہے

Confessor n. पापका अंतरा करनेवाला, पाप सुननेवाला पादरी ।

पाप का अवार करणے والا، पाप سننے والا، पदरी

Confetti n. रंगीन कागजके छोटे-छोटे टुकड़े (विवाह वा मेलोंमें जो फेंके जाते हैं) ।

رنگین کاغذ کے چھوٹے چھوٹے ٹکڑے (یہ یا میلوں میں سر

جیکے جائے ہیں)

Confident n. दिली बोला, विश्वासवादी ।

Confide v. भरोसा करना, विश्वास करना; हथके करना, सोपना ।

भरोसे करنا, विश्वास करना; हथके कराना, सोपना

Confidence n. विश्वास, भरोसा, यकीन ।

Confident adj. विश्वास वा भरोसे करनेवाला; निश्च, देखिक ।

विश्वास या भरोसे करनेवाला, निश्च, देखिक

Confidential adj. गुप्त वा मेरफा, भरोसे वा विश्वासका ।

गुप्त या मेरफा, भरोसे वा विश्वासका

Configuration n. रूप, शकल, स्वरु, रचना ।

रूप, शकल, स्वरु, रचना

Confine v. हद बंधना, रोकना; बंद करना, बन्द होना, कैद करना; बन्नेके कारण पलंग पर होना ।

हद बंधना, रोकना, बंद करना, बंद होना, कैद करना

Confinement n. कैद, रोक, बन्धन; प्रसववस्था, जखी ।

कैद, रोक, बन्धन, प्रसववस्था, जखी

Confinement, solitary n. काज कोठरी; काज कोठरीकी कैद ।

काज कोठरीकी कैद

Confines n. सरहद, हद, सीमा ।

Confirm v. पक्का करना, तयहीत करना वा प्रमाणित करना; सीकरी समझने देना ।

पक्का करना, तयहीत करना वा प्रमाणित करना

Confiscate v. छे देना, लाना करना, कुर्क करना ।

छे देना, लाना करना, कुर्क करना

Confiscation n. कन्ती, कुर्क ।

Conflagration n. भारी आग ।

Conflict n. टक्कर, खटपट, लड़ाही, झगडा ।

लक्कर, खटपट, लड़ाही, झगडा

Conflict v. टक्करना, लड़ना, मिहन; मेल न जाना ।

लड़ना, लड़ना, मेल न जाना

Confluence or Confliux n. संगम, मेल, मिलकर बहना ।

संगम, मेल, मिलकर बहना

Conform v. अनुविध होना वा बनना, ओकसा करना, ओकसेड करना; मानना ।

अनुविध होना वा बनना, ओकसा करना, ओकसेड करना; मानना

Conformation n. बनवट, ढांचा ।

Conformity with, in adv. अनुसार, अनुविध, साथ-साथ, साझिक, मेल जाता हुआ ।

अनुसार, अनुविध, साथ-साथ, साझिक, मेल जाता हुआ

Confound v. मोलमाल करना, मड़बड़ करना, इस्का-बस्का करना; हलाना; गलत करना; धारण वा समझ दिवाना, धारमिना वा लज्जित करना ।

मोलमाल करना, मड़बड़ करना, इस्का-बस्का करना; हलाना; गलत करना; धारण वा समझ दिवाना, धारमिना वा लज्जित करना

Confound it! v. गलत काम ।

गलत काम

Confères n. हमपेशा, किसी चीजे वा समाजके सदस्य ।

हमपेशा, किसी चीजे वा समाजके सदस्य

Confront v. आमने-सामने होना, सामना करना; सामना करना ।

आमने-सामने होना, सामना करना; सामना करना

Confucian n. कान्फुसिभसका पेंते वा चेता ।

कान्फुसिभसका पेंते वा चेता

Confucianism n. कान्फुसिभसी धर्म ।

कान्फुसिभसी धर्म

Confuse v. लुब्ध पुलट करना, लुब्धलाना, गड़बड़ा देना, गड़बड़ी फैलाना, धवराना ।

लुब्ध पुलट करना, लुब्धलाना, गड़बड़ा देना, गड़बड़ी फैलाना, धवराना

Confusion n. गड़बड़, धवराना, लुब्धलाना, अकरारफरी, मोलमाल ।

गड़बड़, धवराना, लुब्धलाना, अकरारफरी, मोलमाल

Confute v. सत्य वा शक्त साबित करना ।

सत्य वा शक्त साबित करना

Congè n. घुड़ी, हय देना (भोकरीसे) ।

घुड़ी, हय देना (भोकरीसे)

Congel v. बमना, जमना, बन्धन बन जाना ।

बमना, जमना, बन्धन बन जाना

Congerie adj. भेक ही बात वा झिन्डका ।

भेक ही बात वा झिन्डका

Congenial adj. भेक रंग वा भेक मिठाई वा स्वाभाविक, साझिक, अनुविध, अच्छे समाज वा मित्राजका ।

भेक रंग वा भेक मिठाई वा स्वाभाविक, साझिक, अनुविध, अच्छे समाज वा मित्राजका

Congenital adj. पैदायसी, साथ बन्नी, जो बन्नी ही से हो ।

पैदायसी, साथ बन्नी, जो बन्नी ही से हो

Congeries n. डेर, संघर्ष ।

डेर, संघर्ष

Congest v. भरना, ठस जाना, जमा हो जाना ।

भरना, ठस जाना, जमा हो जाना

Congestion n. सीढ़भाड़, बहू-जमाव ।

सीढ़भाड़, बहू-जमाव

Congested area n. जहाँ ज्यादा लोग रहते हैं; अधिक बनी जहाँ ज्यादा लोक रहते हैं; अधिक गहरी बनी ।

जहाँ ज्यादा लोग रहते हैं; अधिक बनी जहाँ ज्यादा लोक रहते हैं; अधिक गहरी बनी

Conglomeration n. डेर, गड़बड़ी चीजे अिकरी की हुडी ।

डेर, गड़बड़ी चीजे अिकरी की हुडी

Congratulate v. बधाही देना, मुबारकबाद देना ।

बधाही देना, मुबारकबाद देना

Congregate v. अिकडे होना, जमा होना, जमा करना, डेर अकल्ले होना, जमा होना, जमा होना ।

अिकडे होना, जमा होना, जमा करना, डेर अकल्ले होना, जमा होना, जमा होना

Congregation n. समा, सभलस; धार्मिक समाज ।

समा, सभलस; धार्मिक समाज

Congress n. महासभा, अनुविध; अमेरिकाकी धारासभा ।

महासभा, अनुविध; अमेरिकाकी धारासभा

Congruity n. मेल, अनुसानी, योग्यता, अनुविध ।

मेल, अनुसानी, योग्यता, अनुविध

Congruous adj. लुचित, योग्य, अनुविध, साझिक ।

लुचित, योग्य, अनुविध, साझिक

Conic or conical adj. गाबडुम, ढोड्ड वा महराणके जैसा ।

गाबडुम, ढोड्ड वा महराणके जैसा

Conifer n. देवदार वा सनेवरकी जिसका पेड़ ।

देवदार वा सनेवरकी जिसका पेड़





# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL



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TWO ANNAS

## STRIVE FOR ONE WORLD

[Gandhiji attended the Inter-Asian Relations Conference twice during his stay at Delhi. On Tuesday 1-4-47, when he attended the Conference for the first time, he did not deliver any speech but answered some questions that were addressed to him by some of the delegates. The questions and answers are reproduced below.]

The speech which he delivered before the closing session of the Conference is given elsewhere in this number. — Ed.]

The Azerbaijan delegate, Mr. Yousoroff, who was presiding at the Plenary Session, requested Gandhiji to say a few words.

Gandhiji replied that he would be attending the closing session of the Conference on April 2 and would speak then. For the present, he would answer any questions that members might like to put to him.

"I will not like to live in this world if it is not to be one. Certainly I should like to see this dream realized in my lifetime," declared Gandhiji in answer to a question whether he believed in the theory of one world and whether it would succeed under the present conditions.

He added, "I hope that all the representatives who have come here from the different Asian countries will strive their level best to have only one world. They will have to think out ways and means for achieving this goal."

"If you work with fixed determination, there is no doubt that in our own generation we will certainly realize this dream."

Dr. Han Liwu from China asked him his views on the proposal to set up an Asian Institute.

Gandhiji replying said: "The question is certainly very nice. Let me confess my ignorance. I have really to apologize to you. Pandit Nehru had asked me long before this Conference was scheduled to take place whether it would at all be possible for me to attend it. It has proved to be a much more important conference than it was expected to be. I was obliged to say at that time that I was very sorry and would not be able to come. When Lord Mountbatten, the new Viceroy, invited me to meet him, however, I could not say 'No.' It would have been foreign to my nature to do so. The Viceroy had already told me that the credit for bringing me to Delhi during the Asian Conference was really his. And I told the Viceroy: 'I am your prisoner. But I am also Pandit Nehru's prisoner, for, after all, he is your Vice-President.'"

"Through correspondence I know almost all parts of the world and naturally, therefore, of Asia, though I know very few of you personally — perhaps none of you. I am doubtful whether I can say anything useful but the question is one after my heart. Some portions of the question put to me now were discussed by Pandit Nehru yesterday. It is a great event that for the first time in our history such a conference takes place on the Indian soil. I am sorry that I have to refer to the conditions that we see today. We do not know how to keep peace between ourselves. We have so many differences which we cannot settle between ourselves in a humane and friendly manner. We think we must resort to the law of the jungle. It is an experience which I would not like you to carry to your respective countries. I would instead like you to bury it here."

"India is now on the eve of her full independence. India wants to be independent of everybody who wants to own this country. We do not want a change of masters. We want to be masters on our own soil, though I am not quite sure how it will come about. All that we know is that we should do our duty and leave the results in the hands of God and not in the hands of man. Man is supposed to be the maker of his own destiny. It is partly true. He can make his destiny only in so far as he is allowed by the Great Power which overrides all our intentions, all our plans and carries out His own plans."

"I call that Great Power not by the name of Allah, not by the name of Khuda or God but by the name of Truth. For me, Truth is God and Truth overrides all our plans. The whole truth is only embodied within the heart of that Great Power. Truth, I was taught from my early days to regard Truth as unapproachable—something that you cannot reach. A great Englishman taught me to believe that God is unknowable. He is knowable but knowable only to the extent that our limited intellect allows."

"You, gentlemen, have come here from different parts of Asia, and having come with eagerness and zest you should all have yearly meetings or two-yearly or three-yearly conferences. You should carry away sweet memories of the meetings and make every effort to build the great edifice of Truth."

"All the Asian representatives have come together. Is it in order to wage a war against Europe against America or against non-Asiatics? I say most emphatically 'No.' This is not India's mission. I am free to confess that I will feel extremely sorry if

India, having won independence through essentially and predominantly non-violent means, was going to use that independence for the suppression of the other parts of the world. Europeans had exploited different races inhabiting this vast continent called Asia.

"It will be a sorry thing if we go away from this Conference without a fixed determination that Asia shall live and live as free as every other Western nation. I just wanted to say that conferences like the present should meet regularly, and if you ask me where, India is the place."

### FIRST THINGS FIRST

The Bombay Committee for the Promotion of Village Industries under the chairmanship of Shri Manu Subedar has, with commendable promptitude, published its report. It seems to have been launched out with a wrong twist from its inception. The resolution of Government forming this Committee started by wagging the dog in the preamble itself. Or is it a case of letting the cat out of the bag to begin with? It runs.

"Revival and promotion of cottage industries are essential for bringing about a state of balanced economy in the country and for saving the enormous waste of raw materials, transport facilities and human energy, inherent in locating factories at certain centres to which raw materials and labour have to be brought from the countryside and from which the finished product has again to be sent to rural consuming centres. It is also desirable to make villages self-sufficient in respect of their essential requirements as far as possible."

From this the main object would appear to be to distribute the constituent elements of the organization of centralized factory production to rural areas; the purpose being the saving of "enormous waste" or in other words, reduction of cost. The interest in the welfare of the villages has become an "also".

The whole report is vitiated by this ideology, lacking a true perspective and a sense of proportion. Button-making absorbs attention in a starving country rather than industries connected with food processing. The burning questions of the day, such as the rice mills, production of *vanaspati ghee* or sugar mills and distilleries do not find even a passing mention. Coming from the Province of Bombay, with all its vested interests, one is led to wonder if this is all deliberately undertaken to divert and side-track public attention rather than being an accidental blunder.

Of course, there is much crocodile tears shed over the deterioration of life in rural areas and very ennobling sentiments expressed in the true text book style for their betterment. But the whole report rings false, may be, due to the wrong directive given in the terms of reference.

The Committee's belief in "self-sufficiency" is skin-deep. Their avowed aim is "to give increased purchasing power to large masses of people, so that they can afford to buy things, which hitherto they

were not in a position to acquire." The Committee does not seem to be conscious of the fact that much of the distress in rural areas is traceable to the enormous expansion of money economy. Villages should be encouraged to produce for their use rather than for exchange. The Committee seems to have been carried off its feet by glowing pictures of production in Switzerland and Japan, not realizing that in those small countries conditions are not the same as in our country nor are their traditions of life identical with ours.

Under the proposed scheme, villages should undertake mass production of a single selected article at each village industry centre. "At least three skilled artisans, who are adept in making such an article, should be imported from cities where necessary and established at such a centre on the guarantee of a full wage such as they are now realizing *plus* free residence." "All the adult men and women, who could give their full time, would be free to come and join this activity. From the first day of their attendance, they would receive not less than four annas a day but when their skill is reported upon, the scale should rise gradually from four annas to eight annas, which should be the maximum," for an eight hour day. Is this an improvement of the "Poor House" institution in the West?

With an eye to modernity, and perhaps as a concession to those who clamour for Basic Education, the Committee "recommend the examination of the problem, whether children could not join in with advantage to themselves for half a day" on a wage of one anna per day rising to a maximum of four annas. They think such industrial centres "would provide for the training of the eye, the touch, the sense of measurement, the sense of weight and other useful faculties."

They have, in all earnestness, proceeded to work out the cost of a village centre for the production of coat-buttons! Such a centre will employ three skilled men at Rs. 4 a day, 40 children at As. 2 a day, 40 women at As. 6 a day and 40 men at As. 6 a day. At all events we should congratulate the Committee on establishing the equality of men and women, though on paper! They are also dispelling "the drawing room illusions of amateurs that one can have a choice and one should do what one pleases." They declare *ex cathedra* that man is by nature condemned to get through the same personal routine in life every day and with regard to work, most men do what opportunity or chance had made available to them." In this particular case, the God-sent opportunity of coat-button-making! From this high philosophy of life they suddenly make a forced landing on hedonistic consideration when they come out with the observation: "The limitation of the work to a single task increases the scope for acquiring skill in the shortest period, for minimizing mistakes and waste and is the foundation of mass production of simple articles under rural conditions at a cost which will probably be lower than the factory cost of similar articles."

Sweat labour theories could not have been expressed better!

Then they proceed to refute emphatically that the simple process in mass-scale manufacture is monotonous. We should invite the Chairman and the Committee to go to a shoe-making factory where the moving belt carries hundreds of lasts on which the various operations incidental to the making of a shoe are performed by the attendant at each spot. We shall place the Chairman first. As the naked last moves up in front of him he will have by his side a pot of sticky paste and he will be equipped with a brush. He will dip the brush in the paste and dab it on the last as it passes him. He will repeat this operation on hundreds of lasts that will whirl past before him from eight in the morning till five in the evening with one hour in the middle for lunch! This will be done every day for three hundred days in the year and he will be paid eight annas per day for his co-operation with the Almighty who provided our Chairman with this opportunity of dabbing paste on shoe lasts. It may not now be necessary for us to watch the other Committee members at their simple processes which, they tell us, are not monotonous. They frankly state: "the Utopian Heaven when a man can do what he pleases, as he pleases, is an entirely irrelevant idea with reference to the plan suggested herein." If the Chairman was not pleased to dab the paste on the last as it passed him the cloth put on the last by the next man will not stick to it and God's purposes will be frustrated. It is impossible to allow the Chairman to please himself.

Q. E. D.

As to the choice of products they confess that they "have not been troubled with the antithesis, which it is usual to put forward between village industries, which cater for the wants of the villagers themselves, and those which produce goods useful to the urban population."

They claim that their scheme is the product of Indian genius applied to Indian conditions. There is surely no question about the genius but there is room for difference in the appreciation of the conditions. They are obsessed by the fear that the villages cannot provide for the increased population unless their scheme is put into operation.

There is much special pleading in all their theorizing which makes interesting and amusing reading but space forbids our inclination to quote these for the benefit of the reader. There is no sense of false modesty about the Committee which naively desire that the basic notions put forward by them should be useful not merely for Bombay, but for other provinces too. Is this a warning?

Village Industries for mass production seem in keeping with wolves in sheep's clothing. We trust the Government and the people concerned will evaluate this report carefully and the skillfully sugar-coated pill will not be swallowed.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## ABOUT NOAKHALI

Gandhiji received the following wires about the Noakhali situation to which he has sent the following replies:

Shri Satish Chandra Dasgupta in his wire dated Ramganj, April 2 says:

"This is a quick post information. I have sent the following telegram to the District Magistrate, Police Superintendent and Chief Minister.

"There have been five cases of arson between March 23 and yesterday. Yesterday's case happened at Mohammadpur in Ramganj Thana. It was an attempt to burn alive three families consisting of twenty-one persons male, female, children of the house who for safety slept all in one room. This room was fastened from outside and this thatched hut and other huts of the house simultaneously set on fire. The inmates escaped by breaking through mat wall."

In another telegram dated Ramganj, April 5, Shri Dasgupta says

"I have sent the following telegram to the Chief Minister and local authorities.

"Have to bring your notice another case of arson last night April 4, at Changirgaon near Ramganj Thana where also like the last case the inmate Haralal Bhowmik found himself locked from outside in his sleeping room while all structures including sleeping room were burning. Thank God Haralal could escape by cutting open corner of stout reed wall of his corrugated sheas. Request you think over these gruesome attempts of burning alive the Hindus and shape Government policy by shaking off inactivity."

Gandhiji's reply to the above wires

"All your precise but painful wires also from Haranbabu. Case seems to be for exodus or perishing in flames of fanaticism. Hope you will not advise my coming to advise on choice. Hold council with workers and act promptly."

Shri Harachandra Ghosh Choudhury, M. L. A. (Bengal) in his wire dated Chaumuham (Noakhali), April 6 says:

"Rehabilitation in Noakhali is becoming increasingly difficult. Lawlessness, theft, burglary, house-breaking, night raids, burning of houses, hay-stacks, becoming common.

"Ploughing of fields in some areas obstructed. In about five hundred cases involving loot, arson, murder, final reports submitted on plea non-availability sufficient evidence which under present circumstances can be had from riot victims alone. Absconders and culprits moving freely reported holding meeting now. People suspect foul play in original cases as all Hindu officers in charge of affected Thanas transferred. Those officers who have timely submitted charge sheets against good number of offenders also transferred. Proceedings drawn against officers who attempted quell riots or arrested large number of culprits of whom ninety per cent now bailed out. More than hundred counter cases against workers. Hindu police and army staff are seriously engaged into and in some cases summoned or otherwise harassed."

Gandhi's reply to the above wire:

"If what you say is true, clear case for exodus or perishing in the flames of madness and fanaticism. Consult Satish Babu and act uniedly."

Gandhi has sent the following wire to the Chief Minister, Bengal, Mr H. S. Subrawardy.

"I continue receive doleful wires about increasing lawlessness Noakhali. I suggest prompt attention wires of Satish Chandra Dasgupta and prompt action. Am publishing wires."

## HARIJAN

April 20

1947

### THE MESSAGE OF ASIA

Addressing the concluding session of the Inter-Asian Relations Conference on Wednesday the 2nd of April, 1947, in the *Purana Quila* at Delhi, Gandhi said.

I do not think that I should apologize to you for having to speak in a foreign tongue. I wonder if this loud-speaker carries my voice to the farthest end of this vast audience. If some of those who are far away are unable to listen to what I may say, it will be the fault of the loud-speaker.

I was going to tell you that I do not wish to apologize. I dare not. You cannot understand the provincial language which is my mother tongue. I do not want to insult you by speaking in my own language (Gujarati). Our national speech is Hindustani. I know that it will be a long time before it can be made into an international speech. For international commerce, undoubtedly, English occupies the first place. I used to hear that French was the language of diplomacy. I was told when I was young that if I wanted to go from one end of Europe to the other, I must try to pick up French. I tried to learn French in order that I may be able to make myself understood. There is a rivalry between the French and the English. Having been taught English I have naturally to resort to that language.

I was wondering as to what I was to speak to you. I wanted to collect my thoughts but, let me confess to you, I had no time. Yet I had promised yesterday that I would try to say a few words. While I was coming with Badshah Khan I asked for a little piece of paper and pencil. I got a pen instead of a pencil. I tried to scribble a few words. You will be sorry to hear from me that that that piece of paper is not by my side though I remember what I wanted to say.

You, friends, have not seen the real India and you are not meeting in conference in the midst of real India. Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Lahore—all these are big cities and are, therefore, influenced by the West.

I then thought of a story. It was in French and was translated for me by an Anglo-French philosopher. He was an unselfish man. He befriended me without having known me because he al-

ways sided with the minorities. I was not then in my own country. I was not only in a hopeless minority but in a despised minority if the Europeans in South Africa will forgive me for saying so. I was a *coolie* lawyer. At that time we had no *coolie* doctors, we had no *coolie* lawyers. I was the first in the field. You know perhaps what is meant by the word *coolie*.

This friend—his mother was a French woman and his father an Englishman—said: "I want to translate for you a French story. There were three scientists who went out from France in search of truth. They went to different parts of Asia. One of them found his way to India. He began to search. He went to the so-called cities of those times—naturally this was before British occupation, before even the Moghul period. He saw the so-called high caste people, men and women, till he felt at a loss. Finally, he went to a humble cottage in a humble village. That cottage was a *bhang* cottage and there he found the truth that he was in search of."

If you really want to see India at its best, you have to find it in the humble *bhang* homes of such villages. There are 7,00,000 of such villages and 38 crores of people inhabit them.

If some of you see the villages, you will not be fascinated by the sight. You will have to scratch below the dung heap. I do not pretend to say that they were ever places of paradise. Today they are really dung heaps. They were not like that before. What I speak is not from history but from what I have seen myself. I have travelled from one end of India to the other and have seen the miserable specimens of humanity with lustreless eyes. They are India. In these humble cottages, in the midst of these dung heaps, are to be found the humble *bhangis* in whom you find the concentrated essence of wisdom.

Again, I have learnt from books—books written by English historians. We read books written in English by English historians but we do not write in our own mother tongue or in the national language Hindustani. We study our history through English books rather than through the originals. That is the cultural conquest which India has undergone.

Saying that wisdom had come to the West from the East, Gandhi said: The first of these wise men was Zoroaster. He belonged to the East. He was followed by Buddha who belonged to the East. India. Who followed Buddha? Jesus, who came from the East. Before Jesus was Moses who belonged to Palestine though he was born in Egypt. After Jesus came Mohammed. I omit my reference to Krishna and Rama and other lights. I do not call them lesser lights but they are less known to the literary world. All the same I do not know a single person in the world to match these men of Asia. And then what happened? Christianity became disfigured when it went to the West. I am sorry to have to say that. I would not talk any further.

I have told you the story in order to make you understand that what you see in the big cities is not the real India. Certainly, the carnage that is

going on before our very eyes is a shameful thing. As I said yesterday, do not carry the memory of that carnage beyond the confines of India.

What I want you to understand is the message of Asia. It is not to be learnt through the Western spectacles or by imitating the atom bomb. If you want to give a message to the West, it must be the message of love and the message of truth. I do not want merely to appeal to your head. I want to capture your heart.

In this age of democracy, in this age of awakening of the poorest of the poor, you can redeliver this message with the greatest emphasis. You will complete the conquest of the West not through vengeance because you have been exploited, but with real understanding. I am sanguine if all of you put your hearts together—not merely heads—to understand the secret of the message these wise men of the East have left to us, and if we really become worthy of that great message, the conquest of the West will be completed. This conquest will be loved by the West itself.

The West is today pining for wisdom. It is despairing of a multiplication of the atom bombs, because atom bombs mean utter destruction not merely of the West but of the whole world, as if the prophesy of the Bible is going to be fulfilled and there is to be a perfect deluge. It is up to you to tell the world of its wickedness and sin—that is the heritage your teachers and my teachers have taught Asia.

### Moral Defects of Victory

Apart from moral considerations there is something repulsive in filching the belongings of the dead and dying. Leaving alone chivalry, there is a degradation in depriving the weak when they are down and out and are not in a position to protect their possessions.

A few weeks ago we drew attention to the moral aspect of dismantling the equipment of German industries by the "Victors"—the British and the Americans,—and selling them off, and also to the greed involved in snatching away their patent rights.

Now comes the corresponding news that the United States Government has decided to allow 30% of all removable Japanese equipment to the British.

Is there no limit to the extent to which avarice will lower human dignity and self-respect?

All this in the name of "reparations"! These are some of the moral defects of victory.

J. C. K.

### CLIVE TO KENYES

(A Survey of the History of our Public Debts and Credits)

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## THE DELHI INTERLUDE

14-47

There was a slight disturbance at the prayer meeting in Delhi this evening when an excited Hindu youth took exception to the recitation from the *Quran* in the course of the prayer. Gandhiji stopped the prayer for some time, while the boy was removed from the prayer ground.

Though with the removal of the youth there was no occasion, Gandhiji said, to make any variation in the recital of the whole prayer including the Zoroastrian verses, the *bhajan* and the *Ramadhun*, he wanted to waive the recital and bring home to the youth that his supposed victory was really the loss of the entire audience, who wanted the whole prayer. His act was not only un-Hindu but it was a discourteous breach of the ordinary laws governing meetings. Thoughtless action, such as the youth had indulged in, really promoted ill will resulting in the inhumanities they had witnessed on a progressive scale in Noakhali, Bihar and in the Punjab. It was time, therefore, that the people made a fixed determination to shed all savagery.

Gandhiji went on to say how he had to hang his head in shame in Noakhali when he was told of the cruelties perpetrated on the Muslims in Bihar. And now, as if in answer to Bihar, comes the tragedy of the Punjab. Death, Gandhiji said, was a companion and friend. It was well with those who had died bravely. Whether any died as cowards was immaterial now. They too were gone. But it was the guilty living who were responsible and they were responsible to God. He alone knows the hearts of men.

Gandhiji exhorted the people to shed violence and the law of the jungle. He was in Bihar trying to restore confidence in the Muslims and love in the hearts of the Hindus. He felt that he was succeeding and, if he did, then, all would be well elsewhere too. It was a tragedy that in the India that had fought with the weapons of truth and *ahimsa* for its freedom, there should today be the law of the brute. They were belying all that the Congress had stood for.

Never in history, Gandhiji went on to say, had a ruling power left any dominion of its own free will. This was what the British were trying to do today. It was right to believe that they were honest whatever their past record here had been. But were Indians going to demean themselves by internal warfare? Such action might even lead to the consequence of their asking British troops to remain on Indian soil in order to maintain order. He hoped they would not resort to such madness.

Gandhiji then referred to the Asian Conference then being held. It was a big thing and their jewel, Jawaharlal, was very beloved of the delegates because of his love for them and his dream of a United Asia. Only, however, if India was true to her traditions could she be worthy of the role she

ought to play. It would be cruel to spoil Jawaharlal's dream of a United Asia by internal strife in this land.

Gandhiji concluded his address by saying that there could be no end to strife until and unless they made over their hearts to God. Today he felt that he himself had no following. If he had, then these tragedies would not have happened; but even if all deserted him, he knew God would not and He would direct him in his duty. Only when God reigned in men's hearts would they be able to shed their anger.

2-4-'47

Gandhiji did not hold his prayer meeting this evening also because two or three persons objected to the recitation from the *Quran*.

When Gandhiji was about to start the prayer, he asked the audience if there was anyone present who intended objecting to the recitation from the *Quran*, as a person had objected to it the day before. Two or three persons from among the gathering objected to it and asked him on what authority he could recite verses from the *Quran* in a Hindu temple.

Gandhiji said that the temple belonged to the *bhangi* community who did not object to the manner in which he conducted the prayer; and as a *bhangi* he had a right to pray in the temple as he wished. Those who objected to the recitation from the *Quran* were neither *bhangis* nor would they like to become *bhangis*.

Although most of the people assured him of their willingness to hear the prayer, Gandhiji refused to conduct the prayer and said that he would again concede victory to the few objectors. But this certainly was not a victory for the Hindu religion. Gandhiji added that the next day he would again ask the same question and await a reply.

When one man referred to the sufferings of the Hindus in the Punjab, Gandhiji said that hot words could not wipe the tears of the Punjab and added that whatever power he had was dedicated to the service of sufferers in the Punjab, Bihar and Noakhali.

3-4-'47

Gandhiji abandoned his prayer this evening also when a few members of the audience objected to the recitation from the *Quran*. He advised the audience to disperse peacefully after observing a few minutes silence and said that prayer was for remembering God and for purifying the heart and could be offered even when observing silence.

Before starting the prayers Gandhiji stated that he had received a letter asking him either to discontinue recitations from the *Quran* or leave the Valmiki Temple (where he is staying). He asked the people present if there was any one among them who objected to the recitation of verses from the *Quran*. When a number of people raised their hands and said that they would not allow him to pray if verses from the *Quran* were recited, Gandhiji decided not to hold the prayers.

In the course of his speech, Gandhiji asked the audience if they had understood the beauty and truth of what had been said the previous day. He said that he was not one to refrain from doing what he held to be his duty, but his non-violence dictated that even if a boy objected to his holding the prayer meeting, he should refrain from doing so. But this should in no way be interpreted as cowardice. He did not hold the prayers in order to prevent argument and violence. Violence, he said, was the work of the devil and all his life he had fought against it.

Gandhiji added that he would ask those who were against his holding the prayer meeting not to come or if they did, they should come by themselves and kill him if they wanted to. Even if he was killed, Gandhiji said, he would not give up repeating the names of Rama and Rahim, which meant to him the same God. With these names on his lips he would die cheerfully.

If he refrained from repeating the names of Rama and Rahim how could he, Gandhiji asked, face the Hindus of Noakhali and the Muslims of Bihar?

He asked those who wanted the prayer to be held not to entertain anger or malice towards the obstructionists but to pity them. Anger and desire for revenge were no service to Hinduism, he said.

When the two sections of the audience began to quarrel among themselves as he was about to go away, Gandhiji addressed the crowd for about fifteen minutes standing. He said that anger would lead them nowhere. They should think how best they could heal the wounds of the Punjab, and not abuse anybody, as this was against their religion.

4-4-'47

Gandhiji commenced by asking whether there were any objectors today on the prayer ground. A member of the Hindu Mahasabha asked to be allowed to say a few words of apology for the occurrences of the last three days. He wished to dissociate himself and fellow members from this behaviour. The prayer ground was not the place for disagreement. If they had to fight any issue with Gandhiji, they should do so outside. He appealed to the audience to be quiet and let the prayer proceed without let or hindrance.

There was only one person who objected to the prayers with the verse from the *Quran Sharif* being held in a Hindu temple. Gandhiji said that that was an objection which only the Harijans of that place could raise. The objectionist then withdrew his objection. The Harijans of the place, Gandhiji proceeding said, were sad at the happenings of the last three days. They were his younger brothers. He was a *bhangi* and it was the duty of a true *bhangi* and therefore a true Hindu to cleanse not only the dirt of the body but also all the pollution of the mind and the spirit. The true Hindu saw Truth in every religion. The essence of the *Quran* verse was found in every religion.

Gandhiji told them how friends from Rawalpindi had today come and narrated all the atrocities that had been perpetrated there. They wanted his



service and his help and guidance. They could not understand the objection raised here to the recital of the *Quran* verse. Even Muslims had never stopped the holding of prayers even though some of them objected to the recital of the verse in question.

The *Vedas*, Gandhiji said, were from time immemorial. So were the *Upanishads*. But they were imperfectly known. Any impurities that had crept in any of the scriptures were due to the fact that they were written many years later. The Hindu religion was a great religion and had infinite toleration in it and powers of absorption. God was everywhere as the Harijan woman saint told her young questioner. He was the ruler of men's hearts. He only wanted single-minded worship in whatsoever form it be and whatsoever language. It was, therefore, wholly un-Hindu and irreligious to object to the great verse from the *Quran Sharif* being recited.

The full prayer was then held. After the prayer Gandhiji addressed the gathering again.

He said that it had hurt him much to think that on three days they had not been able to hold the prayer and hundreds had been disappointed because of the unenlightened objection of a few. But, if prayer had been in their hearts, they really had not missed the worship. He himself was grateful to the objectors because they had given him ample opportunity for heart searching. He had asked himself whether, because he had not been able to calm them, there was anything against them in his heart. If they had understood the inner meaning of the *bhajan* sung that day, they should have understood that it was right for them to take everything that came from God as a gift. Gandhiji felt glad that he had gone through the test. Even if three or four had said that they would kill him for saying Rama and Rahim in the same breath, he hoped he would die smiling with those very names on his lips.

Gandhiji went on to say how in Noakhali it was difficult to have the *Ramadhan* but there too he was able to continue his customary worship. All would be well if there was no anger or malice in their hearts. How could it be a sin to chant God's name in Arabic? Gandhiji implored them not to degrade Hinduism by not understanding their immortal scriptures. Everyone should be at liberty to pray as he liked.

Some people imagined that he was engaged in big tasks here and had forgotten the suffering areas. God alone knew how his heart wept and what agony he suffered at the madness the people had indulged in in Noakhali, Bihar and now in the Punjab. He assured them that he was working for those areas wherever he was, even in his talks with the Viceroy. There was no bigger task for him than to strive for Hindu-Muslim unity. He could not serve India if he forgot Noakhali, Bihar or the Punjab. He claimed to be a servant of God. He neither ate nor drank nor did anything else except at God's bidding. They would, perhaps, understand his work better in the fullness of time. Meantime he must continue his duty wherever God took him.

7

Before commencing the prayer, Gandhiji again asked whether there was anyone amongst the gathering who would rather that he did not conduct the customary prayer. There were no objectors and Gandhiji was glad. He reminded them once again of the folly of looking upon one religion as better than another. The recent happenings were due, he was sure, to the atmosphere of hate that pervaded the land today. If they remained calm in the midst of the storm, then only would they grow in strength. He reminded them of how Maulana Mohammed Ali, in the good old days of the Khilafat movement when the Hindu and the Muslim fought side by side, had said that their mightiest weapon was the *charkha* and their most potent bullets the cones of yarn which they spun. Gandhiji had pointed out that the Congress could only join the Khilafat movement if they would fight non-violently and the condition had been gladly accepted in the name of Allah. It was the result of that non-violent fight that India was today on the threshold of independence.

Gandhiji went on to remind the audience that the next day was the beginning of the National Week. He related how the thought of a 24 hours' fast had come to him one night in a dream, how he had consulted Rajaji whose guest he then was in Madras, how the idea had appealed to the latter, how notices had been issued at once and what a widespread and hearty response there had been to the call. He had never dreamed that the country had been so awakened, and by the country he meant not the few cities of India but the seven lakhs of villages where the vast mass of Indian humanity lived. Gandhiji appealed to the audience to respond to the call once again but only if they understood its implications. The fast was undertaken in those days for the sake of vindicating Swaraj through Hindu-Muslim unity, and the *charkha*, etc. Today alas! all that the Congress tricolour stood for, viz. Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity and the *charkha* were nowhere to be found except in his humble hut. He, however, asked the assemblage, in any event, to contemplate on what internal strife meant, to forgive and forget what had happened and to bear no malice in their hearts for all the tragic and bestial happenings of Noakhali, Bihar and the Punjab. He still believed more strongly than ever that the spinning wheel was the truest symbol of non-violence. It was the one thing that never failed through its music to give solace to the mind and soothe the troubled heart. If, therefore, they truly desired to extinguish the volcano of hatred that was that day pouring out its poisonous lava, he hoped they would join him in fasting in the true spirit. The fast signified much more than processions and flag-hoisting ceremonies.

The whole of India, Gandhiji said, could be a Pakistan if they looked upon every fellow Indian as a brother. If Hindustan meant a land only for the Hindus and Pakistan only for the Muslims, Pakistan and Hindustan would then be lands flowing with

poison. The land of his dreams, he said, was a land watered by rivers of love.

Gandhiji then made a moving reference to Deenabandhu Andrews whose death anniversary fell on April 5th. Such a friend of India needed no special reference from him for his memory was ever green. He was an Indian at heart and nevertheless a true Englishman.

In conclusion, Gandhiji said that he had received a letter, which he would release to the press, from the *Rashtriya Seva Sangha*, that they had had nothing to do with the raising of objections to the prayer on the three previous days. He was glad to hear that and believed it. No organization could protect life or religion if it did not work absolutely in the open.

6-4-'47

Addressing the prayer gathering, Gandhiji drew their attention to the lovely Bengali *bhajan* to which they had been treated that evening as also to the *Ramadhun* which included the names of both Rama and Rahim, Krishna and Karim. As these were being sung, he said, the vistas of Noakhali came before his eyes. That *bhajan* was often sung there. Sometimes it was sung and the *Ramadhun* chanted as they walked from village to village.

The day was the first day of the National Week—a day of fasting and prayer. There was sacrificial spinning also from 3 p. m. to 4 p. m. in which the Congress President and his wife and Jawaharlalji and other leaders took part. The fast would soon be broken but how good it would be, said Gandhiji, if the names of Rama and Rahim and the message of the *bhajan* were engraved in their hearts for all time as a result of that day's rededication. He went on to say how some abused him, how some thought he had grown too big even to reply to their letters and how others accused him of enjoying himself in Delhi while the Punjab was in flames. How could these persons understand that he was working day and night for them wherever he was? He could not dry their tears. God alone could do that, but he would go at once to the Punjab when the call came. It grieved him to sense the existing hatred and spirit of revenge and warned them that unless they calmed and purified their hearts, they would light such a fire throughout the land as would consume them all. He reminded them of the story of the *Mahabharata* which was not a history of India but of man. It was the story of the fight between the worshippers of Rama, the embodiment of good and Ravana, the embodiment of evil. They fought—the Pandavas and the Kauravas—blood-brothers, and what was the result? While evil was certainly defeated only seven of the victors remained to tell the tale. Thus, said Gandhiji, was the state of the country today.

He made a touching reference to the brave old Nationalist Muslim Kwaja Abdul Majid, who had come to see him that day. Would that those good old days when heart-unity between the Hindus

and the Muslims existed returned! Today in Bihar Nationalist Muslims had been killed by the Hindus and Hindu friends of Islam had been done to death by Muslims.

Gandhiji exhorted the audience to pause and think where they were drifting. He begged of the Hindus not to harbour anger in their hearts against the Muslims even if the latter wanted to destroy them. None should fear death. Death was inevitable for every human being. But if they died smiling, they would enter into a new life—they would create a new Hindustan. The second chapter of the *Gita* described in its ending *shlokas* how the God-fearing man should live and move and have his being. He wanted them to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the meaning of every one of those *shlokas*. They would then realize what their ideals were and how far short of them they had fallen today. On the eve of independence it was their duty to ask themselves whether they were fit to have it and sustain it.

## NOTES

### Harijan Bastis

A correspondent informs us that a friend, who attended a dinner in the Harijan quarters in honour of a worker among Harijans, was not allowed to enter his rented house in the caste locality by some neighbours—*Vaishyas* and *Brahmans*. The friend had to find asylum in the house of a Congress worker elsewhere.

It is suggested that the provincial governments should now allocate sites within the caste village for Harijans for residential purposes and should not continue the present system of segregating Harijans to a special locality.

We quite agree with the sentiments. In matters of this kind public opinion should influence Government action. The case cited should impel every one who has the cause of the Harijans at heart to develop the necessary outlook.

### Living Soil Associations

While India is building fertilizer factories Australia is forming Living Soil Associations to restore the fertility of soils that have been drained of humus and to educate the public to appreciate the value of humus in soil conservation.

Plants grown with compost manure are said to be more disease resistant and animals fed on them show considerable immunity to common ills, and human food drawn from such sources is conducive to health and confer immunity to sickness.

J. C. K.

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## CALL TO THE NATION

[ The Qaid-e-Azam and Gandhiji have issued the following joint appeal to the communities which comprise the Indian Nation —E! ]

We deeply deplore the recent acts of lawlessness and violence that have brought the utmost disgrace on the fair name of India and the greatest misery to innocent people, irrespective of who were the aggressors and who were the victims.

We denounce for all time the use of force to achieve political ends, and we call upon all the communities of India, to whatever persuasion they may belong, not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder, but also to avoid both in speech and writing, any incitement to such acts.

M. A. JINNAH                      M. K. GANDHI  
13-4-'47

## WITH GANDHIJI AT DELHI

It was good to have a chance of being with Gandhiji again even for a brief period. He has rigorously eschewed the personal help of those who have been wont to be always near him, relegating them to do his work in other ways away from him and yet nearer to him in a deeper sense, and relying himself wholly on God in the pilgrimage that he has undertaken for many months past in order to quench through non-violence the fire of communal hatred that is consuming the land.

That is the one topic that fills him today. From his prayer addresses it is obvious that nothing else today counts. While he came here to talk to the new Viceroy and while the Congress President and the members of the Interim Government were glad to have the benefit of his advice on various matters, his heart was in Bengal and Bihar and in the Punjab.

Time and again he reiterated that the political independence that was going to be theirs would be nothing worth if communal strife was to continue. Indeed, it might not even be theirs if they continued to rely on British troops to keep the peace. In any event, political independence was nothing worth if it did not bring into being a State where truth and love reigned.

So bitter are the hearts of both the Hindus and the Muslims today that on three consecutive days no prayers were allowed to be held because some embittered persons objected to the recital of the verse from the *Quran Sharif*. The crowds came daily, but had to go away disappointed because Gandhiji would not have the prayers even if there was one objector. If there had been none but objectors on the prayer ground, he said, he would willingly have held the prayer and hoped he would have had the

courage to die at their hands with the names of Rama and Rahim on his lips if they wanted to kill him. But he wished to avoid a clash on the prayer ground between those who wanted the prayers to be held and those who objected. In the end his non-violence prevailed and after three days the objectors withdrew. There was no logic behind the objections, but the recent savagery of Muslim fanatics in certain districts of the Punjab had enraged the Hindus everywhere. Questions poured in as did angry letters. Why did he call himself a Muslim? Why did he consider that there was no difference between Rama and Rahim? Why had he gone so far as to say that he had no objection to reciting the *Kalma*? Why did he not go to the Punjab? Was he not a bad Hindu? Was he not a fifth columnist? Was not his non-violence making cowards of the Hindus? One envelope came to him addressed as Mohamed Gandhi!

Quietly and patiently, Gandhiji reasoned with them. Why should and how could Islam be condemned for the sins of a few? He claimed to be a *sanatan* Hindu and because the essence of Hinduism, and indeed, all religions was toleration, he claimed that if he was a good Hindu, he was also a good Muslim and a good Christian. It was against the spirit of religion to claim superiority. Humility was essential to non-violence. Had not the Hindu scriptures said that God had a thousand names? Why may not Rahim be one of them? The *Kalma* merely praised God and acknowledged Mohamed as His Prophet. He had no hesitation in praising God and acknowledging Mohamed as a Prophet in the same way as he acknowledged Buddha and Zoroaster and Jesus. The fact that he had come to Delhi and was having talks with the Viceroy and the leaders did not mean that he was neglecting his work in either Noakhali or Bihar or in the Punjab. Nothing would stop him from going to the Punjab when the call came. Today there was no Indian *ray* there. It was the rule of a British Governor. In any event, he was working for all these places wherever he was. How could he be a fifth columnist? He could not put his *ahimsa* in cold storage because the Hindus and the Sikhs had been butchered in the Punjab. The Hindus had done equally savage things in Bihar and it was his duty to tell the Hindus and the Muslims alike that they must put away anger and malice from their hearts and realize that the more they resorted to violence the more savagery would ensue. Gandhiji told them how he had to hang his head in shame when the foreign delegates who came to see him asked him about the communal strife. All he could

say was that this madness had seized a few of them, and he hoped and prayed and believed that it would soon subside. Indians, of whatever religion, had to live together. They were of the same soil, they were nursed by the self-same mother and they could not go on killing each other if India was to live.

In inimitable language he brought home to the audiences the true meaning of the National Week. The country-wide response to his appeal all those years ago to observe April 6th as a day of fasting and prayer had exceeded all his wildest dreams. Today also every village in India observed the sacred week. The commencement of the celebration was a symbol of that awakening of Indian humanity - poor, ignorant and down-trodden humanity, alive with hope for an independence which would usher in a new dawn for them. But was fratricidal warfare going to usher in that dawn? That was the question each one had to ask himself and answer, and Gandhiji hoped that the last day which was celebrated as Martyrs' Day - a day when the blood of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs had flowed in one stream and hallowed Jallianwalla Bagh - would be a symbol to them of that unity in which alone lay their strength and salvation and to the attainment of which they must all re-dedicate themselves.

The sacrificial spinning continued throughout the week. Gandhiji's belief in the *charkha* has strengthened as the days go by. To a Chinese friend who asked him how it was possible to find peace of mind in these troublous times, his reply was, "Take to spinning. The music of the wheel will be as balm to your soul. I believe that the yarn we spin is capable of mending the broken warp and woof of our life. The *charkha* is the symbol of non-violence on which all life, if it is to be real life, must be based."

He had a wonderful reception from the vast crowds that had assembled in the historic old fort (पुरा किला) of Delhi on the occasion of the last plenary session of the Asian Conference. In plain, simple language he welcomed them to India. He appreciated that it was a historic event and felt it was meet that they should have gathered for the first time on Indian soil. The East had given to the world all its great religions. If Asia was to make her contribution to the world, it could only be in terms of the message of peace and goodwill which all the prophets had preached. He related the story of the three French sages who had gone out in search of Truth. One had drifted to India and had found what he sought in the humble hut of a Harijan family. Gandhiji reminded the visitors that they must not imagine that they had seen India in Delhi. The real India lay in the 7,00,000 (seven lakhs) villages. If Indian civilization was to make its full contribution to the building up of a stable world order, it was this vast mass of humanity that had, now that political independence was so near, to be made to live again.

It was touching to witness how all the various delegations came to Gandhiji to ask not only for his blessings but for a message of hope. To the Tibetans he said that it was their duty to revive the message of the immortal Buddha. He sympathized

with the Arabs but asked them to treat the Jews with love and understanding and to get them to subserve Arab interests. He asked the Jews to abstain from their terrorist movement. He sympathized with them too, but was quite sure that they could get nowhere with violence. To the Indonesians and to the Viet-Nameese again, it was the message of non-violence. Whatever was gained by the sword was likely to perish by the sword and nothing permanent could be built on force. "He is so unlike anyone else we have ever met", said more than one delegate to me. "Our visit to India would have been incomplete if we had not had the privilege of seeing him," said others. "You are fortunate to have such a leader," said one woman. "We might not have to kill if we had one like him to lead us." And I was sad at heart, for how few of us today believed in non-killing and, therefore, how few of us today were really true to Gandhiji.

New Delhi, 16-4-'47

A. K.

## THE DELHI INTERLUDE

7-4-'47

As prayers began half an hour later than usual today, it was possible for Gandhiji to speak to the assemblage, instead of his Monday message being read to them.

He hoped that they would listen to every word that he said and, above all, that whatever he spoke would reach their hearts.

Gandhiji began by saying that he continued to receive letters accusing him of having become a slave of Jinnah Saheb and a fifth columnist. But he was impervious to such outpourings. The *shlokas* of the Gita to which they listened everyday were always with him to sustain him and he was sure his accusers did not know or understand them. It was because he was a *sanatani* Hindu that he claimed to be a Christian, a Buddhist and a Muslim. Some Muslim friends also felt that he had no right to read Arabic verses from the *Quran* but such did not know that true religion transcended language and scripture. He did not see any reason why he should not read the *Kalma*, why he should not praise Allah and why he should not acclaim Mohammed as His Prophet. He believed in all the great prophets and saints of every religion. He would continue to ask God to give him the strength not to be angry with his accusers but to be prepared even to die at their hands without wishing them ill. He claimed that Hinduism was all inclusive and he was sure that if he lived up to his convictions, he would have served not only Hinduism but Islam also.

Gandhiji said how he had reluctantly on his day of silence, which was an extra busy day for him, given a few minutes to a Hindu from Rawalpindi, who had come with a sorrowful tale of the happenings there. It was a tragedy that the Rawalpindi which he remembered where the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs vied with each other to give him and the Ali Brothers hospitality, had today become unsafe for any non-Muslim. The Hindus in the Punjab had anger burning within them, the Sikhs said they were disciples of Guru Govind Singh who had taught

them to use the sword. But he would again and again plead with the Hindus and the Sikhs on no account to retaliate. He dared to say that even if the Hindus and the Sikhs died without retaliation at the hands of their Muslim brethren, they would save not only Hinduism and Sikhism but they would also serve Islam and save the world.

For thirty years, Gandhiji said, he had preached the gospel of *satya* and *ahimsa* to them. For twenty years he had done likewise in South Africa. He was sure Indians in South Africa were the richer for following him there, and here too those who had followed truth and non-violence had lost nothing. It was his profession to teach the people to leave the ephemeral for the real. If he went to the Punjab, it could not be to preach revenge. That would be a disservice to both the Hindus and the Sikhs and also to the Muslims. The Bible rightly taught that vengeance belonged to God. Gandhiji continued that he could not understand a Pakistan where no non-Muslim could live in peace and security, nor a Hindustan where the Muslims were unsafe. He had been to Bihar and tried to wean the Hindus from their anger and restore confidence in the Muslims. The Ministers there were anxious to repair the terrible wrongs done to the poor Muslims by the Hindus. Rajendra Babu was the uncrowned king of Bihar. Congress rule, which should exercise its influence equally on the Hindus and the Muslims, could not be truly national if the Muslims could not feel safe under it. Therefore, he was glad that many Hindus in Bihar had publicly expressed their regret for the shameful deeds done by the Hindus and assured him that such deeds would not be repeated. He would appeal to the Muslim leaders likewise to ask their fellow Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces not to try to wipe out the non-Muslims. Whatever provocative language the Hindus and the Sikhs used in the Punjab he was told that they had done so—that was no reason whatsoever for the orgy of cruelty perpetrated by mad Muslims in areas where they were in the majority.

Gandhiji went on to state that he was sorry to receive bad news from Noakhali especially during the last two days. Satish Babu and his wife and his own immediate staff were all in Eastern Bengal and he would not shed a tear if any of them were to perish in the flames there. But he hoped that the wire he had sent to his friend, the Chief Minister of Bengal, would have the desired effect of stopping the looting and arson which seemed to be rearing their heads once again in Noakhali.

Gandhiji reiterated that it was wrong and cowardly to ask for either military or police protection. They should have the bravery of non-violence which feared not death. Otherwise, there was nothing for them except to flee from their homes, but that would not be bravery.

Those who wept when catastrophes came were slaves and those who asked for military protection would remain slaves. Gandhiji hoped the people would neither go in for civil war nor elect to remain slaves. The former would mean that India would

lend a hand not only to her own destruction but to the destruction of the world. Was the land that was bounded by the immortal Himalayas and watered by the healing stream of the Ganges going to destruction through violence? He devoutly hoped that they would give up all thought of huge armies. Those would lead them nowhere and their independence would then be nothing worth.

8-4-'47

Gandhiji said that he was pleased with, and commented on, the quiet maintained everyday during the prayers. He began by saying that he had only one topic on which to address them these days and that was their sorrowful plight. He hoped that his daily words would reach their hearts and cleanse them of anger against each other.

The day before he had referred to the distressing news he had received from Noakhali. They must have seen the wires and his reply in that morning's papers. During the day a further wire had come from Satish Babu saying that the situation was worsening. Nevertheless, he and all the co-workers there assured him that they did not expect him to return, and that so far all the Hindus were brave and willing to die if necessary without killing. They felt this was the result of all their endeavour during the past months. All these workers were living in different villages. He had mentioned Satish Babu and his wife and Pyarelal the day before. There was Haran Babu doing great work in Chaumuhani. There was Amrul Salaam—physically frail but a true Muslim and a Hindu too. There was Sushila Pai and twentyone year old Abha who was wedded to Kanu Gandhi. There was Sushila Nayyar. All these were unafraid. They refused to believe that the Muslims would be so merciless as to murder them. Gandhiji hoped that the selfless service rendered by all these workers would teach the wildest of Muslims that they could never get Pakistan by force. Whatever was got by force was never digested. He reiterated that if any of these workers did perish in the flames of communal fury he would not shed a single tear, for, theirs would be the truest and best service not only to Hinduism but also to Islam.

Gandhiji said that it was everyone's duty to pray that wisdom and courage might be given by God to all in these disturbed areas so that they might realize the folly of violence. He longed for the day when the Muslims of Noakhali would write and tell him that none of his workers need stay there because thenceforth all Hindus would be safe.

Gandhiji then went on to read from two letters that he had received. One friend had asked him to explain to the audience the Sanskrit *shloka* which says that he who sees God everywhere and in everything and sees all in God—that is to say in every scripture and in every person of every religion.

God is always for that person. God is never tired of him and he is always with God. If put in that way, it would be easy for everyone to understand what he meant when he said that he was a *sanatani* Hindu, but it was not right to call

(Continued on p. 126)

# HARIJAN

April 27

1947

## AT LONG LAST

After decades of agitation the excise duty on indigenous salt and the customs duty on imported salt have now been abolished. In a hot country like ours, and one in which most of the people work out-doors, salt is as important in the diet as any other item of diet. The rich men do not require much salt. Indeed, if they steam their food, they need no salt at all excepting for preserving vegetables, etc. But the person, whose work entails a great deal of perspiration, needs water and salt to replace the amount that is thrown out by the skin. Hence, apart from any financial considerations, this has been a great hardship on the poor people of our country. The amount of extra burden on the Central budget will only be a little over rupees eight crores, but the advantage to the people cannot be evaluated by this money value.

Where the masses are not vocal to ably represent their grievance, indirect taxation like the salt tax has been a convenient measure of "plucking the goose with the least squealing". Hence, indirect taxes have been the order of the day under a foreign government in India.

### DIRECT TAXES

The budget proposals brought in by the Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Indian Finance Member of the Government of India, contained many indications of the changing outlook on the functions of the government. We have already alluded to the abolition of the salt tax. This has entailed imposition of some direct taxes. Direct taxes are absolutely essential in a democracy, especially, when such a democracy is in its infant stages. Indirect taxes are never realized by the public, but direct taxes prick the tax-payer into consciousness, as we have seen lately by the uproar that has been caused in the public over the few direct taxes that have been proposed in the present budget. Once the tax-payer becomes conscious, because of his personal interest being affected, the Government is put on its honour and best behaviour because of the public criticism that they will have to face. It is a healthy sign to have the press deeply interested in the taxation policy of the government. Any government, which wishes to be in touch with public opinion, would do well to resort to direct taxes for this reason, if not for any other. The government should also see that while it taxes the people who are able to bear the brunt of it, they are not passing on the burden to the less vocal elements in society by economic devices.

In public finance expenditure is the basis of the budget. The public should scrutinize the expenditure side even more carefully than the taxes. When the various items of expenditure proposed by the government have been agreed to by the

public then it becomes incumbent on the public to supply the wherewithal to meet the proposals. Hence, direct taxes are a means of curbing the extravagant tendencies of government. The government has, first of all, to satisfy the public that it gets the value of 192 pias per every rupee it spends. From this point of view we wonder whether the present budget could stand scrutiny. Its expenses amount to about Rs. 328 crores, which is nearly four times the pre-war budget; but even if we should allow for the inflation, it would still be about double. This being so, it is legitimate to ask the government to launch out on a drastic retrenchment scheme. It would appear that the government offices are top heavy and their expenses do not represent anything like a return that the tax-payer is entitled to expect. The proposed Economic Committee is a good sign provided they go into the question of finding out if every government servant does an eight hours' day work for the pay he receives and whether such volume of work could also be curtailed by more efficient organization.

However, on the whole, we cannot but congratulate the Finance Member on the attempts he has made to bring considerations of a social objective into the budget proposals. We trust that this little beginning will lead to the realization of our ideals as a nation and will contribute to provide at least the essentials of life to a starving and half-naked people.

### SWARAJ FOR THE RUPEE

At long last, another reform also has been brought in by the delinking of the rupee from the sterling. There is a time when it is wise to cut ourselves off from the life line if that life line has at the other end a piece of lead attached which will drag us down to the bottom. The sterling, to which the rupee had been linked, had gone off the gold standard and had proved in the last few years to be but lead and, therefore, it is high time that we released ourselves from this mill-stone round our neck. We hope that as an independent currency the rupee will be established on a sound basis. In an agricultural country, where many of the harvests are but once a year, it becomes necessary for the farmer to maintain his purchasing power, which he gets at the end of the harvest, for 12 months, if he has not to suffer fortuitous losses due to speculations abroad. For this purpose, it would be advisable to base our currency to a greater extent on the yellow metal. If the negotiations in regard to the settlement of sterling balances will materialize into bringing gold back to our country, we cannot do better than utilize that balance for the purposes of currency backing.

The present amendment to the Reserve Bank Act of 1934 contemplates these changes in sections 40 and 41. We hope that section 33, sub-section 2 dealing with currency backing would also be suitably altered to cut out sterling securities from being acceptable backing for our currency. The misuse of this section has been wholly responsible for the introduction of inflation in our currency system. So we hope that while these considerations



are on the anvil, the matter will be straightened out completely.

Now, with the advent of a semblance of national spirit in the Government, we see the dawn of a recognition of the existence of the poor man in the taxation policy and other innovations, such as, the attention paid to the third class railway traveller. These reforms have been long overdue. We trust that they are only the forerunners of many more yet to come.

#### RAILWAY TRAVEL

We are glad to know that railway coaches are being designed to afford travel conditions fit for human beings.

At present, in the third class railway compartments, especially, in the ones reserved for women, the passengers have to crawl over their luggage and over one another much as the bees do in a honey comb. To the persons standing outside, nothing else is visible through the window but the few perspiring bodies of the ones in front. In this state of affairs, we hope that the interest shown in remodelling the third class compartments will also be extended to provide all the needed provision to women and children in the trains.

The super-first class travel, such as the airways, allows for "hostesses" to look after the much-pampered affluent travellers. Every half an hour or so, the hostess goes round to serve hot coffee and biscuits to the already overfed passengers and she sees to their physical comforts. It may be well to have at least one trained "hostess" for every third class women's compartment to bring some semblance of order and sanitation.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

#### SCIENCE RUNS AMUCK

Early this month the foundation stone of the National Chemical Laboratories was laid at Poona. We trust the scientists will turn their ingenuity to help the small man.

Village industries have been struggling on their own merits against an artificial current set up by the paddles of large-scale industries. In season and out of season propaganda is carried on against the small producers. In a previous issue we had shown that real progress and the best utilization of nature resources are best achieved through village and cottage industries and that large-scale industries are wasteful, though all scientific laboratories are focussed to help them.

We have previously drawn attention to the way the bullock *ghanis* and dairies are being crushed by financial interests pushing up oil mills for the production of *vanaspathi* and how even the Central Government is helping on this programme by sanctioning new mills and shutting their eyes to the evils caused by mills and mill industries.

In spite of scientific evidence to prove the injurious effects of *adiposked* rice on the health of the people, the rationing machinery has been used to distribute only polished rice regardless of the consequences to the people. Why could not our

popular governments follow the healthy lead given long ago by Travancore by banning all rice mills?

Since last November the Central Government has been circularizing all the provincial governments to discourage hand-processed sugar. A scientific approach to this question will indicate that thousands of acres of the best lands can be brought under the cultivation of cereals etc., if we can utilize palm trees growing wildly in the jungles and on waste lands. Palm *gur* and sugar can be obtained from these trees and such a programme will be complementary to the introduction of Prohibition as it will afford employment to thousands of displaced tappers. But then the strongly entrenched sugar mill interests are opposed to such a scheme as it undermines their industry. The Government seems to have ears only for such.

Nutritional experts tell us that *gur* is a wholesome food containing minerals, vitamins and sugar. While mill sugar is a simple chemical for producing energy, because it lacks the ingredients necessary for its own assimilation, it draws the needed material from other items of the food taken. Hence the Americans term the white sugar a 'devitalizing food'. Even as between hand-processed sugar and the mill sugar the former is more than ten times richer in iron contents. In spite of this in favour of hand-processing of sugar, the Central Government want the hand-process discouraged. In many places factory-made white cube sugar is outside the ration. So the rich can buy without any limit but their purse.

The ever-obliging Provincial Governments only need the sign to take drastic measures. The U. P. Government by its *Khandasari* Sugar Control Order of November '45 is dealing a death blow to both *Khandasari* sugar and *Deshi* *Chini* producing industries.

The trend of events seems to be such that we shall end by hanging ourselves with 'scientific' ropes. Our governmental machinery appears to be set to destroy the industries of the common man by introduction of labour-saving devices which may be otherwise termed "employment-reducing-instruments". Is it scientific to introduce such in a country teeming with unemployment and under-employment?

At Lyallpur Agricultural College, the principal is a specialist in *maida* production. They have various kinds of electric machinery to remove all nutritive elements from wheat leaving purely starch behind. There is a revolving electric bakery also. The objective is to produce white bread, slices of which will be uniformly patterned like a honey comb. This can best be attained with the whitest *maida*. Should we not more scientifically and truthfully designate this principal "specialist in food destruction"? Is there any place for such in a famine-stricken land?

We, in India, seem to be possessed with a mania to destroy all nutrition provided by nature by the use of mills—white rice, white sugar, hydrogenated oils. Is this where science is leading us?

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## THE DELHI INTERLUDE

(Continued from p. 123)

himself a Muslim. Gandhiji maintained that what he had said the day before was correct and that he was not ashamed to say that because he claimed to be a *sanatani* Hindu he was a Muslim too. The friend also wanted to know where people were to go if they were afraid to live as a minority in any place. The whole of India was open to them would be his reply — only they must not be beggars wherever they went.

The second correspondent asked that if both Rabim and Rama were names of God, why use the two? Would not only Rama suffice? Gandhiji said that God was supposed to have a thousand names in the Hindu scriptures. What if He had 40 crores of names? It was open to everyone to call Him by as many names as he wanted to for his spiritual satisfaction. Gandhiji was accused of trying to please the Muslims. If he did, what harm was there? Some Muslims might want to hurt him but that did not mean that he was to hurt them in return. It was a Muslim girl — Raihana Tyebji — who had taught him the verse from the *Quran Sharif* and he could never give it up. When he broke his last fast in Jail, Dr. Gilder recited a verse from the *Zend Avesta* and ever since the Parsi verse had also been included in his prayers. Gandhiji averred that by using these prayers and singing the *Ramadhan* as he did, he did not take away from, but added to, the glory of the name of Rama.

A friend had also asked whether he was not ashamed to have the police guarding his dwelling while prayers were being held. Gandhiji laughingly said he was ashamed but he was a humble subject with no powers to interfere with the law. If they wanted to remove the police, they should go to their Sardar who was Home Member. He had also been asked wherefrom in Hinduism he had unearthed *ahimsa*. Gandhiji said that *ahimsa* was in Hinduism, it was in Christianity as well as in Islam. Whether they agreed with him or not, it was his bounden duty to preach what he believed to be the truth as he saw it. He was also sure that *ahimsa* had never made anyone a coward.

Finally, Gandhiji regretted that such letters were written in English and in very poor English at that. It was sad that many people had not yet learnt to love their own language.

9-4-'47

At the prayer Gandhiji first remarked upon his favourite hymn which had been sung by Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani in her rich, melodious voice and reminded his audience that the hymn was printed and distributed amongst them when he conducted the prayers during his previous visit. If all of them acted in accordance with the teaching of the hymn, Gandhiji said, India would be a land worth living in and worth dying for. The tenor of it required human beings to fear no one and nothing but God, and therefore they would yield nothing to force however great it might be and they would yield to reason everything that was just and honourable.

Applying the rule to Pakistan, the speaker could not help saying that the violence that was being practised in order to seize Pakistan by force was bound to defeat its purpose, if Indians were worth their salt.

In that connection Gandhiji said that he could not help noticing the speech reported to have been made by the Chief Minister of Bengal. If the newspaper reports were correct, the Chief Minister had stated that, on the strength of the reports he had received from Gandhiji and Satish Babu, he was making enquiries about the allegations of arson, loot etc. The speaker suggested that at this time of tension and suspicion, the Chief Minister should prefer the cautious reports of a staunch, sincere and unbiased worker like Satish Babu, who with his wife had dedicated his life to the service of both the Muslims and the Hindus of Noakhali. Satish Babu was not interested in propagating false reports. The reports which the Chief Minister said he had sent for might take a long time to come and Gandhiji knew from experience that they were not always unbiased. He said that he had noticed also that the Chief Minister disapproved of the agitation that was now going on in Bengal for partition. Without going into the merits of the question he would say that the best way of silencing the cry for the partition of Bengal would be to reason with the Hindus, to demonstrate to them from now that he wished them to do nothing compulsorily, and to prove by his strictly fair conduct that in Pakistan there was no fear to be entertained by the Hindus about the strictest impartiality and justice, that no Muslim was to be favoured because he was Muslim and that merit was the sole consideration in selecting men and women for service in the Government.

Gandhiji concluding said that he would make bold to say that seizure of Pakistan by force was an empty dream.

10-4-'47

As Gandhiji had an important engagement at 8-45 p. m., he spoke very briefly today. The Bengli *bhajan* sung by Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani was translated to the gathering.

Addressing the people, Gandhiji said it was one of the many sweet compositions left to the country by Gurudev. Its sublime meaning was of great significance to them today. The essence of it was that man must proceed on his way towards God even in the darkest night and that hope and faith may never desert him. And it was both hope and faith that were sorely needed today.

Gandhiji referred to a letter he had received during the day from a very well-informed and highly-placed friend. The burden of his letter was that he believed that the Viceroy had come out here definitely to transfer power to Indian hands. The Viceroy, Gandhiji said, was a member of the Royal House; he had come at the bidding of the British Cabinet and the Cabinet was the people's voice.

The writer believed in their honesty of purpose but doubted the *bona fides* of the British members of the services out here and the representatives of

British commercial interests. They were, in his opinion, still of the old way of thinking. Their record in the past had not been worthy. They had done everything to exploit this land. Hitherto it was they who had sown the seeds of dissension between the Hindus and the Muslims and staged riots at appropriate times. They continued to non-cooperate with the autonomous Governments in the provinces. They were being untrue to the spirit of what the Viceroy had come to India to do.

If what the friend wrote was true, Gandh. said, it was a tragedy and the Britishers here, whether in the services or in business, were not being loyal either to the people of India or to their own. He would appeal to them to help the Viceroy to make over a peaceful transfer of power and leave India not as enemies but as true friends and thereby maintain the British name.

To his own people Gandhiji appealed not to lose faith and hope in themselves, not to fall into any traps that might be laid for them, to lean on God and to rely on their own inner strength. There was no reason for anyone to sink to the level of a beast even if someone else did.

11-4-47

Gandhiji began by breaking the news that he would be leaving for Bihar on Saturday evening. One could sense the sadness that was creeping over the listeners. He explained to them how he had gone to Noakhali at the call of the inner voice. He claimed that he had served the Hindus there by restoring some confidence in them and he had served the Muslims too.

In the same way he had gone to Bihar. He had said he would do or die there. His work in both places was unfinished. He could only be satisfied if in both the places the Hindus and the Muslims, in however small a minority they might be, could live in absolute peace and security.

They might ask him why he was not visiting the Punjab which had suffered and was suffering no less. Gandhiji wished to say that no one could stop him from visiting the Punjab when the call came. The leaders had advised him not to go there just yet. They were all aware that today there was British *raj* there, not Indian. League *raj* was just as much Indian as Congress *raj*.

The moment they began to think in terms of Hindu and Muslim *raj* they fell into an error. That was a dangerous doctrine. In a true Pakistan—holy land—there ought to be no fighting. Everything must be done by appealing to reason and not through force. He was speaking to the Punjab from here. He was no stranger to that province or to its people. The Congress fight against the British had succeeded because in spite of some Congressmen falling into the error of violence, the movement had remained non-violent.

The history of Indian *satyagraha* in South Africa would live for all time because Indians had remained true to their creed. Though he had gone twice to England on behalf of the Indians in South Africa, he could not have achieved anything if he had not had the strength of *satyagraha* behind him. Therefore, he appealed to the Hindus and the Sikhs of

the Punjab to resolve to be killed but not kill. They should resist Pakistan being forced on them with all the incomparable strength of *satyagraha*.

Gandhiji said he was not afraid to die in his mission if that was to be his fate. As they had heard in the evening hymn, no doctor could make his patient live beyond the allotted span. If the Hindus and the Sikhs were non-violent, the world would condemn the action of the Muslims in trying to get Pakistan by force. It would be a wonderful lesson for the whole world.

Gandhiji said he was returning to Bihar because his work in Delhi was over for the time being. He had told them he was a prisoner both of the Viceroy and Pandit Nehru. His talks with the former were over for the time being and Jawaharlalji was too big to restrain him from going where he thought his duty lay. Gandhiji said that he was a worshipper of the Gita and the Gita said that it was best at all times to do one's duty in one's own field, no matter how big any work outside that field may seemingly appear.

Continuing, Gandhiji said how much Chief Minister Suhrawardy's statement in the day's papers had hurt him. It was a man's duty to tell his friend if he had any suspicion or doubt in his mind. He had sent Shri Satish Babu's wires to the Press because he believed that Satish Babu would not deliberately swerve from the truth. It was up to Saheed Saheb to prove that the suspicion regarding the Noakhali happenings was unfounded, but to say that the release of those wires to the Press had been the cause of recrudescence of violence in Calcutta was wholly wrong.

Gandhiji said that as a *satyagrahi* he stood by truth and it would be wrong on his part to hide any suspicion or simply nurse a grievance in his heart. He could not serve the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal without the Chief Minister's help and he hoped this would not be withheld. In the same way he would not put his *ahimsa* in his pocket and not advise the true path to the Hindus and the Sikhs in the Punjab if he was to be their friend.

Gandhiji, concluding, said how as a poor man he travelled always by third class in the railway. Many persons wanted him to fly because people disturbed him at every railway station. He could sleep in the train if only they would let him. He needed the rest and he needed to conserve his energy if he was to serve them. He hoped his words would be appreciated by all those who loved him. Their love may not be unrestrained.

12-4-47

Gandhiji began by reminding the audience that the next day (Sunday) was the last day of the National Week, from Assam and the Frontier down to Cape Comorin, the date was observed by all. It showed the awakening in the real India which was the villages. The first day signified the awakening. The last day, the Jallianwala Bagh Day, was a symbol of dedication. There was no need to recall the tragic happenings in detail but it was enough to say that on that day the blood of the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs flowed in



# ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## INSTALMENT — XVIII

### ENGLISH

### HINDUSTANI

**Consist** *v.* होना, शामिल या मिला होना, बना होना ।  
 مِلنا، شامل یا ملا होना، یا ہونا

**Consistency** *n.* गाढ़ापन, जमावट, मजबूती; मेकरी, दृढता ।  
 گاڑاپن، جماعت، مضبوطی، یک رنگی، سکتا

**Consistent** *adj.* मेकता, मेक खरिदना; दृढ़, मजबूत ।  
 ایک سا، میل کھانے والا، دڑ، مضبوط

**Consolation** *n.* दसल्ली, दिलासा, हाइस ।  
 تسلی، دلاسا، دلاامی، ہاؤس

**Console** *v.* दसल्ली, दिलासा या हाइस देना, ऑइ वोलना ।  
 تسلی، دلاسا یا دلاامی دینا، آئیو برہنا

**Consolidate** *v.* जमना, जमाना, ठोस करना, पक्का करना, जोड़ना, मिलाना, मेक करना ।  
 جمانا، جمایا، ٹھوس کرنا، پکا کرنا، جڑونا، ملانا، ایک کرنا

**Consumme** *n.* मांस या गोश्तका सोरबा, यकनी ।  
 मांस یا گوشت کا سوڑا، یکنی

**Consonance** *n.* मेक, मेकता, सुरीतापन, मेक आवाज ।  
 میل، ایکتا، سूरیتا، ایک آواز

**Consonant** *adj.* सुरीला, मेक खाना हुआ ।  
 सूरिला، मिल कहां हवा

**Consonant** *n.* म्येजन् अक्षर, हल्क सही ।  
 مچن اکھر، حرف صحیح

**Consort** *n.* पत्नी या पति, मीया या बीवी; साथी ।  
 بی یا بی، میان یا یوی، ساتھی

**Consort** *v.* साथ रहना, मेक करना ।  
 साथ रहना، मिल करना

**Conspicuous** *adj.* सुभाष, सुला, बिलकुल साफ, साह ।  
 अजागर, किला, بالکل صاف, عامر

**Conspiracy** *n.* गुड़, साजिश; सौठ-मौठ, मेक, मेक ।  
 गुद, साजिश, सौठ-मौठ, मेक, मेक

**Conspirator** *n.* साजिश, मोष्टी ।  
 साजिश, मोष्टी

**Conspire** *v.* मोष्टी करना, साजिश करना, मिल जाना, सौठ-मौठ करना ।  
 मोष्टी करना, साजिश करना, मिल जाना, सौठ-मौठ करना

**Constable** *n.* पुलिसका सिपाही ।  
 पुलिस का सिपाही

**Constabulary** *n.* पुलिसके सिपाहियोंका बल, पुलिस बल ।  
 पुलिस के सिपाहियों का बल, पुलिस बल

**Constancy** *n.* मजबूती, दृढ़ता; दफ्तदारी ।  
 مضبوطی، دڑता، وقاداری

**Constant** *adj.* मजबूत, मजबूत, दायम; लगातार, बराबर, बफादार ।  
 अल, अल, قائم, लगातार, बराबर, दफादार

**Constellation** *n.* तारामण्डल, तिलारोका मजमा ।  
 तारामंडल, तारों का मजमा

**Consternation** *n.* चबराहट, डर, मय, निराशा ।  
 गहरा डर, डर, मय, निराशा

**Constipation** *n.* कट्ट, कोष्ठबंदी ।  
 कट्ट, कोष्ठबंदी

**Constituency** *n.* चुननेवालों या बीटरोका बल; चुननेवालोंका हलका या क्षेत्र ।  
 चुने वालों या बीटरोका बल, चुने वालों का क्षेत्र

**Constituent** *adj.* *n.* चुन, भग, हुकूम; चुनव करनेवाला, राव देनेवाला, बीट ।  
 चुन, चुन, हुकूम, चुनव करनेवाला, राव देनेवाला, बीट

**Constituent Assembly** *n.* भाषीन या विधान सभा ।  
 भाषीन या विधान सभा

**Constitute** *v.* बनाना, जामन करना, कड़ा करना ।  
 बनाना, जामन करना, कड़ा करना

**Constitution** *n.* भाषीन या विधान; बनावट; तबियत; स्वभाव ।  
 भाषीन या विधान; बनावट; तबियत; स्वभाव

**Constitutional** *adj.* भाषीनी या वैधानिक; कानूनी या हस्तरी; जिसका विधानपक्ष; स्वाभाविक ।  
 भाषीनी या वैधानिक; कानूनी या हस्तरी; जिसका विधानपक्ष; स्वाभाविक

**Constitutional** *n.* स्वास्थ्य या सेहतके लिये दृढ़ता, हवाकरी ।  
 स्वास्थ्य या सेहतके लिये दृढ़ता, हवाकरी

**Constitutive** *adj.* जो नियम या कानून बनाता हो या बननेका हक रखता हो; जम्मी ।  
 जो नियम या कानून बनाता हो या बननेका हक रखता हो; जम्मी

**Constrain** *v.* दवाना, रोकना; मजबूर करना; कैद करना ।  
 दवाना, रोकना, मजबूर करना, कैद करना

**Constraint** *n.* दबाव, रोक, कैद ।  
 दबाव, रोक, कैद

**Constrict** *v.* सिकोड़ना, लग करना ।  
 सिकोड़ना, लग करना

**Constriction** *n.* सिकोड़, खिचाव, लगी ।  
 सिकोड़, खिचाव, लगी

**Construct** *v.* बनाना, तैयार करना, कड़ा करना, खींचना ।  
 बनाना, तैयार करना, कड़ा करना, खींचना

**Construction** *n.* बनावट, रचना, रीति; अिमारत; मतलब, मने ।  
 बनावट, रचना, रीति; अिमारत; मतलब, मने

**Constructive** *adj.* बनावेवाला, साजिश, हुकूमती ।  
 बनावेवाला, साजिश, हुकूमती

**Construe** *v.* अर्थ या मने निकालना; मने समझना, हास-हास या लज-लजतका अनुवाद या तरजुमा करना; पद-पद-पद करना ।  
 अर्थ या मने निकालना; मने समझना, हास-हास या लज-लजतका अनुवाद या तरजुमा करना; पद-पद-पद करना

**Consuetude** *n.* रिवाज; मेकनोस ।  
 रिवाज; मेकनोस

**Consul** *n.* राजदूत, मेनची, मुन्शी बकील ।  
 राजदूत, मेनची, मुन्शी बकील

**Consulate** *n.* सफ़ीर या राजदूतका दफ्तर ।  
 सफ़ीर या राजदूतका दफ्तर

**Consult** *v.* सलाह करना, सलाह लेना, राय या मत पूछना ।  
 सलाह करना, सलाह लेना, राय या मत पूछना

**Consultant** *n.* राय या मत पूछनेवाला, सलाह देनेवाला, पैप, हकीम या डॉक्टर ।  
 राय या मत पूछनेवाला, सलाह देनेवाला, पैप, हकीम या डॉक्टर

**Consultation** *n.* सलाह, सलाह ।  
 सलाह, सलाह

**Consultative** *adj.* राय या मत देनेवाला, सलाहकार ।  
 राय या मत देनेवाला, सलाहकार

**Consume** *v.* खर्च कर खाना, खतम कर खाना, खाना-खाना, खाना, खाना, खाना ।  
 खर्च कर खाना, खतम कर खाना, खाना-खाना, खाना, खाना, खाना

**Consummate** *adj.* पूरा, पका, सुलझा ।  
 पूरा, पका, सुलझा

**Consummate** *v.* पूरा करना, अन्तको पहुँचाना ।  
 पूरा करना, अन्तको पहुँचाना

**Consummation** *n.* अन्त, आखिर, अन्त, अन्त; पूरापन ।  
 अन्त, आखिर, अन्त, अन्त; पूरापन

**Consumption** *n.* खर्च, खपत; खपेदिक, खप ।  
 खर्च, खपत, खपेदिक, खप

**Consumptive** *n.* खपारी, दिक्काल ।  
 खपारी, दिक्काल

**Contact** *n.* छुट, लगाव, मिलाव, मेक ।  
 छुट, लगाव, मिलाव, मेक

**Contact with, be or come in** *v.* छुट, लगना; मिलना, टकराना ।  
 छुट, लगना, मिलना, टकराना

**Contadino** *n.* अिटीली बिसका किसान, अिटीली किसान ।  
 अिटीली बिसका किसान, अिटीली किसान

**Contagion** *n.* छुट, लगाव, छुटके रोगका फैलना ।  
 छुट, लगाव, छुटके रोगका फैलना





**Contravention** n. दुष्प्रवृत्ति, उल्लंघन।  
 حق توڑنا, قانون چنک

**Contretemps** n. कलहाव, खराबी, रंगमें आना।  
 दुकल, خرابی, رنگ میں چنک

**Contribute** v. देना, बनाना या दान देना; वास्तव या कारण होना, सहकारिता या मदद करना; हिस्सा या भाग देना; निदान।  
 देना, حصہ یا دان دینا یا حصہ یا کارن ہونا, سہا یا مدد کرنا

**Contribution** n. मदद, दान, हिस्सा, बनाना, देना।  
 مدد, دان, حصہ, پنہ, لیکر

**Contrite** adj. वकताव, वकतावेवाला, दुःखी (गुनाह या दोष के कारण)।  
 گناہ, پچھتاوے والا, دکھ (گناہ) یا آپ کے کارن

**Contrition** n. वकताव, दुःख, अकसोस।  
 گناہ, دکھ, افسوس

**Contrivance** n. दुष्प्रवृत्ति, कुशल, चतन, हिक्मत, तरकीब।  
 اچھے, چक, چत, حکمت, ترکیب

**Contrive** v. चतन करना, कुशल करना, कर निकालना, सोच निकालना।  
 चतन करना, چक, कर, कर, निकालना, सोच निकालना

**Control** n. रोक, दबाव, बस, काबू, कब्जा, बेखयाल।  
 روک, دباو, بس, قابو, قبضہ, دیکر حال

**Control** v. रोकना, बसने करना या रकना, काबू या कब्जा करना, बेखयाल करना।  
 روکना, بس میں کرنا या روکना, قابو یا قبضہ करना, दिकर हाल करना

**Controversy** n. बहस, विवाद, झगडा, तकरार।  
 بحث, واد, جھगडा, तकरार

**Controvert** v. झगडना, बहस या विवाद करना, तकरार करना।  
 जगडा, بحث या वद करना, तकरार करना

**Contumacious** adj. गुस्ताख, बेअदबी, कदना व माननेवाला, हठी।  
 گستاخ, عداوت, گناه مانے والا, हठी

**Contumely** n. गुस्ताखी, बेअदबी, निन्दा, चुप बरताव।  
 गستاख, عداوت, निन्दा, चुप बरताव

**Contusion** n. कोठ, मीसरी मार।  
 جرح, میسری مار

**Conundrum** n. पहेली, बुझ, मुश्किल सवाल।  
 پزل, معرکہ, مشکل سوال

**Convalesce** v. अच्छा होना।  
 اچھا ہونا

**Convalescent** n. रोगी को बीमारीसे अच्छा हो रहा हो।  
 रुकी, جرح و جرحی سے اچھا हो رہا

**Convene** v. बुलाना, भिकडा करना, बताना करना, समा बुलाना।  
 बुलाना, भिकडा करना, बताना करना, समा बुलाना

**Convenience** n. आराम, आसानी, सुविधा, सहूलियत।  
 آرام, آسانی, سہولت, سہولت

**Convenient** adj. आरामदायक, आसानी, सुविधा, सहूलियत।  
 آرام का, आसान, سہولت, سہولت

**Convent** n. बौद्धोंका मठ, विघोंका विहार।  
 عورتوں کا مठ, بھुरों का विहार

**Convention** n. धमा, कलहाव; समझौता; रीत, रिवाज, चलन, बहस।  
 धमा, कलहाव, समझौता, रीत, रिवाज, चलन, बहस

**Conventional** adj. ऐसी, रिवाजी, बलपूर्वक।  
 ऐसी, रिवाजी, बलपूर्वक

**Converge** v. भेक ओर झुकना, भेक बगल का मिलना।  
 भेक ओर झुकना, भेक बगल का मिलना

**Conversant** adj. जानकार, वाकिफ।  
 जानकार, वाकिफ

**Conversant with the world** दुनिया देखे हुये।  
 दुनिया देखे हुये

**Conversation** n. बातचीत।  
 बात چیت

**Converse** v. बातचीत करना, बर्बा करना।  
 बात चیت करना, बर्बा करना

**Converse** adj. सुमटा, किलाफ, विरुद्ध।  
 सुमटा, किलाफ, विरुद्ध

**Conversation** n. बर्बा, बर्बाद, पलट, धर्म-व्यवहार।  
 बर्बा, बर्बाद, पलट, धर्म-व्यवहार

**Convert** v. बदलना, पलटना, दान या धर्म बदलना।  
 बदलना, पलटना, दान या धर्म बदलना

**Convert** n. नया देवा, जिसने नया जीवन या धर्म अकितवार किया।  
 नया देवा, जिसने नया जीवन या धर्म अकितवार किया

**Convertible** adj. बदलनेके योग्य या साधक।  
 बदलनेके योग्य या साधक

**Convertible terms** n. भेक ही माने या बर्बा के, हममाने, एक ही मनी या अन्तर के, म मनी, समान।  
 भेक ही माने या बर्बा के, हममाने, एक ही मनी या अन्तर के, म मनी, समान

**Convex** adj. सुमटा, गुम्बजदार, बाहरी मोलाही।  
 सुमटा, गुम्बजदार, बाहरी मोलाही

**Convey** v. पहुँचाना, के जाना, होना; समझाना, बताना, समझमें आना, वास्तव देना (कानूनमें)।  
 पहुँचाना, के जाना, होना; समझाना, बताना, समझमें आना, वास्तव देना (कानूनमें)

**Conveyance** n. पहुँचाना, के जाना, हुलाकी; सवारीकी गाड़ी; बस।  
 पहुँचाना, के जाना, हुलाकी; सवारीकी गाड़ी; बस

**Conveyance deed** n. दान-पत्र, दिवा-नामा।  
 दान पत्र, दिवा-नामा

**Convict** n. कैदी, बंदी, सुमर-कैदी।  
 कैदी, बंदी, सुमर-कैदी

**Convict** v. दोषी या मुकदमा ठहराना।  
 दोषी या मुकदमा ठहराना

**Conviction** n. जुर्म या अपराधका सपूत; दण्डन, बर्बाद, बर्बाद।  
 जुर्म या अपराधका सपूत; दण्डन, बर्बाद, बर्बाद

**Convince** v. मनवाना, दिनेमें बिडाना, यकीन दिवाना।  
 मनवाना, दिनेमें बिडाना, यकीन दिवाना

**Convincing** adj. पक्का, माननेके साधक या योग्य।  
 पक्का, माननेके साधक या योग्य

**Convivial** adj. खाने-पीनेका, खुश, हँसमुख।  
 खाने-पीनेका, खुश, हँसमुख

**Convocation** n. बुलाना, बताना, समा, (बाइबल पादरियों और बिशापीठको)।  
 बुलाना, बताना, समा, (बाइबल पादरियों और बिशापीठको)

**Convolve** v. बुलाना, भिकडा करना, बताना करना।  
 बुलाना, भिकडा करना, बताना करना

**Convolution** n. लपेट, बल, पैर।  
 लपेट, बल, पैर

**Convoy** v. बिकाना या रक्षा के लिये दान जाना, रक्षावालीमें सहायता या रक्षा के लिये साने जाना, रक्षावालीमें के जाना।  
 बिकाना या रक्षा के लिये दान जाना, रक्षावालीमें सहायता या रक्षा के लिये साने जाना, रक्षावालीमें के जाना

**Convoy** n. रक्षावाली, रक्षा, रक्षाके जहाज, जहाजोंका बिकाना।  
 रक्षावाली, रक्षा, रक्षाके जहाज, जहाजोंका बिकाना

**Convulse** v. हिल देना, झटका देना, काना, झटका देना।  
 हिल देना, झटका देना, काना, झटका देना

**Convulsed with laughter** हँसीसे कोठ जाना या पेटमें बल पड़ना।  
 हँसीसे कोठ जाना या पेटमें बल पड़ना

**Convulsion** n. भेक, झटका, झटका, कं, झटका, झटका।  
 भेक, झटका, झटका, कं, झटका, झटका

**Coo** v. हू हू करना, सुरचना (कैडे झटका या सुरनी), नाह पार करना।  
 हू हू करना, सुरचना (कैडे झटका या सुरनी), नाह पार करना

**Coo, bill and** v. हूना बारी करना, नाह पार करना।  
 हूना बारी करना, नाह पार करना

**Cook** n. रसोबिया, बाबरी, खानसामा।  
 रसोबिया, बाबरी, खानसामा



## HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## GANDHIJI'S BIHAR TOUR DIARY

14-4-'47

In the course of his post-prayer speech at Bankiput *maidan* this evening Gandhiji said that he had heard disquieting news from Noakhali. Satis Babu and also Haran Babu had both informed him about the rapidly deteriorating situation, giving facts and figures. If what he had heard proved to be true, he might have to fast, since by going to Bihar while his work in Noakhali was still unfinished he had earned the right of fasting against misdeeds in Noakhali. That did not, however, mean that fasting was a certainty. He, however, felt bound to hint at the possibility.

Gandhiji also referred to his talks with the Viceroy at Delhi and said that both in public and private conversations the Viceroy declared that he was going to be the last Viceroy of India, and that also only up to June 30, 1948.

Gandhiji felt that the Viceroy was honest in his profession. The British were already preparing for transfer of power. Gandhiji felt that he realized that the transfer of power must be peaceful if Britain was to escape the charge that during her reign of more than a century she had brought up nothing but fight among ourselves. It was a sad sight that while freedom was almost within their grasp they were fighting among themselves. All the important members of the Congress, whether in the Interim Government or outside it, were trying their best to grasp freedom and to establish peace in the country, freeing it from at least the major portion of the evils of the old order.

15-4-'47

After the prayer Gandhiji said that while he was in Delhi he received letters from Bihar, some couched in thoughtless language, some in the language of praise and a few expressing doubt if he was ever returning to Bihar to finish his work. The last needed no reply. Praise was wholly unnecessary for one doing one's duty as he was doing his. He, however, singled out one letter which he thought was based on pure ignorance. It doubted the wisdom of the speaker leaving his work in Noakhali and coming to Bihar at the instance of Dr. Syed Mahmud and daring to accept his hospitality.

The critic forgot that Dr. Mahmud was Gandhiji's friend and that he had known Dr. Mahmud's father-in-law before he knew the late Brij Kishore Prasad of revered memory or Dr. Rajendra Prasad. In his opinion Dr. Mahmud had rendered a service to the Hindus and the Muslims of Bihar by bringing

him to Bihar. For, if Bihar remained sane in the midst of possible madness throughout India, Bihar would raise India in the estimation of the world and leave to the world a singular example of sanity in the midst of surrounding insanity. This he had a right to expect by right of service and more so because the Bihar Hindus, however illiterate they might be, were votaries of Rama, the incarnation of all the good in the world. Although evil seemed at times to rule the world, the eternal truth was that the world lived so long as goodness rested even in one person. Evil was naught. If Bihar remained good in the midst of temptation, it was well with it, and well with the whole of India.

The insinuation that there was a sinister motive behind drawing him away from Noakhali, namely that the Noakhali Muslims might be free from his (Gandhiji's) restraining influence, was as flimsy to bear examination. For, if he succeeded wholly in Bihar, it was as impossible for very shame that the Noakhali Muslims would go mad.

At the end Gandhiji announced that the heat was too great for him to stand the strain of motoring extensively and working the whole day. He found it necessary to have frequent intervals of rest if he was to go through a fair amount of work. And he had ample to do in Patna. Incidentally he mentioned that he would try each evening to cover important points of interest to the public.

16-4-'47

Gandhiji referred to a statement which he had signed at the suggestion of the Viceroy while he was in Delhi. The act had the consent of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other members of the Working Committee. Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah had also signed it. The terms of the document were:

"We deeply deplore the recent acts of lawlessness and violence that have brought the utmost disgrace on the fair name of India and greatest misery to innocent people, irrespective of who were the aggressors and who were the victims.

"We denounce for all time the use of force to achieve political ends, and we call upon all the communities of India, to whatever persuasion they may belong, not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder, but also to avoid both in speech and writing, any word which might be construed as an incitement to such acts."

So far as his signature was concerned it had no value for he had never believed in violence. But it was significant that Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah had signed it. If the spirit of the appeal was adhered to by the signatories, and there was no reason why it

should not be, they could hope that all the trouble and bloodshed would cease. It might be that they would now enable him to leave Bihar and do other work.

They might well ask why his signature was taken and not of the members of the Working Committee or of the Congress President. He could not go into the matter. He confessed that he represented nobody but himself. Nevertheless, the signatures laid a heavy responsibility on both of them. He had not signed the appeal only on behalf of any one community. It meant assuming responsibility for all communities. He claimed that all religions were equal. A similar claim could be advanced on the Qaid-e-Azam's behalf since the appeal was issued not only to one community but to all the communities. And there was a time when Jinnah Sahib had a high position in the Congress.

The Viceroy should be congratulated on bringing about the unique document. No doubt it would have been better if such a document had been signed as between the Congress and the League without any outsider's intervention. He hoped, however, that there would now be cooperation between the two bodies.

17-4-'47

At the prayer meeting today Gandhiji drew attention to the fact that for the sake of the Muslim friends who wished to join the prayers — and the day had grown longer — the prayer time was advanced by fifteen minutes. He also warned those who were inclined to laugh at the selections from the Quran and other scriptures against the practice. They ought to cultivate the same regard for other religions that they had for their own. Not to do so was to belittle one's own faith and expose it to attacks from without.

After the prayer he referred to the visits he had from Muslim friends who complained to him that in and about Bihar Sharif and Monghyr things were not quite favourable to the return of the refugees. If the information was correct, he was very sorry. The heat was so oppressive that he had not the heart to undertake arduous travelling during the hot weather but he would have no other recourse if the Hindus in those places had not the spirit of repentance and did not resume their friendliness towards their Muslim neighbours, no matter how few they were. It was suggested to him that arms should be issued to the Muslims who were in fear of their Hindu neighbours. Those who made such suggestions did not know him. He would not issue any license to the Muslims or to the Hindus for the purpose of self-defence. It was a sign of barbarity. He would even take away the arms from those who had them already. Their arms were a living faith in God and a stout heart born of that faith.

He had also a visit from the zamindars who, among other things, had complained of growing lawlessness among the peasantry and labour. He deplored the fact. It was a blot on the fair name of Bihar. Such lawlessness was criminal and was bound to involve the very peasantry and labour in

ruin, let alone the zamindars who were after all a mere handful. He fervently hoped that the lesson of the past thirty years in the virtue of non-violence would not be lost upon the people of Bihar. He was quite prepared to say for the sake of argument that the zamindars were guilty of many crimes and of omissions and commissions. But that was no reason for the peasant and the labourer who were the salt of the earth to copy crime. If salt lost its savour wherewith could it be salted?

18-4-'47

Gandhiji said in his post-prayer speech that he was told that he had done an injustice to the peasants and the labourers in his remarks of the previous evening. He was further told that it was the zamindars who continued the old coercive policy. Wherever the truth lay, his remarks were based on the assumption that what he was told was true. The kisans had a rich experience of non-violent *satyagraha* when their amazing restraint brought about the end of a century-old wrong in the shape of the indigo grievance and planters' ray in Champaran. He hoped they would not forget the lesson of that rich experience.

To the landlords he said that if what was said against them was true, he would warn them that their days were numbered. They could no longer continue as lords and masters. They had a bright future if they became the trustees of the poor kisans. He had in mind not trustees in name but in reality. Such trustees would take nothing for themselves that their labour and care did not entitle them to. Then they would find that no law would be able to touch them. The kisans would be their friends.

He next referred to the complaint he had received about a punitive tax that was levied. He felt that the State had no other alternative if the people would not give up the criminals. Nor could the State carry out mass arrests where hundreds and thousands were involved in shameful crimes. Punitive tax was then the only remedy. The only way by which the people could render the punitive tax unnecessary was to repent and undo the wrong done by voluntary labour and contributions. They should also approach the injured Muslims and request them to go back to their homes. They should assure them that they would regard them as their dear ones.

19-4-'47

After the usual prayers Gandhiji in his remarks referred to two letters he had received: one from the Punjab from a lady known to him and the other a very well written letter from a Bihari who had chosen not to give his address and probably had given an assumed name. Both were friendly letters but written in anger. They had lost faith in *ahimsa* and practically advised retirement and save the speaker's good name which he had earned by his service. These friends did not know the virtue of *ahimsa*. His dream was not that some persons, the soldiers and the police, should save their honour, but every man and woman should

be the custodian of his or her own honour. This was possible only under the rule of *ahimsa* and no other. He was never tired of repeating that the highest form of bravery was to be expressed through *ahimsa*. The people of Bihar had before them the example of the *ahimsa* of the indigo-growing peasants of Champaran who were able to bring to an end a century old wrong.

Gandhiji then dealt with *khadi*. He said that during the next four or five days he would be having meetings of the All India Spinners' Association and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. He was not, therefore, going to see local people in connection with the Bihar disturbances. He would have to talk to them of *khadi* which above all was responsible for an India-wide activity in the villages of India. He made bold to say that without the constructive activity of which *khadi* or the *charkha* was the centre, the awakening of the villages would not have been possible. He reminded the audience how under the late Jinnah's inspiration an All India Khadi Board was established during his incarceration and how it was turned into the All India Spinners' Association with an autonomous charter from the Congress and how it had distributed several crores of rupees among men and women of India's numerous villages. *Khadi* had easily become the symbol of non-violence. The truth of *khadi* had been so firmly fixed in their minds that the spinning wheel had found a place on the much-prized tri-colour flag. *Khadi* had been happily described by Pandit Nehru as the livery of India's freedom. Though as an article of clothing it belonged as well to the harlot as to the chaste woman, for the nation its association was undoubtedly with the pure and the non-violent. If therefore *khadi* had not found an abiding place in all the villages of India, as the President of the Association he had no hesitation in accepting the blame on behalf of himself and his fellow trustees. Their devotion to the cause was not as full as it should have been, their knowledge of the science of *khadi*, its technique, was not as deep as it should have been, nor were the *tapashcharya* and sacrifice adequate to the occasion. Therefore, whilst much was done much more was still to be done before *khadi* could take its supreme place in the foundation of Swaraj to be

20-4-47

After the prayers Gandhiji reverted to the subject of *khadi* and announced that the Charkha Sangh had acceded to the proposal of Shri Laxmi Babu and his colleagues that they should be wholly independent of the material support of the Sangh while keeping its purely moral authority. Gandhiji said that if he was the Prime Minister of Bihar and had to select the members of his Government, the latter would stop all new mills and would expect those already established in Bihar to sell all their manufactures at controlled rates outside India and thus gain for Bihar the estimation of the world for generosity. For, there was shortage of cloth everywhere in the world. He would prevent with the consent of people the sale of mill-cloth in Bihar. Fortunately

or unfortunately for Bihar he was not its Prime Minister. Nevertheless, such was the ambition of the Charkha Sangh in acceding to Laxmi Babu's proposal. The expectation was that Laxmi Babu and his colleagues by reason of their independence of the Sangh could be better able to push forth their *khadi* programme and make it so popular that Bihar would become wholly independent of mill-cloth. He held that this was quite possible if the people of Bihar gave their whole-hearted cooperation. The villages of Bihar would hum with the soothing music of the *charkha* and the loom. They would bring vitality to the villages of Bihar. *Khadi* would cease to be an article of commerce. The cities like Patna would also be manufacturing their own *khadi*. The children of the schools and the students of the colleges would gladly and religiously set apart a certain portion of their time daily for this very necessary constructive work. The city women would equally be expected to do no less. With diligence and will, they would become self-supporting in the matter of *khadi*. Then and then only would *khadi* find its natural place in the economy of the nation. The drudgery of the mill would give place to the joy of creation in their homes and schools. Gandhiji drew attention to the fact that whereas the mills needed to import machinery and even skill, to an extent, from outside, all the parts required for the *charkha* and the loom and the required skill were to be found in their villages. He wished, therefore, that the new experiment would find favour with the people of Bihar. It was in that hope that Laxmi Babu and his co-workers had approached their labour of love.

## STORY HOUR

(Continued from Vol XI, No. 9, Page 103)

[The following is from Samuel Smiles' *Character* (John Murray). — V. G. D.]

### XII

"In those days the lands were tilled by the hands even of generals, the soil exulting beneath a plough-share crowned with laurels, and guided by a husbandman graced with triumphs.

Penny's *Natural History*

### XIII

In the course of a conversation with Madame Campan, Napoleon remarked: "The old systems of instruction seem to be worth nothing; what is yet wanting in order that the people should be properly educated?" "MOTHERS", replied Madame Campan. The reply struck the Emperor, "Yes," said he, "here is a system of education in one word. Be it your care, then, to train up mothers who shall know how to educate their children."

AIME' MARTIN

### XIV

Once at St. Helena, when walking with Mrs. Balcombe, some servants came along carrying a load. The lady in an angry tone ordered them out of the way, on which Napoleon interposed, saying, "Respect the burden, madame".

# HARIJAN

May 4

1947

## INCREASING PRODUCTION

The keynote of the Presidential speech of Seth B. L. Jalan at the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, is 'increasing production' and 'improving the standard of living of the masses in the country'. These two phrases are being bandied about at every convenient occasion. They were largely in evidence in Pandit Jawaharlal's speech also at the Manufacturers' Association meeting recently. But what these phrases mean is hardly ever defined. These words are, therefore, little more than slogans to capture the imagination of the unwary and to convince the unthinking public which is generally carried away by much talking.

In a country where people are starving and where there is not enough cloth to go round, these phrases should carry the meaning of providing at least the mere necessities of the people—food and clothing. Our effort should, therefore, be directed towards giving two meals a day where one cannot be obtained today. And our effort should be to enable the people to be clad at least against the weather if not to satisfy their aesthetic sense.

Seth Jalan appears to be more concerned with developing his industries than with the 'needs of the people, for he goes on to say, 'if India is to develop her industries on a permanent footing, the Government must follow a policy of export drive even though we might have to suffer some privation for some time,' and he states that his firm conviction is that the industrial development of India cannot be put on a sound footing unless the products of Indian industries are exported abroad. He recommends our Government to base their 'proposals on the principles of an expansionist policy of production advocated by Lord Keynes,—'the more you eat of the cake the larger it becomes.' He believes that the social objectives of the Finance Member can be fulfilled only by such a policy. We are glad that he has confessed openly Lord Keynes to be his guru. And the hope that 'the more you eat of the cake the larger it becomes' however absurd it may seem to the common sense of us ordinary mortals, it can easily be made feasible by these demigods who eat the cake no doubt, but the cake is not theirs but others'. Herein lies the secret of this apparent miracle. Of course if they merely ate other people's cake, their own cake ought to remain constant. But the method of doing this is generally to bite off from the other people's cake a larger piece than you can eat. That of course makes their cake grow larger.

### PRODUCTION OR DESTRUCTION?

In a previous article we had pointed out that the methods adopted by the recent types of large-scale industries have been anything but progressive. And also we had shown instances to indicate how they were using Science to destroy rather than

create. This being so, it would be well to examine the proposition: how to increase production? When we, with the help of rice mills, produce unwholesome polished rice, can we call it increasing production? Is it not destruction of the production of the paddy by the farmer? Similarly, when sugar mills produce white sugar from sugar-cane juice and thus provide a less nutritive product, and perhaps, devitalize the wholesome juice of the sugar-cane, again would we be using the term 'increasing production' correctly? Is this also not an instance of destruction of nature's gifts? There can be an increase in production over what is found in nature if man's efforts result in an increase not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. When a farmer sows a seed and reaps a hundredfold because of his effort, we are justified in saying that the farmer has increased production. But when we look around at most of the efforts of the mill owners and measure their output and compare it with nature's generous gifts we can only say that the machines have been utilized by man for destruction rather than production, much less for increased production.

### SHIFTING CROPS

In Bihar and in large sections of the U P thousands of acres have been brought under cultivation of sugar-cane. Formerly these lands were not waste lands. If they had been waste lands and the sugar-cane was an addition to the general production, we would be justified in calling it an increase of production. Before the advent of sugar-cane cultivation Biharis used their lands for rice cultivation and consumed hand pounded wholesome rice; but now the crops have been shifted with the result that they cultivate sugar-cane and are dependent on Burma for their rice. And Burmese rice comes polished—that means all the nutrition is removed as in pure starch. However much the sugar-cane crop may have been increasing the bank balances of the mill owners, can we, by any stretch of imagination, lay claim to having increased production when we drive the masses of people from the nutritive rice of their own cultivation to devitalized polished rice imported from outside? This shifting of crops from food to raw materials for mills is not only a disservice to the country but is injurious to the health of the people. It is not "increasing production" when we are shifting the crops from food to long staple cotton for the mills and tobacco and groundnut for export. At best it can be said to be pilfering and not production. This is the kind of increase that has been taking place in the country and which has led to considerable distress to the people in meeting their primary needs.

In the same way, in Malabar the former rice lands have been converted into cocoanut groves and these cocoanut groves are producing cocoanuts not for human consumption but for oil for soap mills. Is producing Lux soap in however large a quantity, an increase of production when this is done at the cost of the people's staple food? The people who were formerly cultivating rice are at present being given polished rice imported from



Brazil. Hence in the final analysis the mill owners' efforts have resulted in the provision of Brazilian polished rice to the people who were once eating wholesome unpolished rice of their own production and converted those rice lands into producing raw material for soap-making. Is this increased production? And is this striving to raise the standard of living of the masses? We can well see that the mill owners have eaten some cake and at the same time the stock of the cake has increased. But what is the state of the common people?

When crops have been shifted deliberately from the production of staple food to raw materials for luxury goods is it any wonder that the country is facing famine after famine? If we really strive for greater production, our endeavours should have by now brought us to a more satisfactory supply of our primary needs. But when we look around we find confirmation of the observation of Seth Jalan that "the country today is suffering from the acutest shortage of food. It is an irony of fate that India which is primarily an agricultural country is now dependent upon imports of food stuffs to feed her population." Should we wonder at this stage? Seth Jalan has unconsciously confessed the truth. The fact cannot be belied and the deduction that our efforts, such as they have been, have resulted in decreased production cannot be missed.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING

In a country suffering from unemployment and underemployment even the method of production should be such as to solve this great problem. Methods we have adopted so far of "increasing production" have invariably led to increased unemployment. What is known in Western countries as labour-saving devices can be better expressed as labour-displacing devices, or in other words, devices for creating unemployment. In resorting to these large-scale methods of production, the millowners have adversely affected the standard of living of the masses. Our famines are becoming perennial even at times when nature's contributions have been generous. Is this not an indication that with all this much talk of increasing the standard of living, we are really lowering the standard of existence?

Pandit Jawaharlal expresses the hope that the "industrial progress and the prosperity of the 400 million people are inter-related, that he does not want any industrial development if the 400 million people are going to be in a bad way, and that progress must bring progress to all the people and not to a few chosen ones." "We have to think of it in terms of the masses of this country." We invite the attention of Panditji to the facts of the case for increased production that have been stated above, and we would like him to consider whether we can increase production of the type he envisages by centralized methods of production in consumption goods. Let him take stock of the increased distress that has come to our land in the wake of our efforts put out in that direction in the past.

We are all one with Panditji when he wants to advance the cause of the masses and strives for the progress of the country. But we would submit

to him that this must be done scientifically, not merely to satisfy the greed for acquisition of wealth for a few. So far as we have seen, science has been harnessed not for production but for destruction. In the Interim Government the Finance Member the Hon ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has enunciated a sound proposition of social objectives and he has indicated to his colleagues how courage may be taken in both hands and how the cause of the masses of the people could be advanced. We trust this leadership will have its effect on the whole Government.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

#### JETTISONING OF THE BALLAST

The Madras Government dropped their pilot Prakasam not so long ago. Now comes the news that the items on his programme are being abandoned one by one. We are sorry to note that the Minister for Agriculture is throwing overboard certain of the schemes to procure and distribute food stuffs under the plea that these schemes have not the full consent and willing cooperation of the people and it is also decided not to proceed with the Estates and Revenue Bill which declared that the ryot was the owner of the soil and not the *zamindar*. Again under some plea or the other the programme for the introduction of producer-cum-consumer cooperative societies for dealing in food grains and other essential village articles are being abandoned in favour of the middleman. All these steps appear to us as definitely retrogressive. It looks as though the vested interests are asserting themselves. Has the Madras Ministry no social objective but that of drifting before the vocally strong?

While the Madras Ministry is giving reasons why it should abandon multi-purpose cooperative societies, their colleague Dr. K. N. Katju of the U. P. Government is giving strong reasons why he should push on with the same scheme on a much wider scale in every village so as to concentrate attention on better farming, dairying, spinning of yarn, and marketing of the articles produced. It is a strange sight that the so-called Congress Governments should be pulling in different directions in the different provinces. Naturally we are justified in our conclusion that the branches are not receiving sap from the same trunk and whims and fancies and local influence seem to carry the day.

If we are to serve the masses, such service can only be in one direction and requires the cooperative efforts of all concerned. Hence, we hope that the newly formed Constructive Programme Committee of the A. I. C. C. will provide the needed coordination unit for all the different provincial ministries. We have difficult oceans to cross and storms to weather. The ship of State with the Congress at its helm cannot afford to lose its ballast at the very commencement if we do mean to weather the storm that seems to be lowering heavily over us from all directions. Let us, therefore, read the signs of the times and prepare ourselves as a team to work for the people of the land. In such a programme alone lies the strength and safety of the Congress.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## ONE WORLD, ONE PROBLEM

Suffering unites the world in a queer way. It often tars the globe with one brush. Leprosy affords an illustration of this truth. All over the world there is the same neglect of the human needs of the leprosy patient and a superstitious dread of the disease. It is worth pondering why in a world of enlightenment and boasted progress, people should regard leprosy as they did thousands of years ago when the only surgeon known was the crude barber. Ignorance and prejudice perhaps account a great deal for the situation; but there is a deeper reason: man's failure in fellowship. The appeal of leprosy is essentially an appeal to the conscience of Man.

Below are given extracts from letters by correspondents living in countries where leprosy is a serious problem.

From Rizal, Philippines, writes Josephine Guerrero who, a patient herself, lives in the Novaliches Leprosarium "under the triple inspiration of great faith, great courage and great patriotism" trying to cheer up her less brave companions.

"The inside story of the life of the leper in the poor and sadly abandoned leper colony is too full of heartaches, misery and want. First, I want you to know that I am happy to suffer in God's love, for what joy can be greater? It would not be human, however, to tell you that I am never otherwise; nor would it be true. There are moments of unspeakable loneliness, of unexplained longings and yearnings in which one's heart is tried to the core. But I feel that our Lord desires this strange hidden life for me for reasons I shall never know until He calls me Home. So I have made no oblation and only ask that He may give grace and strength enough to follow His will. But my companions are not so easily led like children; I fear many are grown bitter or despairing, futile, helpless, depraved and hateful. The rest are simply apathetic or cynically indifferent. I desire so much to alleviate all this human misery, and wish to be able at least to instil once more the feeling of hope, and to make their lives once more wholesome and bright."

After describing the miserable want prevailing in the colony, this brave heroine writes

"Medicine: even that is not adequate. We have no laboratories here; we have no sufficient medical help, in short, this is not a hospital, it is a prison and the patients are classed not better than the criminals. They say the government is poor, yet it has funds for everything else. Why? Is it because the world has conspired against the leper? Because once a leper, always a leper? But I am being furious for nothing perhaps. I suppose the lot of the leper is simply like this. Or is it? Or should it be? I want to do something about it. The administration thinks the leper is cursed, that he is hopeless. Is the leper utterly to be blamed if he has learned to take the law in his own hands, has become rebellious, covetous and even repulsive? Living here I have learned that perhaps the blame does not lie wholly on the leper himself. Most of us are completely abandoned even by our families; the rest of us have no family."

Beryl A. Clarke writes from Virgin Islands U. S. A.

"Out here leprosy seems to be taken for granted. A few people are put in the colony and not much done. On that account I am afraid there is little to tell about the work done here."

Louis A. Moreno from Cuba writes:

"It is only in recent years that our problem has been seriously taken into consideration and the Government at present is attending to it. There are plans to build new dispensaries in other cities and large colonies in the central section of the Island. All this depends upon our Congress granting a special budget."

Joseph L. Hislop writes from Chacachare, Trinidad

"What I abhor most bitterly is the attitude adopted by the public towards the poor afflicted. Take a case in point where a young man was hounded down by a limb of the law and a doctor, as though he had committed some great crime and sent to the Leprosarium. He rallied with the disease and took treatment. He finally got paroled in three years. I say, this young man with a clean discharge certificate, duly signed by the leprologist as fit was no danger to the public. He went in search for work and got a job as an oiler on one of the Government-run trains. He did his work well and promotion came his way as fireman, until some one who knew that he was at one time a patient at the Leprosarium reported his case to the General Manager who in turn gave him a laid off ticket for an indefinite period. "Fired in smart"! He got another job and the same fate attended him. He again sought another, this time as a chauffeur to the manager of a theatre. He was doing well until some one again reported to the manager that he was at the leper settlement. When the boss heard that, he flew out of his car and asked the man to get out and paid him off on the spot, and in the haste of paying off this man two twenty dollar bills were mixed in the money. The man not wanting to be dishonest returned the overchange to the manager who refused it on the ground that he was a leper. The young man in his thirties could have stood the torture of the stigma no longer; he committed suicide by hanging himself in his room."

A. H. Pipe of Southern Rhodesia, Africa, writing of the resignation of Dr. B. Moiser O. B. E., writes:

"He left us in mid-April last, after having served here for seventeen years as the sole medical officer, and for most of that time without any European nursing staff and assistance; it was only in his last year that he had the help of a trained nursing sister and also of a welfare sister. This shortage of staff, and lack of response to his continued requests for assistance, together with more adequate accommodation and equipment, were the main reasons for his tendering his resignation." "Dr. Moiser practised the idea of voluntary treatment, with as much freedom, as possible, and was opposed to any form of force or coercion, believing that compulsion always defeated its own object by driving the disease underground. He holds that nowhere in the world can the compulsory system be shown to have stamped out or even

appreciably decreased the incidence of the disease, whereas where voluntary segregation and treatment are encouraged many more cases will and do come forward. In his practice here, the Doctor actually kept the law in the background, having agreed on this point with the Medical Director of that time when he was appointed. In actual fact, there is an Ordinance for "Leprosy Suppression" which is still on the Statute Books of S. Rhodesia, and which, of course, was in force all the time the Doctor was here. But like many another law in this and most other countries, it was administered "benevolently", and was only there if required in exceptional circumstances. Unfortunately, since the Doctor's departure, it has been decided, apparently, to apply the principles of compulsory segregation to Southern Rhodesia, and the position here is now that patients are compelled to come here and to remain here if they are residents or citizens of the Colony. In this respect, the practice now conforms to that of the neighbouring Union.

It must, however, be admitted that general living conditions here are still considerably better than those at Westfort Institution, near Pretoria. The few Europeans here still have each a separate house or cottage with their own garden, and each is self-contained, whilst the six hundred odd African patients are not herded within barbed-wire, prison-like compounds, as is the case at Pretoria. Admittedly, the native compounds here are old and have served their time and purpose, and require to be replaced by more modern dwellings, but this is a question of a long-term development policy for the Health Department to tackle, when material and labour can be found. The present native quarters consist of six compounds, or large villages, comprising "kimberly" (unburnt) brick and thatched huts, nominally for two patients, but actually, in many cases, owing to present lack of accommodation, having to house as many as four, and in one or two extreme cases, five."

Letters from abroad also speak of new sulphone drugs which promise to give better results than *chaulmoogra* oil. They write enthusiastically of "Hope for the almost hopeless", "Hope reborn" etc. But even a specific cannot alleviate the human misery caused by leprosy if ignorance and fear were not abolished, and if neglect of the leprosy patient was not replaced by intelligent human care. At present it is estimated that only less than five per cent of the world's leprosy patients get any reasonable care and medical treatment. If 95% of the patients do not yet get even the *chaulmoogra* oil, new drugs which are costly and demand administration under controlled conditions will continue for long to be of academic rather than of practical interest, especially in a country like India where the dumb millions of villagers are left without any medical care. Why talk of drugs and treatment if you can't take them to the poor man? And as Perry Burgess, the President of the American Leprosy Foundation asks, "Why cure a man of his disease if he is never permitted during the rest of his life, to leave the prison of public abhorrence

because of ignorance?" Let the clinician find a therapeutic agent. Let the bacteriologist culture the organism of leprosy. Let the investigator and field worker study leprosy in its environment. Let the welfare officer relieve the overburdened psychology and repair the damaged bodies and souls of the patient and restore him to something like a working life. But let each worker, whatever his particular field, be an energetic champion of the truth—the truth about leprosy which alone can release millions of patients from the age-old tyranny of ignorance, fear and prejudice. For leprosy speaks to us with an ancestral voice demanding from the enlightened today the redress of ancient wrongs.  
Kasturba Leprosy Work Centre,  
Kandachipuram  
13-4-'47

T. N. JAGADISAN

## A PROHIBITION ANTHOLOGY

[Continued from Vol. X, No. 43, Page 427]

(The author of 19 is the famous discoverer of vitamins, Sir Gowland Hopkins, O. M., ex-President of the Royal Society, Professor of Bio-chemistry, University of Cambridge. I take it from *Alcohol-drinking* by Dr. R. F. Rattray (Cambridge United Temperance Council). — V. G. D.]

19

"Alcohol is not a food. The argument that it has any food value at all is due to the fact that it is oxidized in the body. But citric and tartaric acids are also oxidized in the body, yet nobody would suggest that they are foods. The fact is that the oxidization of alcohol in the body is the result of the body's attempt to get rid of a poison. Alcohol is not a food capable of affording protection from the effects of cold.... One often meets with the implication that.... alcoholic beverages have a nutritional value apart from that supposed to belong to the alcohol they contain. Whisky and other spirits, of course, have none. The lighter wines contain mere traces of sugar, together with very small amounts of gum and glycerine, of negligible nutritive value. In order to obtain, at most, half an ounce of sugar, an intoxicating amount of most wines is required. Coming now to beer, I have, to say the truth, hardly patience to deal with the often suggested and sometimes vaunted nutritional value of that beverage. The claim, when not wholly insincere, is ridiculous. A pint of beer mostly sold today contains some carbohydrate material with a food value equal only to that of about one ounce of bread, but even this material is so much altered by fermentation that we do not know whether it has real value as food. In any case, the cost of an ounce of bread is a very small fraction of a penny, while that of a pint of beer is anything from five pence to eight pence. It is unfair, and even cruel that propaganda, subtle, suggestive and intensive, should endeavour to persuade the worker that his beer makes him more robust and increases the power of his muscles: thus tempting him to increased consumption and helping to salve his conscience when he knows that his expenditure is beyond his means." (*National Temperance Quarterly*)  
SIR GOWLAND HOPKINS



# MARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## RYOTS OR TENANTS

Many of the popular ministries have been attempting to regulate the relationship of the zamindar and the cultivator. Generally speaking, the zamindars are merely rentiers or absentee landlords. They have no immediate contact with the land, neither do they concern themselves with the actual cultivation of crops. The methods suggested to habilitate the cultivating farmer on his own land has often taken the form of either the government buying the land, compensating the zamindar and giving it to the cultivating ryot, or confiscation to the State of large estates and splitting them up into small private holdings.

It seems to us that it is not necessary in the first instance to confiscate the land nor would it seem essential to compensate the zamindar. The course that should be adopted would seem to be to place the cultivable lands in the villages to whomsoever they may belong under a system of balanced cultivation by which the requirements of the village for a balanced diet and other primary necessities will be produced in the required quantities. Under this scheme the land will be licensed for growing the products that are necessary to ensure the needs of a group of villages with a population of about 50,000. Such lands when licensed should be cultivated by the actual owner. If any of the lands so licensed remain uncultivated for a period of 2 or 3 years without adequate reason, such lands should revert to the State and the State can then redistribute those lands amongst the villagers who are willing to utilize the land to produce commodities according to plan for balanced cultivation.

This method would ensure that no land lies idle and at the same time it would also, in the course of a few years, bring back the holdings from absentee landlords to the cultivating peasants and ensure that commodities are forthcoming to meet the needs of the people and that land is not allowed to lie uncultivated merely because of absentee landlordism.

Legislation in regard to this might not meet with much opposition as attempts to confiscate lands might. The latter savours of violence, while the former is *ahimsa*. We commend this suggestion to those provinces which are seriously thinking of meeting the shortage in commodities by increased production.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## BLOWING HOT AND COLD

The present ministry at Madras is dropping one by one the progressive items on the programme of the Prakasam Ministry. The following communique has been issued on their present textile policy:

"In April 1946, the Government of India allotted 352,000 (200,000 coarse and 152,000 fine) spindles to this province under the post-war Development Plan. These spindles were allotted on the recommendations of this Government to nine existing mills and 25 new mills to be started in this province. The Government of India also sanctioned the issue of capital and granted import licences in all these cases. The promoters of the several mills have proceeded with the construction of the necessary buildings, invited and collected share capital and placed orders for the machinery. These mills are at present in various stages of development.

"When subsequently the Government of Madras launched a scheme for encouraging hand-spinning and hand-weaving in the province, they considered that the expansion of the mill industry might impede the progress of the *Khandi* Scheme. They, therefore, revised their policy in regard to the textile mill industry and surrendered to the Government of India the spindles already allotted to this province. The managements of the mills who had secured allotments of spindles were informed accordingly.

"The Government of India, however, did not agree to the cancellation of the allotments already made on the ground that it would amount to a breach of faith on their part and involve them in litigation. This Government urged the Government of India to reconsider their decision, but the Government of India only reiterated the view that they had taken. In view of this attitude of the Government of India, this Government have anxiously studied the whole question and feel that both for moral and legal reasons they should not insist on the surrender of the spindles allotted to this province. They have accordingly decided to withdraw the surrender of spindles already offered by the Government of India.

"The Government wish to make it perfectly clear in this context that the acceptance of the quota of spindles allotted to this province does not mean any departure from their *Khandi* Scheme, the intensive part of which has already been introduced in 7 selected *firkas* and the extensive part of which is proposed to be introduced shortly in 27

*Arkas.* The scheme which has been formulated in consultation with the All-India Spinners' Association will be pursued vigorously and it will give effect to the resolutions passed by that body at Delhi, on 9th October, 1946."

One would like to know what are the moral and legal reasons which have compelled them to take a step advantageous to the vested interests. An appeal to higher values is always commendable but the validity of such an appeal should be made clear.

In this particular instance presumably the moral reason is the sanctity of a promise made by a Government to a citizen. If the fulfilment of such a promise would militate against the welfare of the public, it should be the duty of the State to retract its hasty word and if needed compensate the loss the citizen concerned might have been put to. After all, the considerations in these cases are purely material and, financial at that. No millowner is running a mill for his spiritual uplift or for the purity of his soul! Hence his loss can easily be made good. Such a course should also satisfy any legal requirements. Even if there be other legal obstacles, such, not arising out of the immutable laws of the Medes and the Persians, nor being written on tablets brought down from heaven, but being only man-made regulations, are to be changed to suit the varying needs of everyday life.

Besides, the Government of India Act of 1935, under which it is claimed that the regulation of Textile Mills comes under the purview of the Central Government, will be a dead letter next year when the British quit India. The Textile Policy is a long term consideration. An Act that is to be effaced from the statute book in a few months ought not to be allowed to influence our future plans.

The reasons given in the communique, therefore, are not convincing. It blows hot and cold in the same breath in advocating the *khadi* programme while at the same time promoting new mills and enlarging the existing ones. These two schemes cannot flourish side by side. If the Ministry wishes to toe the mill-owners' line, they should do so openly and whole-heartedly and not resort to subterfuges.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

#### BOOKS

By J. C. Kumarappa

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#### NOTES

##### More "Progress"

We had pointed out in an earlier issue that destruction of nature's supply of food values in our country is an unpardonable crime. In America they destroy potatoes, coffee, etc. to keep up prices. We condemn that and yet we plump for sugar mills which do just the same. White sugar is pure energy like charcoal. This is obtained after removing all nutritive elements from the cane-juice to provide profits to the sugar millowners.

We understand the Central Government has agreed to the setting up of five new sugar mills in Bengal, each mill to have a daily crushing capacity of 600 tons.

When shall we learn to look at things with human interests instead of seeking financial gains?

##### Will it Bring Peace?

With 7000 tons of high explosives the fortifications of Heligoland were blown up. When the Great Fire of London destroyed its congested, dingy streets, London emerged as a healthier and finer city. Will this blowing up of old fortifications not be an opportunity for the unsuppressible Germans to build better and more up-to-date defences and use them for the future offensive?

This method of approach to ensure peace is short-sighted and treats the symptom rather than the disease. The cause lies deeper in the economic organization based on greed. If we are to assure the world freedom from periodic upheavals, we ought to set right our daily mode of life. Unless we attack the problem at this end it will never be solved.

##### Nai Talim Teacher Training

Training centres for Basic Education Teachers have been running in several places. The report of the Mysore State centre located at the Gurukula Ashram, under the Principalship of Sri Rajasekharan Gundappa has been received. Twentyone, including six women, underwent the ten months' course. There was a practising school of 24 children.

The successful teachers will be distributed in about ten Basic Schools to be established in the State.

Swami Vishwanandaji of the Gurukula Ashram had been a source of help and counsel to this centre.

In this transitional stage, many such camps are needed to equip the existing teachers of ordinary schools with the requirements of Basic Schools.

J. C. K.



## A JAIN MERCHANT'S SENSE OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

There was a fine city in Kachchha (Cutch) called Bhadrashvar

अस्तीह मवेश्वरनामधेयं पुरं वरं कच्छकुनैकशोभनम् ॥

सर्वानन्दसुरि-जगद्भरित ॥ २-१ ॥

Her temple bells rung by pious pilgrims day and night were a thorn in the side of the devil (Kali)

नक्तं दिवं दैवतमन्दिरेषु घण्टारवादिनिमुष्य वालीत् ॥ २-३ ॥

Her young men were so robust and handsome that it seemed as if Kama (Cupid) had assumed thousands of forms in order to achieve a final victory over Shiva.

महेश्वरस्यैव कामधकार रूपानि सहस्रशोऽपि ।

यत्राद्भुतकारविशेषभावाद्दम्भेन रज्जत्तणवजानाम् ॥ २-६ ॥

Her young women sang the sweetest of songs on moon-lit nights so that the moon had great difficulty in preventing his music-intoxicated deer from lingering over her sky-scraping mansions,

निशासु सौधोपरिसंस्थितानां मृगीदृशां यत्र च बाह्यानाम् ।

आकर्णयन्त स्वसृगं सुषोड्यताय कृच्छ्रात्तरयावभूव ॥ २-८ ॥

In Bhadrashvar there lived a number of Shrimali Vaniks (Banias) who claimed their origin from the garland (mala) of the mother of the Universe (Shri). Their leader was a merchant named Jagadu (= Jagat-deva?) who amassed immense wealth by trading with foreign countries. He visited the sacred places of Jainism such as Shatrunjaya and Girnar at the head of a large body of fellow-pilgrims (sangha)

असङ्ख्यसङ्गलोकेन सम यात्रो विधाय सः ।

सङ्घजन्यै रैवतकं प्राप बाल्यपुरं वरम् ॥ ६-३१ ॥

The dust raised by the Sanghapati's horses, elephants and chariots reached the sky and the bank of the celestial Ganges was converted into mud, through which the horses of the sun could hardly drag his chariot

तथा च शुनरीतीरे सङ्घं पङ्क्तौ रजः ।

यथात्र ममसर्काश्च स्यमूहः कथञ्चन ॥ ६-३८ ॥

He erected temples of course but he also erected a mosque, as he owed his wealth to Muslims as well as to others.

मसीति कारयामास पीमलीसङ्गिनामसौ ।

भद्रेश्वरपुरे म्लेच्छलङ्घीकारणतः खलु ॥ ६-६४ ॥

Jagadu had fresh water wells sunk in every town or village that he visited.

शनशः कारयामास प्राये प्राये पुरे पुरे ।

सुधास्वादुजला वापीर्जगद्भः क्षितिभूषणम् ॥ ६-६५ ॥

One day in Samvat 1312 Paramadevasuri, the Jain monk, said to Jagadu, "Beloved of the gods, possession of the wealth implies social responsibility and difficult times are ahead of us, when you will have a splendid opportunity of discharging that responsibility and of serving all living beings out of love for whom Mahavir Swami renounced everything that men hold dear. After 1312 the current year has expired, there will be a famine for a period of three years.

त्रैन्द्राग्निचन्द्रवर्षेषु व्यतीतेष्वथ विक्रमात् ।

दुर्मिक्षं सर्वदेशेषु भावि वर्षत्रयावधि ॥ ६-६८ ॥

"You therefore please send your agents into every nook and corner of the land, and through them store every grain of corn that is available in the markets of the country.

प्रेष्यान्त्रिलेषु देशेषु विद्वधानात्मपूषणम् ।

सर्वेयामपि धान्यानां स्वं तैः कार्यं संग्रहम् ॥ ६-६९ ॥

"And when famine comes you place these stores at the people's feet and thus earn fame white as the waves of the sea of milk."

क्षारोद्दीप्तिचिचिमलं त्वमर्थं यशोभरम् ।

धमप्रजगतीलोकसजीवननिदानतः ॥ ६-७० ॥

Jagadu thus collected large stocks of grain, and when famine occurred, he distributed them among the needy and the distressed.

प्रचक्रमे कणान्दातुमर्थं सोलतनूभवः

दुर्मिक्षपीड्यमानायै जन्तुतयै कृपालिधिः ॥ ६-७६ ॥

After two years of famine, even the Chalukya Raja Visaldeva of Gujarat felt the pinch, invited Jagadu to his court and asked him for food grains, as he had heard that Jagadu still had 700 godowns full of corn.

सप्तान्न कणकोष्ठौकः शलानि तव निधितम् ।

धृत्वा मया त्वसादृतः साम्प्रतं कणकाङ्क्षिणा ॥ ६-८४ ॥

Jagadu said, "My lord, I do not own a single grain of corn anywhere.

मूचे नाथ न सन्त्यत्र भयं क्वापि कणाः खलु ॥ ६-८५ ॥

"If you doubt my word, have a look at the copper-plates inscribed and preserved in bricks in the store-rooms".

मद्वाक्ये यदि सन्देहः कणकोष्ठेषु तेष्वपि ।

अिष्टकान्तःस्थ सप्तान्नपत्रवर्णान् विलोक्य ॥ ६-८६ ॥

Visaldeva inspected the plates which carried the following inscription

जगद्भः कल्पयामास रक्षार्थं हि कणानमून् ॥ ६-८८ ॥

"Jagadu dedicated these food grains to the service of the poor".

"So my lord," said Jagadu to Visaldeva, "if any person dies of starvation, I would be guilty of having murdered him

तन्मे पापं म्रियन्ते चेज्जना दुर्मिक्षपीडिता ॥ ६-८९ ॥

He then gave 8000 bags of grain to Visaldeva for distribution to the poor.

ददावष्टमहस्राणि स तस्मै कणमूढकान् ।

धोमालान्वयकोटीरखिधा वीरत्वमाश्रितः ॥ ६-९० ॥

He similarly assisted the Rajas of Sindh, Ujjain, Delhi, Benares and Skandhila (?). He organized 112 danashalas (food-distribution centres).

द्वादशान्वयिकं दानशालाशतमुदारधीः ।

जगद्भः सुकृताधारो जगज्जीवानुरातनोत् ॥ ६-९३० ॥

He also placed gold coins inside sweet balls (ladus) and sent them at night to respectable people who would rather starve to death than beg

स्वर्णदीनारसंयुक्तान् लज्जापिण्डान् स कोटिशः ।

निशायामर्पयामास कुलीनाय जनाय च ॥ ६-९३१ ॥

He thus distributed 9,99,000 bags of grain and spent 18 crores of rupees during the famine.

नवनवति सहस्रयुताश्रव लक्षान् धान्यमूढकानां सः ।

अष्टादशरैकोटीरधिभ्योऽदत्त दुःसमये ॥ ६-९३२ ॥

# HARIJAN

May 11

1947

## CONTROLS

Speaking at the Convocation of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, the Hon'ble Shri C. Rajagopalachari stated: "Life is now so developed and so complicated that I am fairly convinced that almost all controls will continue to exist in this world." He added that "controls will not be a temporary but a permanent affair." To an ordinary mortal this seems a paradox.

Though the war has been inactive for nearly two years, yet war conditions still prevail in the country in regard to articles of prime necessities. No doubt the scarcity in commodities has called for regulations of some kind to ensure a certain measure of social justice. Rationing is still with us. Black marketing is running rampant. Profiteering seems to be flourishing and the Government is busy with controls. To an onlooker there seems to be something "wrong in the State of Denmark" What that is, many people are not able to tell.

The mechanism of price has as its main spring the law of supply and demand. Therefore, any control of commodities and their prices must take the form of regulating the supply and demand. Rationing attempts to regulate the demand but there is a complete absence of any attempt to regulate supply. The present method adopted by the Government to control the prices is like setting the clock going by constantly turning the minute hand. What we want is to set the mechanism in order and the clock ought to work on its own. This artificial regulation of prices has been largely responsible for black marketing. The prices have to be regulated automatically, not by a fiat of the Government. The Government has been playing King Canute trying to stop the rising tide of black markets and profiteering; but the method adopted has been a total failure. In fact, great many of the dealers in commodities desire to have the controls on a permanent basis because it provides them the opportunity for black marketing. Corruption in high places has also been interested in perpetuating controls. It is high time that these matters are set right by the popular ministries now functioning.

If we wish to avoid black marketing and control the supply and demand in the natural way, rationing will take care of the demand but the supply side has to be regulated in the normal way not by merely setting up the prices artificially but by controlling the supply. The Government can do this by stocking a fair amount of articles that are sought to be controlled and holding them in reserve to be sold at fixed, regulated prices, in case the stockists are in the market attempting to sell their articles at a higher price. Of course, Government will not enter into the market as a seller until the merchants themselves by their actions invite

the Government to take drastic steps. The Government stocks will be held in godowns merely as a stand-by, watching to see that the merchants do not advance the price unduly. The moment the market prices tend to go up, the Government godowns will be opened and the stock dumped on the market to bring down the prices. The Government holdings need not be more than 10 to 15 per cent of the stock required to be able to effectively affect the market.

This is not a novel measure. It has been tried out successfully in the working of the Bihar Central Relief Committee under private agencies without the aid of law or other government powers - basing our appeal purely on persuasion. Again, in finance, this is the method adopted by the central banks to regulate interest rates which are but market prices for money. For some unknown reason the Government has not followed this well-tried path but have taken to the King Canute method of fixing prices arbitrarily and by so doing driving the commodities underground. It is not too late even now for the governments to change over and gradually decontrol the commodities as the market assumes normal conditions. We trust our governments will take immediate steps to relieve the distress the people are suffering from because of the present methods of control.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## GANDHIJI'S BIHAR TOUR DIARY

21-4-'47

This is the translation of Gandhiji's written speech, it being his silence even at the time of the prayer speech.

This evening, too, I must speak to you about *khadi*. The secret lies in hand-spun yarn. From days of yore, spinning had been woman's speciality. Poor soul, she was the slave and man the master who was to pay her the wage that was her due. During the middle ages she had to spin perforce for a mere pittance.

Except for Assam, weaving was considered man's occupation. Hence there is life left in hand-weaving. But there is no room for doubt that it is doomed to extinction if hand-spinning is not revived in all the glory that by right belongs to it. Thus if men and women will not take to hand-spinning as a sacred duty, that is, the same person will not do carding, spinning and spinning, there is little hope for *khadi*. I am not thinking of *khadi*-wear as a fashion. *Khadi* of my conception is that hand-spun which takes the place entirely in India of mill-cloth. It is beyond my power to give an adequate description of the power that this *khadi* would give to the whole of India.

Such *khadi* must remain a dream if the men of India in their millions will not spin if only by way of penance, for the sin they have committed against the women and the women will not do so as a sacred duty. That yarn which may have to be spun for wages will have to bear the same rate per hour that is paid to men for labour. There can be no inequality in wages between the sexes. Lordship

of men over women must cease. The days of this lordship are over. That we do not make this admission is a different thing. It cannot arrest the march of events. God has made of man and woman one complete whole. In the scheme of nature both are equal. It has been the object of *khadi* to verify this maxim of sex equality. The Spinners' Association has not yet succeeded, but the effort is in that direction. Time is coming when a millowner's wife will become a true devotee of *khadi*. Then *khadi* will be supreme to the exclusion of mill cloth in India. May you, women of Bihar make the mighty effort to bring to an early fruition that happy day.

22-4-47

After the prayer Gandhiji dealt with the work of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh which was having its sittings for two days. He reminded the audience that the Congress had issued a charter to the Sangh and therefore one would expect that in matters of education the Congress would fall back upon its experts and be guided by them. He could not go into the reasons for the anomaly. He merely pointed it out. Dr. Zakir Hussain was its President. He was a great educationist and was the soul of the Jamia Milia. He was assisted by Shri Aryanayakam and his devoted wife Asha Devi, both of them educationists. It had entered upon its eighth year of existence. It was called the new method of education for it was not a foreign importation or imposition but was consistent with the environment in India which was predominantly made up of villages. It believed in establishing an equilibrium between the body, the mind and the spirit of which man was made. It was unlike the Western type which was predominantly militarist in which the mind and the body were the primary care of education to the subordination of the spirit. This was best done when education was given through handicrafts. The other speciality was that it was designed to be wholly self-supporting. It did not, therefore, demand an expenditure of millions on education. He hoped next evening to expand the idea underlying self-supporting education.

Expressing himself strongly in favour of the use of Hindustani by Indians as against English, in the course of his speech Gandhiji stated that he had deliberately signed his name in the joint appeal (recently issued over the signatures of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah and Gandhiji) in Hindi and Urdu.

Lord Louis Mountbatten, he added, did not mind this departure from the usual practice on his (Gandhiji's) part because the Viceroy knew that the Britishers would have to quit India shortly.

23-4-47

According to his promise given the previous evening, Gandhiji dealt again with *Nai Tam*, which, he said, was life-giving, whereas education given by the foreign Government was necessarily life-destroying. The latter drained India's wealth, it impoverished its languages and made of us practically slaves. *Nai Tam* covered the whole life. Experience had shown that it had great possibilities and began with the embryo and ended with life itself. It gave new life to all men and women of India. Except for capital

expenditure it cost nothing. The teachers earned what they took. It stood for the art of living. Therefore, both the teacher and the pupil had to produce in the very act of teaching and learning. It enriched life from the commencement. It made the nation independent of search for employment. Whereas the annual income per head was only rupees sixty *Nai Tam* progressively increased the income.

The villagers would then not be satisfied with mere *sattu* and dirty salt for food and rags for clothing. They would have balanced food including milk, fruit and vegetables which they would produce themselves and wear spotless *khadi* which they would spin and weave themselves. Such was the promise of *Nai Tam*. Its fulfilment depended upon the will and exertion of every citizen of Free India. Without willing support from the citizens, the governments could do nothing and the governments which did not produce the simple facilities required for the whole task were not worth the salt they ate.

24-4-47

Gandhiji referred to the meetings he had with Harijan *sewaks* and *sewkas* and *khadi* workers. With reference to the former he said that mere touch by the so-called *savarna* Hindus did not mean the removal of untouchability. Society had made very considerable progress since 1920 both among the touchables and the untouchables. There would be no rest until all distinctions between touchables and untouchables were abolished. It would not do for women to be horrified when they saw Harijan girls moving among them on terms of perfect equality. The popular ministers owed it to society that they undertook all ameliorative measures and brought in legislation without delay. Seeing that the meetings of the Charkha Sangh Trustees and the Talimi Sangh were held, he hoped that Bihar would lead the way by being first in restoration of her previous relations between the Hindus and the Muslims, giving *khadi* its rightful place and establishing *Nai Tam* in the manner he had suggested.

25-4-47

Gandhiji having heard that some Hindus were whispering to one another that Muslims being beef-eaters were the natural enemies of Hinduism and were, therefore, fit to be destroyed. Gandhiji, therefore, devoted his remarks to the topic of cow-protection. He said that nearly forty years ago he wrote about it in *Hind Swaraj* in South Africa. He was from his childhood a devotee of the cow. He believed her to be the natural mother of prosperity. But he had expressed the opinion in *Hind Swaraj* that cow-protection societies were destroyers of the cow and not her protectors. To this view he adhered even today. True devotion to the cow required broad-mindedness and an accurate knowledge of the art and science concerning the protection of the cow. In no country on the earth were the cow and her progeny so ill-treated as in India which, strangely enough, was the only country where the cow was venerated. Their veneration, however, consisted of mere words and deadly quarrel with the Muslims over cow-killing. The very Hindus who quarrelled with the Muslims

because they slaughtered the cow for the beef she gave were not ashamed to accept the mastery of the English who were known to be beef-eaters in a sense in which the Muslims never were. He had no quarrel with the Englishmen because they ate beef and as such he had none with the Muslims either. He was concerned with showing the great inconsistency of the Hindus who for the sake of money gladly served their English masters and quarrelled with the Muslims. Then they forgot that there were Hindus who gladly partook of beef. He had known orthodox *vaishnavas* who ate beef-extract when it was prescribed by their doctors. He reminded the audience of the fact that during the Khilafat days thousands of cows were saved from the Muslim knife. The late Maulana Abdul Bari used to say that if the Hindus helped the Muslims to save the Khilafat, the Muslims were bound to save the cow for the sake of the Hindus. From every point of view, therefore, he held that it was insensate on the part of the Hindus to be angry with their Muslim brethren because they ate beef and slaughtered cows. He quoted numerous instances to show the utterly inconsistent behaviour of the Hindus in this matter. He therefore, asked the Hindus to put their own house in order before it tottered to its ruin.

26-4-'47

There was no prayer speech on this day as Gandhiji had to attend the meeting of the Jamiat-e-Islam.

27-4-'47

Addressing the gathering after prayer Gandhiji referred to his visit the previous evening to the meeting of the Jamiat-e-Islam. He was told that its members were truly servants of God, austere and simple in their habits, with a message of self-purification and self-realization for the Musalmans. Religion was sustained never by the sword but always by men of God. But they should be so not merely in name but by their conduct. The audience had gladly allowed him to go to these friends. If, however, there were some who thought that he was uselessly pandering to the Muslims by giving them undue importance, he would say that it was pride that dictated such foolishness. Such pride ill-became the votaries of Rama about whom the evening's *bhajan* had been sung.

The Muslims formed only 14 per cent of the population. It became his duty, therefore, as a member of the majority community to go to them in all humility whenever they invited him.

The song that had been sung at the prayer taught that only Rama (God, Allah or by whatever name one might call Him) was the true object of worship. He was not won over by offerings, except the offering of noble conduct.

Universal love became incumbent on Rama-devotees. That was the only way in which Hinduism or for that matter any religion could survive. Hinduism or any religion that departed from this straight path was doomed to destruction.

28-4-'47

The following is the English version of the written speech of Gandhiji, read before the prayer gathering it being his day of silence.

I am sorry to let you know that I shall have to go to Delhi again, by the morning train on the 30th. There is a call from Pandit Nehru. Rastrapati Kripalani has also sent a telegram from Rajputana that I should be in Delhi by the first May, as the Congress Working Committee meets on that day. It pains me to leave you at this stage. I do not relish the idea of leaving Bihar unless the Musalmans have completely shed their fear and both the communities allow me to leave with a clear conscience. I felt the same when I left Noakhali. For both these places I have the same motto before me, *Do or Die*. My non-violence bids me dedicate myself to the service of the minorities. It would be like a new birth and give me additional strength if the Hindus and the Musalmans of both these places began to live at peace with each other and shed their animosity. God knows what will come out of this travail. Man can only try and perish in the attempt. God is all in all. We are only zeroes. The same mission takes me to Delhi. I hope to return within a short time and resume duty.

You may be astonished to learn that I continue to receive letters charging me that I have compromised the interests of the Hindus by acting as a friend of the Muslims. How can I convince people by mere words if the sixty years of my public life have failed to demonstrate that by trying to befriend the Muslims I have only proved myself a true Hindu and have rightly served the Hindus and Hinduism? The essence of true religious teaching is that one should serve and befriend all. I learnt this in my mother's lap. You may refuse to call me a Hindu. I know no defence except to quote a line from Iqbal's famous song: *Majhab nahin sikhata apasmen ber rakhna* (मजहब नहीं सिखाता आपसमें बैर रक्खना) meaning religion does not teach us to bear ill-will towards one another. It is easy enough to be friendly to one's friends. But to befriend the one who regards himself as your enemy, is the quintessence of true religion. The other is mere business.

29-4-'47

Referring to his brief visit to Delhi for which he would leave the next morning, Gandhiji requested the people not to crowd at the station. It would be a true mark of affection if they abstained from interrupting his rest or work by their shouts which he could ill bear at his age.

Before departing, continued the speaker, he would like to share with them the letter of Major General Shah Nawaz who was helping the Bihar Government in its rehabilitation work in Masaurhi.

"Rehabilitation work is making a steady and satisfactory progress. I feel that a very definite change is coming about in the outlook of the Hindu population of the area. As instances I will give three cases:

"1. In village Atarpura, we had a meeting and appointed a village *Panchayat*, two days afterwards the head of the *Panchayat* came to Patna, met all the refugees in various camps and assured them that they would welcome them back to their village and that they would guard them even with their lives.

"As a result of this nearly fifty Muslim families have returned to the village and are living there very happily. There is no police force stationed there, nor have they asked for any

"When I sent rations there, the Hindus refused to accept them, saying that the Muslims were their guests and that they would make suitable arrangements for their feeding, harvesting of their crops etc.

"2. In the second case one Muslim of village Bir came to me and informed me that he wished to go back to his village. This was his first chance to go back after the riots. He was crying and was very much frightened to go alone. I gave him my car and sent two I. N. A. soldiers to accompany him. On the way he met a Hindu member of the Bir village *Panchayat* who stopped the car and talked to this Muslim and asked him why he was taking soldiers with him. The Muslim informed him that he was frightened. The Hindu friend then told him that it would be a matter of shame for the whole village if after Gandhiji's assurances it was still necessary to take an escort with him; he also assured the Muslim that he would get killed before any harm came to him (the Muslim).

"The Muslim gentleman, thereupon, returned to me saying that now he no longer required an escort as he was feeling quite safe.

"3. In Masaurhi most of I. N. A. soldiers are Hindus or Sikhs and are doing excellent work. Outstanding among them is one Lieutenant Kartar Singh who himself carries the beddings of the refugees from the station to their homes, and at night he patrols round their houses. Every morning he takes buckets full of milk to the mosque where he personally distributes it to all the children and sick persons.

"About three days ago when a Muslim refugee died Lieutenant Kartar Singh himself dug the grave for his body. All the Muslims are now very fond of him. They invite him to attend their meetings in the mosque."

General Shah Nawaz's report made Gandhiji feel that if the Hindus were true and really befriended the Muslims the present all-enveloping fire would be extinguished. When it was burning all round they did not attempt to extinguish it at all places. They made a determined attack on the spot immediately before them, and the whole fire came under control. Bihar was not a small province and if the Hindus and the Muslims of Bihar became true to themselves and the latter shed all fear, the speaker had no doubt that what he heard was going on in Calcutta or elsewhere would dissolve.

## ANOTHER DELHI INTERLUDE

1-5-'47

There was complete silence during the prayer meeting today evening and Gandhiji congratulated the audience on the exemplary attitude displayed by them.

Speaking after the prayer, Gandhiji referred to the absence of noise at the railway stations when he went back from Delhi to Patna and felt that the effect of the quiet attitude of the crowds at the prayer meetings in Delhi was reflected throughout his journey back to Patna except when he approached Bihar. This time, however, the lesson was forgotten and he had to suffer loud acclamations of the crowd who evidently forgot that the speaker was ill able to bear great noises. He hoped however, that Congress workers throughout would instil the lesson of discipline into the crowds.

Gandhiji then referred to the violence that was taking place in the Frontier Province, in the Punjab and in other places. The audience might well ask, he said, why in spite of the joint appeal by Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah and himself for peace in the country and the declaration in the appeal that use of force should be eschewed for all time for gaining political ends, the appeal seemed to have been entirely defeated in practice.

In his opinion, the honour, both of the Viceroy who was instrumental in bringing about the joint appeal and of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah was involved in the failure of the appeal. He held that it was not open to Jinnah Sahib to plead that his followers did not listen to his (Jinnah Sahib's) appeal. That would be cutting the whole ground from under his feet because he was the undisputed President of the All India Muslim League which claimed to represent the vast bulk of the Muslim population of India. Where was the authority of the League, if the Muslims resorted to violence for gaining the political aim which was summed up in the word Pakistan? Was the British Government to yield to the force of arms rather than the force of reason?

The speaker had expressed his doubts as to the wisdom of issuing the joint appeal unless it was certain that it meant for both the signatories all that the words thereof conveyed.

2-5-'47

The prayer meeting began today as usual. When the verses from the *Quran* were being recited a member of the audience objected to the recitation. He was arrested by the policeman but Gandhiji immediately stopped the prayer, and requested the policeman who had arrested him to set him free.

He would be ashamed to pray he said, where a man had been arrested for doing what he had done. He would leave the place, he said only if he were requested to do so by the *meh tars*. He would not wait even to consult the trustees as they were after all the trustees of the *meh tars*.

Shri L. G. Thatte, General Secretary of the Anti-Pakistan Front was arrested today outside the Vaituki Temple just before Gandhiji came out for the evening prayers.

Earlier in the day Shri Thatte had sent a letter to Gandhiji informing him of his intention to object to the recitation of the verses from the *Quran* at the prayer.

Another person was arrested a little later when he took exception to the recitation of Quranic verses during the prayers and shouted *Hindu Dharmak* *far*; Gandhiji then discontinued the prayers.

Gandhiji requested the police to set the man free as it put him (Gandhiji) to shame if anybody was arrested for objecting to what he did.

Gandhiji deplored such narrow-mindedness on the part of the people. Mere shouting of slogans would not carry Hinduism anywhere, he said. He was at a loss to understand why some Hindus objected to his reading the Quran verses in his prayer. If at places the Muslims had not behaved as they should, then it did not mean that the Hindus should retaliate by opposing the reading of the Quran.

The verse from the Quran that was being recited Gandhiji said, was a mighty prayer in praise of God. How did it harm the Hindu religion if the prayer was recited in the Arabic language? He who said so knew neither his religion nor his duty. That prayer could also be recited in a temple.

He had been told by a friend that a prayer with the same meaning was also found in the *Yajurveda*. Those who had studied the Hindu scriptures knew that among the 108 *Upanishads* there was one called the *Allopanishad*. Did not the man who wrote it know his religion? It was said that Guru Nanak himself went to Arabia in search of truth during his religious wanderings.

No religion in the world, Gandhiji continued, could live without self-suffering. A faith gained in strength only when people were willing to lay down their lives for it. The tree of life had to be watered with the blood of martyrs, who laid down their lives without killing their opponents or intending any harm to them. That was the root of Hinduism and of all other religions.

The scene that they witnessed, Gandhiji went on to say, was a symptom of the disease that had got hold of India. Intolerance, impatience and retaliation were in the air. They were thinking even of universal conscription. God forbid that India should ever become a military nation, which would be a menace to the peace of the world and yet if things went on as they were doing what hope was there for India and, therefore, for the world? Was Pakistan to be seized by terrorism such as they seemed to be witnessing in the Frontier Province, in the Punjab, in Sindh and elsewhere?

People had suggested that every thing would be alright and non-Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces would be put on absolute equality with the Muslims if not specially favoured as against them. He suggested that it was an impossible dream. If the Muslims were taught otherwise while Pakistan was not established they could not be expected to behave better after Pakistan had become a settled fact. It was up to the Qaid-e-Azam and his lieutenants to inspire trust in the minds of the minorities in the provinces or parts, which were

designed for Pakistan. Then there would no longer be fear of Pakistan-cum-partition.

3-5-47

Addressing today's prayer meeting Gandhiji said that it was wholly wrong to distrust or attribute dishonest motives to the Viceroy unless he was proved to be unworthy of their confidence and appealed to all journalists to play the game at this delicate stage.

Gandhiji again reminded the audience of the woeful state of India today. All eyes were turned on her—in particular those of Asia and Africa. He had sensed that at the Asian Conference, Japan had failed to give the right lead by following the path of imperialism and where was she today? he asked. India had won a moral victory over Britain because she had fought non-violently and that was why the Asian countries hoped for proper guidance from her. It was the duty of every Indian not to belie these hopes.

If Asia and Africa had the right lead given to them by India, it would, Gandhiji said, change the face of the world. Just as water became muddy on the surface when the flood here in the shape of liberty came, but flowed clear and peaceful after the flood, so he hoped would the present communal strife cease and all the scum fade away.

He then complained of the attempted disclosures today in a leading newspaper of Delhi purporting to disclose the decisions of the Viceroy and the decisions of the Congress Working Committee. He said that to act in such a manner was to lower the standards of journalism. Having been himself a journalist of many years' standing he could speak with authority on what the traditions of good journalism should be. Whatever was in the Viceroy's heart was his business to disclose. Whatever decisions were taken by the Congress Working Committee were for its President or Secretary to give to the press. It was hitting below the belt for newspapers to take such tit-bits as they picked up from here, there and everywhere and dish them up for the purpose of creating sensation. That misled the public and harmed the cause. It was wrong to follow the bad example of some foreign newspapers. Indian journalists should not imitate bad manners for the sake of increasing sale or getting notoriety for scoops.

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## ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## INSTALMENT — XIX

## ENGLISH

## HINDUSTANI

- Corker** *n.* ایسی بات (خاسکر مٹ) جسکے बाद اور کھنے  
چوننےکی چوڑائی نہ رہے; ڈھلا مٹ  
ایسی بات (خاص کر جھوٹ) جس کے بعد اور کہنے سے کسی کی گنجائش  
نہ رہے! کھلا جھوٹ
- Cormorant** *n.* ماسیخوہر, ماسیخوہر (پانیکی چھینچا); ساجو  
ماسی خور, ماسی گیر (پانی کی جڑا) کھاؤ
- Corn** *n.* دانا, اناج, غلات, اناج, جوار, سکاہری, مٹا, گاجر  
دانا, اناج, قندہ, جوار, مکتی, گٹا, گوکھرو
- Cornea** *n.* آنکھکے ڈھلکے پردہ  
آنکھ کے پردے کا پردہ
- Cornelian** *n.* اکنک, آگنی پتھر  
عقیق, آگنی پتھر
- Corner** *n.* کونا, موڑ, ٹکڑی  
کونا, موڑ, ٹکڑی
- Corner, turn the** *v.* हालت, سوچنا, سمجھنا, سوچنے  
حالت سدھارنا, مشکل سے نکل جانا
- Corner stone** سونےکی آئینہ, کانیا پتھر  
پیر کی اینٹ, کونیا پتھر
- Corner, drive into a** *v.* کونےمیں ڈکھلانا, ایسا پھر لےنا  
کونےمیں ڈکھلانا, ایسا پھر لےنا
- Corner, put (child) in a** *v.* بچےکو کونےمیں رکھنا  
بچے کو کونے میں رکھنا (بچے کو ڈرانا)
- Corner** *v.* پھرنے, کھاننا, کھانا, سوچنے  
کھانا, کھانا, کھانا, سوچنے
- Cornet** *n.* بانسری, تुरہی  
بانسری, تुरہی
- Cornice** *n.* کمر, کمر, کمر  
کمر, کمر, کمر
- Corniform** *adj.* سونےکی طرح, سونے  
سونے کی طرح, سونے
- Cornucopia** *n.* बहुतायतका सींग (कनो देव याथाका सींग जो  
फूल, फल, अनाज, परीयसे भरा रहता था), सींगकी शकलका  
वस्तु बहुतायत
- Corolla** *n.* फूलकी कटोरी, फूलकी सींगरी पत्ती  
फूल की कटोरी, फूल की सींगरी पत्ती
- Corollary** *n.* फल, नतीजा, निकल  
फल, नतीजा, निकल
- Corona** *n.* तंजो मण्डल, अभि चक्र, हाल, रोशनीका चक्र,  
गल मण्डल, फूलका तंजो
- Coronach** *n.* शोक या शोकका गीत (स्कॉटलैंड और आयर-  
लैंड में) (शोक या शोकका गीत)
- Coronal** *n.* तान, मुकुट, माला, सेहरा, हार  
तान, मुकुट, माला, सेहरा, हार
- Coronation** *n.* राजतिलक  
राजतिलक
- Coronation oath** *n.* वह शपथ जो राजतिलकके वक्त  
वादाएँ लेता है
- Coroner** *n.* वह अधिकारी या अफसर जो घैरमायली मौतके  
बारेमें पूछताछ करता है

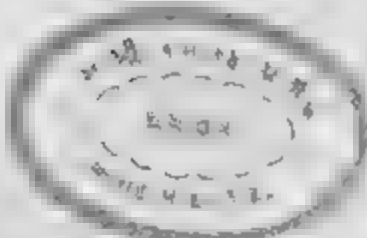
- Coroner's inquest** *n.* जिस अधिकारीकी पूछताछ।  
जिस अधिकारी की पूछताछ
- Coronet** *n.* छोटा तान, सेहरा, हार, माला  
तान, सेहरा, हार, माला
- Corporal** *adj.* जिसमें, बदन या शरीरका  
जिसमें, बदन या शरीरका
- Corporal punishment** *n.* शारीरिक दण्ड, जिसमानी या  
चदनी सजा  
शारीरिक दण्ड, जिसमानी या चदनी सजा
- Corporal** *n.* अंग्रेजी फौजका छोटा अफसर; नायक, दफादार  
अंग्रेजी फौज का छोटा अफसर; नायक, दफादार
- Corporate** *adj.* सामाजिक, जमायती  
सामाजिक, जमायती
- Corporation** *n.* पंचायत, समझ, जमायत  
पंचायत, समझ, जमायत
- Corporation, Municipal or Town** *n.* नगर मंजज,  
शहरी हुकमत  
नगर मंजज, शहरी हुकमत
- Corporeal** *adj.* शारीरिक, जिसमानी, भौतिक, माही  
शारीरिक, जिसमानी, भौतिक, माही
- Corps** *n.* पलटन, सेना, दस्ता (का ब्यास कामके निसे बनया  
गया हो)  
पलटन, सेना, दस्ता (का ब्यास कामके निसे बनया गया हो)
- Corpse** *n.* लाश, लाश  
लाश, लाश
- Corpulence** *n.* मुट्ठा, मोटापन  
मुट्ठा, मोटापन
- Corpus** *n.* ग्रन्थ-संग्रह, किताबोंका समुदाय, जिसमें, शरीर  
ग्रन्थ-संग्रह, किताबोंका समुदाय, जिसमें, शरीर
- Corpuscle** *n.* कण, अणु, छोटे-से छोटे द्रव्य (किसी चीजका)  
द्रव्य, अणु, छोटे-से छोटे द्रव्य (किसी चीजका)
- Correct** *adj.* ठीक, सही, ठीक, सुनिश्चित, सुनिश्चित  
ठीक, सही, ठीक, सुनिश्चित, सुनिश्चित
- Correct** *v.* ठीक या ठीक करना, सुधारना, सीधा करना, बल  
निकालना, दण्ड या सजा देना  
ठीक या ठीक करना, सुधारना, सीधा करना, बल निकालना, दण्ड या सजा देना
- Correction** *n.* सुधार, दुस्ती; सजा, दण्ड  
सुधार, दुस्ती; सजा, दण्ड
- Correction, I speak under** शायद मैं भूलमें हूँ, शायद मैं  
शायद मैं भूलमें हूँ, शायद मैं भूलमें हूँ
- Corrective** *n.* ठीक करनेवाला  
ठीक करनेवाला
- Correlate** *v.* आपसमें सम्बन्ध होना, आपसमें ताल्लुक करना  
आपसमें सम्बन्ध होना, आपसमें ताल्लुक करना
- Correspond** *v.* मिलना, मेल खाना, बराबर होना, ठीक बैठना,  
लिखा-पढ़ी करना  
मिलना, मेल खाना, बराबर होना, ठीक बैठना, लिखा-पढ़ी करना
- Correspondence** *n.* मेल, लिखा-पढ़ी  
मेल, लिखा-पढ़ी
- Correspondent** *n.* लिखा-पढ़ी करनेवाला, लेखक, व्यापारी या  
दुकान जिसका कारोबार विदेशी मुक्तमें किसी दूसरे व्यापारी या  
दुकानसे हो  
लिखा-पढ़ी करनेवाला, लेखक, व्यापारी या दुकान जिसका कारोबार विदेशी मुक्तमें किसी दूसरे व्यापारी या दुकानसे हो
- Corresponding** *adj.* मिलता, साफिक, अनुकूल  
मिलता, साफिक, अनुकूल
- Corridor** *n.* मकानकी गली, किसी हुकमतकी जमीनका तंग रास्ता  
जो दूसरी हुकमतकी जमीनमेंसे जाता हो  
मकानकी गली, किसी हुकमतकी जमीनका तंग रास्ता जो दूसरी हुकमतकी जमीनमेंसे जाता हो
- Corridor train** *n.* गलीवाली रेल, गलियारी रेल  
गलीवाली रेल, गलियारी रेल
- Corrigendum** *n.* जो गलती या भूल ठीक करनेकी हो  
जो गलती या भूल ठीक करनेकी हो
- Corrigenda** *n.* जो गलती या भूल ठीक करनेकी हो  
जो गलती या भूल ठीक करनेकी हो



- Cotton spinner *n.* सूत कातेवाला, *سوت کاتنے والا*  
 Cotton, old or used *n.* लागू, *لوگڑا*  
 Cotton, raw *n.* کپاس, *کپس*  
 Cotton wool *n.* कच्ची कमी, *کچی روئی*  
 Cotton yarn *n.* तारा, तार, *تار*  
 Cotton *v.* मिल जाना, भेक राख या मत होना।  
 Cotton up or on *v.* कोंरे डालना, पीछे लगना।  
 Cottonocracy *n.* कर्माके बड़े व्यापारियों का जमायत।  
 Couch *n.* पल्ला, कोच, साफ़ा, *صوبہ*  
 Couch *v.* बैठना, झुकना, छिपना, विचार झुझमें रखना, लज्जा में लेश, *شوک*, *چھپ*, *وچر* *شعور* में रक्खा, *اظہار* में کہا।  
 Cough *n.* खाँसी। *کھنسی*  
 Cough up *v.* खौसकर बलस निकालना, खकारना, निकालना।  
 Coulter *n.* हलका फाल या फर। *ہل کا پھال یا فر*  
 Council *n.* सभा, विचार-सभा, पंचायत, मजलिस, दीवान।  
 Council chamber *n.* दीवानखाना। *دیورخانہ*  
 Council, Executive *n.* कार्यकारी सभा, निन्तज्ञासी मजलिस।  
 Council, Legislative *n.* कानून बनानेवाला सभा, धारासभा।  
 Counsel *n.* बकाल; सलाह, राय, सीत। *مشورہ*  
 Counsel *v.* सलाह देना, समझाना, सीत देना।  
 Counsel, to keep one's *v.* अपना भेद छिपाना।  
 Count *n.* गिनती, हिसाब; बजह, दाप, झिलझाम, नवाब, रसम।  
 Count *v.* गिनना, हिसाब लगाना, समझना; असर रखना, महसुब या भद्म होना।  
 Count on or upon *v.* भरोसा रखना, आशा बाँधना, भुम्मीद लगाना।  
 Countenance *n.* चेहरे, मुख, चेहरा, रूप, सूरत।  
 Countenance, keep one's *v.* अपने पर काबू रखना।  
 Countenance, put out of *v.* लखित करना, परवान करना।  
 Countenance *v.* जिज्ञासु देना, साहस दिलाना, हिम्मत दिलाना।  
 Counter *n.* दमड़ी; झूठा सिक्का; बेककी दुकान या नेत्र, थोड़ेकी छानी, जूतकी अर्थात् पिछला हिस्सा।  
 Counter *adj.* झुलटा, विरुद्ध, खिलाफ, जवाबी; नकल।  
 Counter *v.* रोकना, काटना, जवाब देना।  
 Counter to, to run *v.* बरखिलाफ या विरुद्ध कहना, झुलटा चलना।  
 Counteract *v.* काटना, रोकना, झुलटा करना, ताड़ करना, असर कम करना।  
 Counterfeit *adj.* झूठा, खोटा, नकली, जाली, बनावट।  
 Counterfeit coil *n.* जाली रुपया, झूठा सिक्का।  
 Counterfoil *n.* किसी हिसाब के कागज वर्राका जड़ा।  
 Countermand *v.* हुकम झुलटाना, पसंदना या फेरना।  
 Counterpane *n.* पल्ला-पाश।  
 Counterpart *n.* नकल, झुतार, दूसरी, जड़ा, जवाब।  
 Counterstain *v.* दस्तखत करके पक्का करना।  
 Countersign *n.* घुसावा, परचल, पहरेवालों का बुझिया शब्द।  
 Countess *n.* रानीकी स्त्री, बेगम।  
 Counting house *n.* हिसाबखाना, खाता-घर।  
 Country *n.* देश, मुल्क, वतन, अिलाका; देहात, ग्राम, रौव।  
 Country *adj.* दसी, वतन या मुल्कका, बहानी, ग्राम या रौवका।  
 Countryman *n.* देशवासी, एक देशका रहनेवाला; देहाती।  
 County *n.* सूबा, प्रांत, अिलाका, जिला।  
 Coup *n.* पूरी चाट, पूरी चाल।  
 Coup d'etat *n.* अिनाकलाव, क्रांति, झुलट-मुलट।  
 Coup de grace *n.* घातक चाट, खतम करनेवाला चोट।  
 Coup de main *n.* झारका धावा, सरत हमला।  
 Coup d'oeil *n.* अच्छी तरह नज़र डालना, सब देखना।  
 Coup de soleil *n.* धूपकी चाट, लू लगना।  
 Coupe' *n.* चार पहियेकी बंद गाड़ी, रेलका छोटा डब्बा।  
 Couple *n.* बड़ा, जड़ा; मियाँ-बाबी, पति-पत्नी।  
 Couple *v.* जाड़ना, मिलाना, बाँधना, विवाह या शाद करना, रेलगाड़ामें कड़ी लगाना।  
 Coupet *n.* दाढ़ा, बेट।  
 Coupling *n.* कड़ी, खासकर रेलगाड़ियोंको मिलानेवाली कड़ी।  
 Coupon *n.* परची, कूपन।  
 Courage *n.* साहस, वीरता, दिलेरी, बहादुरी, हिम्मत।  
 Courier *n.* हरकारा, दौड़ाहा; यात्रा या सफरका अिन्तकाम करनेवाला।



## HARIJAN



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TWO ANNAS

## HOW GANDHIJI FEELS AND ACTS

Gandhiji's second visit to Delhi within a comparatively short interval gave the residents a further chance of listening to him every evening. The crowds were, if anything, larger than before. The air is tense with feelings of insecurity, lack of faith all round, hatred, mistrust and despair. Small wonder then that they flocked in their thousands to hear a few words of solace from the only one who bears no hatred in his heart towards anyone and in whose vocabulary the word despair does not exist.

It was indeed a tragedy that this time too the prayers were not allowed to be held. The moment the verse from the *Quran Sharif* was begun to be recited a voice would be raised in objection. And true to his technique of non-violence, Gandhiji would ask the thousands to bow to the will of the one because it would not be right to overawe anyone. It was a hard lesson for those who had come to join in community prayer to be deprived of the privilege owing to the folly of the person. I used to feel particularly sorry for the large number of women, for, they certainly did not come to hear Gandhiji's after-prayer discourse so much as to join in the *Ramadhun*. But the crowd showed exemplary toleration and calm and one can only hope that the lesson Gandhiji would have them learn from this practical demonstration went home.

In spite of the continued communal strife Gandhiji continues to be optimistic. In reply to a questioner as to whether the present gulf between the Hindu and the Muslim was permanent or unbridgeable, his reply was, "Nothing of this kind can be permanent. If it were to become so, it would mean that neither religion had any truth in it." It was this appeal to his listeners daily to be true to their religion that was the dominant note in all his discourses. Intolerance and hatred were the very way to destroy religion and he was visibly hurt on the last evening when the objection to the recitation of the *Quranic* verse came from a woman, for, Gandhiji always expects far more in the moral sphere from women than from men. Asked by a friend whether Pakistan would die a natural death if conceded, his reply was, "Can you describe Pakistan to me? What reply can be given to an unknown premise? I have tried to understand what it is and have failed. And if the Punjab and Bengal today are hall-marks of Pakistan, then it can never exist." His own view regarding the division of India has not undergone any change. He stands for a

United India as firmly as ever and as he said more than once to friends, "The ultimate decision of division or partition of provinces and all such matters are for the people to settle among themselves after the British have withdrawn their power." This looking towards the British power for everything was a hopeless and a disintegrating factor in their lives. The same applied to the States. They had been in a perpetual state of tutelage under the British. That sustenance was now going and if the Princes wanted to remain on their *gaddis* they would have to become an integral part of Free India. Their freedom lay in giving power into the hands of their people and becoming their premier servants.

Replying to a French friend, Gandhiji said he felt that a socialistic State was bound to come into being in India. He hoped that Indian socialism would not be an arm-chair, but a practical, socialism. The goal must be clear and perfect or else they would be sailing on an uncharted sea and might founder. He himself naturally clung to the hope that future society in India would be built on non-violence. And only in that case would socialism become a permanent way of life.

"Will religion die?" asked the same friend. Quick as lightning came the response, "If religion dies, then India dies. Today the Hindus and the Muslims are clinging to the busk of religion. They have gone mad. But I hope that all this is froth, that all the scum has come to the surface as happens when the waters of two rivers meet. Everything appears muddy on top, but underneath it is crystal clear and calm. The scum goes to the sea of itself and the rivers mingle and flow clear and pure."

To the same friend he said, "Britain was once undisputed mistress of the seas. If she plays true by India, she can become mistress of the morals of the world which will be a very much bigger honour. She can then decide the fate of the world. I believe she has the capacity. I know the British well. I have passed some of the best years of my life among them and I have always voted against the name of 'Perfidious Albion' for them and have preferred to subscribe to Cowper's well-known verse 'Hypocrisy is an ode to virtue.' But Britain has yet to rise to those heights."

And so Gandhiji goes his way on his lone pilgrimage of winning hearts to the way of love. Everything he says whether to the British, to the Princes, to the Hindus, to the Muslims, to the

individual, to the community, to the minorities, to women, to the journalists, indeed to the world, is all in the nature of a challenge. All eyes are turned on India. Will she be true to her leader and lead not only herself but the world into the paths of peace? It is a big challenge and a heavy responsibility.

New Delhi, 10-5-'47

A. K.

### ANOTHER DELHI INTERLUDE

4-5-'47

According to plan Gandhiji asked before the prayer began as to whether there were any objectors on the prayer ground. One solitary voice said 'Yes'. Gandhiji was visibly hurt that the folly of one person should deprive thousands of persons from enjoying the sweets of community prayer. But, as he reiterated, it was against the spirit of *ahimsa* to overawe even one person into submission. He, therefore, asked the audience to close their eyes and join him in silent prayer for two minutes. He asked them during this silence to enshrine the name of God — God, who was infinite, immeasurable and unknowable, had millions of names — in their hearts and bear no anger against the misguided youth who had stopped the prayer again that day.

Gandhiji told the gathering that he had had an hour and a half's interview with the Viceroy during the day in which the latter had complained against misleading reports and headlines in the newspapers. The Viceroy had said that he had come to India to transfer power in a peaceful manner to Indian hands. By June 30th, 1948 all signs of British rule were to vanish from here. It was his earnest desire that India should be united and that all should live in harmony with each other, no matter to what community they belonged. He wanted Indians to forget the past and to believe in the honest desire of the British to bring about, if possible, agreement between the Hindus and the Muslims before leaving. It would not redound to the credit either of Britain or of India, the Viceroy had said, if the communal strife continued. The Viceroy was a famous naval commander and while, as such, he did not believe in non-violence, he repeatedly assured him (Gandhiji) that he believed in God and always tried to act according to his conscience. He, therefore, pleaded with everyone that they should not place obstacles in his (the Viceroy's) way. If the strife continued in spite of his best endeavour during the period of the liquidation of the British power, he would not hesitate, however reluctant he might be, to have recourse to the use of the military. Though the Interim Government of India was responsible for the preservation of law and order, he considered himself no less responsible in the ultimate end for the maintenance of peace so long as British soldiers were on the Indian soil. Gandhiji said that the Viceroy had spoken very courteously and earnestly and felt that his difficult task would be lightened if all the communities and parties recognized his honesty and cooperated in the pursuit of the common purpose.

Gandhiji repeated what he had said the day before that unless the Viceroy was proved to be guilty of a breach of trust, they must continue to believe in his honesty of purpose. If the Hindus and the Muslims continued to fight, it would mean that they did not want the British to go. Nevertheless, even if they continued to behave as animals, he himself had no doubt in his mind that the British must go by 30-6-'48. It was high time they stopped blaming each other. That could never bring about peace.

Gandhiji referred to the crying problems of food and cloth shortage which were common to the masses which included the Hindus, the Muslims and the others. If they were wise enough to be on friendly terms with each other, they would be enabled to feed those hungry mouths and clothe those naked bodies. It was their duty to do so.

Gandhiji then referred to the visit he had from Major General Shah Nawaz, earlier in the day, who told him of a village in Bihar where the Hindus who had been reluctant to allow the Muslim refugees to return, had assured him that they would welcome back all the refugees and the villagers themselves cleaned the streets and undertook to repair the broken houses. After all, everywhere where madness had reigned, all that the sufferers wanted was the service of love and understanding from their erstwhile oppressors. The action of these Hindus in Bihar and all such actions were bright spots in the darkness that today enveloped them.

If the Qaid-e-Azam's signature to the peace plea was sincere, Gandhiji continued, then the disorders and cruelties in the Frontier and the Punjab would stop.

6-5-'47

As Gandhiji had not returned from his interview with the Qaid-e-Azam, the prayers began without him at 6-30 p.m. There was one objector again and, therefore, the gathering was deprived once again of joining in anything except the two minutes' *Arise*.

Owing to inclement weather the previous day Gandhiji's written words had not been read out. In his absence they were read out today.

"In order to escape from the evil one I seek refuge in God. Oh God! I begin every task with the remembrance of Thy name. Thou art the compassionate and the merciful. Thou art the Creator of the universe. Thou art Lord and Master. I praise Thee alone and desire only Thy help. Thou wilt mete out justice on the Day of Judgement.

"Show me the right path, the path which Thy saints have trod, not the wrong path of those who have offended Thee.

"God is one. He is eternal, all-powerful, uncreate. There is none other like Him. He has created all things. None has created Him."

This, wrote Gandhiji, was a translation of the verses read daily from the *Quran Sharif*. It passed his comprehension how anyone could object to their recitation. He affirmed that the enshrinement



of this prayer in their hearts only could uplift and make better men and women of them

7-5-47

Referring to his visit to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah on Tuesday, Gandhiji, addressing the prayer meeting at Bhangi Colony on Wednesday evening said that the conversations were carried on in a friendly spirit even though there could never be agreement between them on the question of the division of India. He could not bear the thought of it and so long as he was convinced that it was wrong, he could not possibly put his signature to the scheme. He held that it was not only bad for the Hindus but equally so for the Muslims.

Gandhiji added that he did not think in terms of the good of any particular community where India was concerned. He tried to be the representative and servant of all alike. But the Qaid-e-Azam and he had declared again in clear language that they abjured violence for all time for attaining political ends. To that they were both pledged.

He went on to say that many people were opposed to his going to Jinnah Sahib but he was convinced that no harm could possibly have accrued therefrom. After all they were fellow Indians and had to live in the same land

Referring to a letter he had received from a sister, wife of a prominent Hindu Mahasabhaite, objecting to his reading the *Quranic* verse on the usual grounds, Gandhiji said that he was hurt that such objections could come from a woman. He expected love and toleration in a higher degree from women than from men. He wondered where they were drifting and what women would or could teach their children if their hearts were permeated with hate

Gandhiji refuted the argument that because some Muslim fanatics had done evil deeds in Bengal and in the Punjab, the *Quran Sharif* was bad. The Hindus had gone mad in Bihar, but that did not take away from the greatness of the Gita. He said he might understand their not wishing to admit Muslim wrong-doers into their homes, though even that was wholly contrary to the spirit of religion, all of which taught man to love his enemies. But not to wish to read a verse from any scripture, simply because hate for the followers of that religion filled their hearts, was the negation of true religion and far from protecting Hinduism, was the very way to destroy it.

Gandhiji went on to say that the argument that he could not recite the Gita in a mosque and that no Muslims would read a verse from any scripture other than their own was a fallacious one. He related how he had held prayers in Muslim houses and how in Noakhali he had held them in the compound of a mosque. The person in charge had raised no objection and had said that it was perfectly legitimate to call God by the names of Rama and Rahim

Gandhiji then read out the translation of the *Quranic* verse in Hindi which ran as follows:

In order to escape from the evil one I seek refuge in God.

Oh God, I begin every task with the remembrance of Thy name.

Thou art the compassionate and the merciful.

Thou art the Creator of the universe.

Thou art Lord and Master.

I praise Thee alone and desire only Thy help.

Thou wilt mete out justice on the Day of Judgment.

Show me the right path, the path which Thy saints have trod, not the wrong path of those who have offended Thee.

God is one.

He is eternal, all powerful, uncreate.

There is none other like Him. He has created all things.

None has created Him.

Gandhiji said that if every word of it were enshrined in their hearts they would be uplifted and be the better for it. No one objected to the translation because it was in Hind. but the moment he read it in Arabic there were objections. He pleaded with them to see the folly of their ways. He hoped they would pray to God to lighten their darkness.

### USING THE GIANT'S STRENGTH AS A GIANT

According to a Reuter's message Dr. Hugh Dalton the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, referring to the Sterling Debts, stated:

"This vast accumulation of debt represents an unreal, unjust and unsupportable burden. If lend-lease and mutual aid had been applied among all members of the grand alliance as they were applied between the United States and the British Commonwealth, by far the greater part of these debts would never have been charged against us.

"Sooner or later and it would be better sooner than later this mass must be very substantially scaled down.

"Britain is strong, but one sign of her strength must be refusal to take on fantastic commitments which are beyond her strength and beyond all limits of good sense and fair pay. Nor could I as British Chancellor of the Exchequer support financial arrangements which would mean that for years and generations to come, this little island which led the fight for freedom would, through this peculiar war-time accountancy, carry a crushing load which even the defeated enemies of freedom — Germans, Japanese and the rest — would escape."

It is rather amusing to find even at this hour of the day British statesman trying to fool the world that they "fought for freedom". When will they realize that even the least sophisticated is aware that their fight was to crush their economic competitors? It is no good now squealing over the cost of it. Who were all in the "Grand Alliance"? Surely not India! Is it a right, gallant and chivalrous use of strength to deny one's liabilities? What straits the proud British moral grandeur has got into now!

J. C. KUMARAPPA

# HARIJAN

May 18

1947

## QUIT NOW

[On the 5th of May Gandhi answered several questions put to him by Mr. Doon Campbell, Reuter's special correspondent at New Delhi. The answers cover a large field—the current situation in India and world affairs. —Ed.]

**Q.** Is the communal division of India inevitable? Will such division solve the communal problem?

**A.** Personally, I have always said No, and I say No even now to both these questions.

**Q.** Do you subscribe to the opinion that Britain will be morally obliged to stay on in India if the outstanding Hindu-Muslim differences have not been resolved by June, 1948?

**A.** This is a question that has never been put to me before. It would be a good thing if the British were to go today—thirteen months means mischief to India. I do not question the nobility of the British declaration, I do not question the sincerity of the Viceroy but facts are facts. Neither the British Cabinet nor the Viceroy, however outstanding he may be, can alter facts. And the facts are that India has been trained to look to the British power for everything. Now it is not possible for India to take her mind off that state all of a sudden. I have never appreciated the argument that the British want so many months to get ready to leave. During that time all parties will look to the British Cabinet and the Viceroy. We have not defeated the British by force of arms. It has been a victory for India by moral force. Assuming, of course, that every word of what has been said is meant to be carried out, then the British decision will go down in history as the noblest act of the British Nation. That being so, the thirteen months' stay of the British power and British arms is really a hindrance rather than a help, because everybody looks for help to the great military machine they have brought into being. That happened in Bengal, in Bihar, in the Punjab, and in the North-West Frontier Province. The Hindus and the Muslims said in turn: 'Let us have the British troops.' It is a humiliating spectacle. I have often said before but it does not suffer in value through repetition because every time I repeat it, it gains force: the British will have to take the risk of leaving India to chaos or anarchy. This is so because there has been no Home Rule; it has been imposed on the people. And, when you voluntarily remove that rule there might be no rule in the initial state. It might have come about if we had gained victory by the force of arms. The communal feuds you see here are, in my opinion, partly due to the presence of the British. If the British were not here, we would

still go through the fire no doubt, but that fire would purify us.

**Q.** What sort of Indo-British relationship do you envisage after June, 1948?

**A.** I envisage the friendliest relationship between Britain and India assuming that a complete withdrawal takes place with complete honesty behind it—no mental reservations of any kind whatsoever.

**Q.** Does the clause incorporated in the Draft Constitution on the abolition of untouchability in itself represent a great reform?

**A.** No. That clause does not represent a great or any reform. It registers the fact that a great revolutionary reform has taken place in Hindu society. I confess that untouchability has not yet been pulled out root and branch from the soil. Like the evil effects of the British connection, those of untouchability, a much older institution, do not disappear in a flash. It may take some years, perhaps, before a stranger coming to India can say there is no untouchability in any shape or form.

**Q.** Do you believe the United Nations Organization, as at present constituted, can maintain a lasting peace?

**A.** No. I fear the world is heading towards another showdown. It is a fear that permeates many minds. But if all goes well in India, then the world may have a long peace. It will largely depend on the manner in which India takes it. And that will depend largely on British statesmanship.

**Q.** What is the solution to the Palestine problem?

**A.** It has become a problem which is almost insoluble. If I were a Jew, I would tell them: 'Don't be so silly as to resort to terrorism, because you simply damage our own case which otherwise would be a proper case.' If it is just political hankering then I think there is no value in it. Why should they hanker after Palestine? They are a great race and have great gifts. I have lived with the Jews many years in South Africa. If it is a religious longing then surely terrorism has no place. They should meet the Arabs, make friends with them, and not depend on British aid or American aid or any aid, save what descends from Jehovah.

## The Cart Before the Horse

A news item says that a new Agricultural College is to be started to afford facilities for training in scientific agriculture. The Anand Parbat Estate has been leased by the Central Government for it. Commodious buildings for lecture rooms, laboratories, hostels and residential staff quarters have been provided for. All that is needed is an agricultural farm! In the near future they will arrange to secure one to be "attached to the College". Should not agricultural colleges be situated in chosen farms in typical rural parts rather than that agricultural farms be attached to the colleges? The latter is the way of working of our Government of India. When will it change?

J. C. K.

## EQUITY IN TAXATION

The mill-owners have made the people believe that village industries cannot stand competition with large-scale industries as the former are "inefficient", while the latter are scientific and efficient. By constant repetition the public can be made to believe anything, but this type of propaganda has been carried on to such an extent that even economists are saturated with such baseless ideas.

The advantages afforded to mills are many and one may almost assert that they are subsidized by public expenditures. The village artisan hardly ever derives any benefit from the crores of rupees taken from him and spent lavishly by the Government. The expensive researches of scientific institutions are not for him. The trunk roads built at fabulous cost are not only of no use to him but are even injurious to his unshod bullocks — witness the mud tracks used by preference by bullock-carts by the side of the macadamized and asphalted roads. The armed forces happily are conspicuous by their absence in villages, though they are much in evidence in towns and cities; still these charges are met out of villagers' production. The railway administration has no regard for the requirements of villagers unless it be to drain his raw materials at harvest season and to bring them back to him at enhanced prices. All these handicaps placed on village industries are counted towards their inability to compete with the upstart parasitic mills.

To these old time disadvantages the new-fangled controls have added in no small measure. The All India Village Industries Association agent for Bihar writes that the lifting of the ban on the inter-provincial movement of oil seeds and oils combined with the vagaries of the railways is telling upon the *ghani* men. The railways bring in freely mill-pressed oils from the U.P. and the Punjab. This has pushed down the price of oils. But the scarcity in oil seeds continues as the railways refuse to allot any waggons for oil seeds. The price of these seeds are keeping to high levels while the price of mill oils has fallen considerably. Because of this differential treatment by railways, mustard seeds outside the province are selling at Rs. 21 a maund while the same quality seeds are only available at Rs. 30 a maund within the province. This is a transport-made scarcity and the Bihar Government pleads inability to set it right.

It is by such means that the natural vitality of village industries is being sapped and their succumbing to such methods is attributed to the "inefficiency" of village industries.

To obviate such discriminations proper statistics should be maintained and all public expenditures benefiting the mills should be met out of levies made on the beneficiaries and not out of general taxation. Only by so doing can we establish equity between the various forms of production.

J C. KUMARAPPA

## THE INDIAN NATIONAL TRADE UNION CONGRESS

[A Conference of labour workers from all over India inaugurated by Acharya Kripalani and held under the presidentship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at New Delhi on the 3rd May, 1947 adopted a resolution to form the Indian National Trade Union Congress or the *Rashtriya Mazdoor Congress*.

A report of the Rashtrapati's inaugural address and Sardar Patel's presidential speech as also the resolution are reproduced here.

By another resolution the Conference elected a Provisional Executive of the Congress with Dr. Sureshchandra Bannerjee as Chairman and Mr. Khandubhai K. Desai as Secretary. —Ed.]

Acharya Kripalani, the Congress President, inaugurating the Conference explained at length the reasons for calling the Conference. He incidentally stated that it was a happy augury that the Conference met under the Presidentship of Sardar Patel, himself a Trade Unionist since the earliest days of the Trade Union Movement when he organized the B. B. & C. I. Rly. Employees and the Postal Employees of Gujarat in 1919. He pointed out how it was difficult for those who believed in peaceful and democratic methods to cooperate with those who dominated the Trade Union Congress at present and considered any means as proper to achieve the end. He hoped that the new organization sponsored by veteran labour leaders of the country like Shri Nanda, Shri Suresh Bannerjee, Shri Khandubhai Desai and others, in answer to the genuine need of the hour would prove an unqualified success.

Shri Gulzarilal Nanda Secretary of the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh, then read a statement (reproduced elsewhere in this number) giving reasons why the Sangh came to the conclusion that it was high time to advise labour workers to start a new central organization working on non-communal and non-political lines with a view to redress the grievances of the workers, establish a just standard and settle disputes through the machinery of arbitration and adjudication.

Sardar Patel addressing the Conference narrated the history of the Trade Union Congress and dwelt at some length on its present position. The Trade Union Congress which was given prestige by Congressmen and over which prominent Congress leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, C. R. Das and Lala Lajpatrai had presided, was now adopting an anti-Congress attitude. It is dominated today by the communists who call out strikes not for the good of the workers but merely to serve their party ends or discredit the Government. It was no use trying to capture the Trade Union Congress since the communist unions put up bogus membership and did not hesitate to resort to unscrupulous methods. As a contrast, he narrated how the labour movement started by Gandhiji resulted in the best organization in the country due to the services of Shrimati Anasuyabehn Sarabhai, Shri Shankarlal

Banker, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Shri Khandubhai Desai and others. The Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad was the strongest organization of the cotton mill-workers in the country and was admired even by foreign visitors. As a result of the 26 years of work of the Union, Ahmedabad had prospered and the workers got the highest wages. There were few strikes since the parties settled their differences through the machinery of arbitration which was initiated by Gandhiji who had to stake his life for it as early as 1918. Sardar Patel said that they were anxious to see that right type of unions in Ahmedabad lines were started throughout the country. A beginning was made, therefore, in 1937 when the Congress accepted ministries, to train labour workers and send them to various places. Those who started work in that manner had succeeded even though their work was interrupted by the political struggle. The communists who dominated the Trade Union Congress today were fomenting strikes, refused to accept arbitration, advocated a 'go slow' policy and when production was most needed, brought about stoppages by agitating for irresponsible demands. The step which was being taken should have been, in fact, taken earlier. With the advent of independence, they had to fight with people, within the Congress itself, who were out to create chaos and capture power by any means. He then called upon Dr. Suresh Bhanerjee to move the main resolution which reads as follows:

Whereas the course which the Labour Movement in the country is taking under the leadership of those who are opposed to peaceful change and democratic methods has proved extremely detrimental to the growth of strong and healthy trade unionism and is doing incalculable harm to the true interests of the masses of the country and whereas it has become now a sacred and imperative obligation of those who care for the well-being of the working class, to take concerted action to safeguard and promote its interest, it is resolved that to give effect to this purpose an organization called The Indian National Trade Union Congress be formed.

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## THE WHY OF IT

[The following statement by Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Secretary, Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh, read before the Conference of the Labour workers at Delhi sets forth in clear terms the reasons for establishing The Indian National Trade Union Congress.

—Ed.]

With your permission I will make a brief statement on behalf of the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh to explain the purpose for which this Conference has been convened.

The working class question has recently come into prominence owing to the frequent disturbance of the economic life of the country consequent upon large-scale strikes and lock-outs. It is obvious that the prevailing labour unrest in the country is primarily due to the privations and difficulties experienced by labour. To serve their political ends, certain parties and groups push labour into discarding peaceful methods for the redress of its grievances. They are directing the labour unrest into channels which often lead to breaches of the peace, accentuation of the hardships of the people and harm to the interests of the workers.

There is an acute shortage of supplies in the country which creates serious discontent and retards the progress of reconstruction in every direction. We must maintain and expand production. We must also make it sure that in the course of the political transformation which is proceeding apace a stable democracy is safely installed in the seats vacated by foreign imperialism. For these reasons the working class problem acquires a new and special urgency. The policies pursued by the A. I. T. U. C. under the communist leadership, which functions in its name, stand in sharp and total conflict with these aims. Their ways threaten the security and the welfare of the community and are inimical to the best interests of the workers themselves. The bulk of the working class is opposed to the political philosophy of the elections to the Legislative Assemblies in the country from the various labour constituencies. The workers have had enough of the loss and sufferings which are inseparable from methods adopted by the communists in dealing with the difficulties of the working class. But the presence of Congressmen and others in the T. U. C. in subordinate association with the communists creates the wrong impression that the present policies and the leadership of the T. U. C. reflect the mind of the entire working class. The urgent need of the moment is, therefore, to provide machinery for coordinating the scattered forces of those who are in fundamental opposition to the communists in their approach to labour matters. These conclusions are embodied in the resolution passed by the H. M. S. S. at the meeting of the Central Board this morning. The resolution runs as follows:

"The Central Board passed a resolution on 17th November 1946 expressing the opinion that

all the Unions with which the members of the Sangh are connected should be affiliated to the Trade Union Congress to promote through it the policy and the programme of the Sangh. Subsequent experience has compelled a total reversal of this policy and the Board hereby rescinds the aforesaid resolution.

"The Sangh deplores the fact that the discontents and the difficulties of the workers are being exploited by parties and groups for ulterior political motives causing serious damage to the economic and political life of the country and doing deep injury to the best interest of the working class and the masses in general. In the opinion of the Board the most urgent need of the moment is to speedily bring into being and develop a Central Organization of Labour in the country which will strive to secure the highest benefits and the maximum progress for all the categories and classes of labour while preserving a national spirit and outlook and which will conduct the struggle of the workers for improved standards and just conditions in accordance with the principles set out in the statement of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress dated 13th August 1946, Wardha. The Board recommends to the members of the Sangh and other Congressmen actively interested in labour to take immediate steps to form an organization on these lines which will be purely non-communal and which will not be subject to the control of any political party."

The subject matter of the resolution is offered for deliberation at this Conference. The need and justification for a move on these lines is likely to be questioned. The Conference will have to satisfy itself that the proposed step is imperatively necessary and desirable having regard to the good of the working class as well as the larger interests of the community. I have already indicated some of the considerations which have determined the present attitude of the Sangh in this matter. I shall give in a few words an idea of the developments which formed the background of the present decision of the Sangh.

A section of the labour movement which draws its inspiration from Gandhiji's ideas and bases its outlook and activity on his conception of truth and non-violence in relation to labour has all along kept away from the Trade Union Congress and other central organizations of labour which have existed at different times. Its reason for keeping out of the T. U. C. is that the way in which the Trade Union Congress is constituted and run militates against the growth of a healthy and strong trade unionism. The usual answer on the other side has been that it is open to these unions to join the Trade Union Congress and exert their strength and influence to secure the desired reform. The aspect has received close and careful consideration. It has been found that the composition and the voting strength of the various bodies in the Trade Union Congress are managed in such a manner that the democratic procedure of achieving a change by the influence

of ideas and the relative superiority of real numerical strength has no scope at all in this case. The Trade Union Congress admits paper organizations and accepts fictitious or grossly exaggerated returns of membership. This false display of numbers has continued from year to year.

Another matter of deep concern to those who refuse to enter the Trade Union Congress is that certain dominant groups within it waged a violent campaign against arbitration as a method of avoiding strikes and securing justice for the workers. The answer to the objection used to be that each constituent union could maintain its own line of action, since so far as the Trade Union Congress was concerned, an affiliating member enjoyed complete autonomy with regard to its internal affairs.

The question of relationship with the Trade Union Congress was reviewed again at the time of the reorganization of the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh. In view of the fact that several members of the Sangh had been associated with the Trade Union Congress for many years and were reluctant to leave it, the Sangh adopted a policy in the matter which placed no restraint on members or associated Unions with regard to their connection with the Trade Union Congress and left members free to arrange their relations with the Trade Union Congress according to their choice.

As time passed the feeling rapidly grew that in the prevailing economic and political conditions in India, the vital interests of both the working class and the country demanded an immediate and nation-wide application of the principles and methods for which the Sangh stood. It had therefore to shed its neutrality and the resolution favouring entry into the Trade Union Congress was passed on 17th November 1946.

Very soon thereafter the members of the Sangh who had been taking a leading part in the Trade Union Congress for years reported that in the existing set-up of the Trade Union Congress it was vain to expect fair play and since it was not possible for us to join the race for multiplying bogus unions and submitting bloated returns of membership we would have to wait very long before we could secure a chance of effecting the reforms on which the Sangh had set its heart.

This is a critical period in the history of the country. To dislocate the productive organization of the nation in these times is really to strike a direct blow at the life of the nation and at its political integrity. It will not be easy to undo the economic damage or the political harm which the communist activity is causing from day to day if the mischief is not counteracted at once.

It may at the same time be mentioned that the All India Trade Union Congress has at its annual session passed a resolution condemning the Bombay Industrial Relations Act and the Industrial Disputes

Act mainly on the ground that the enactments provide for adjudication and empower Government to refer disputes to the arbitration of a Tribunal or the Industrial Courts. This resolution of the Trade Union Congress runs directly counter to the declared policy of the Congress in this connection as stated by the Working Committee on the 13th August, 1946.

We have also to reckon with the fact that Congressmen cannot be comfortable in the company of those who left no stone unturned to sabotage the national struggle of 1942 and who in that most difficult phase of the nation's fight for independence did their worst to harass the forces engaged in a life and death conflict with the enemies of our freedom.

As we go ahead we will certainly be exposed to a fierce attack on the ground that we are seeking to disrupt the unity of the working class. We have no difficulty in showing up this false view of the situation. Many of the unions which are now coming to form a new organization have for years stayed away from the Trade Union Congress. Others which will decide to sever their connection with the Trade Union Congress will be leaving a hot bed of disunity, and not a place where there was any collaboration on the basis of mutual good will and understanding. It is better for all concerned not to attempt to unite or reconcile the way of peace with deliberate violence, democratic method with dictatorial rule and a creed of unscrupulousness with the desire for truth.

While there is no common ground between those inspired by communist philosophy and those who have faith in democracy, the proposed organization can provide a broad platform and ensure the largest measure of unity as among the latter, in pursuit of the aims of the labour movement. The constitution of the Sangh furnishes the essence of these aims. The preamble enjoins "continuous efforts to organize the workers in all industrial centres in the country on right lines for the purpose of establishing just industrial relations, eradicating exploitation in any form, securing speedy improvement of their conditions of work and life and their status in industry and society." The objective has been expressed in terms of an order of society which places no hindrances in the way of an all-round development of its individual members, which encourages the growth of human personality in all its aspects and goes, as far as possible, in progressively eliminating social, political or economic exploitation and inequality, the profit-motive in the economic activity and organization of the country, and the anti-social concentration of power in any form.

GULZARILAL NANDA

## GANDHIJI'S PRESS STATEMENT

Sheth Cachhala, Honorary Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress, cabled for a message on the rally which was to take place in Johannesburg of all the non-European races in the Union of South Africa on the question of racial disabilities in the Union. The question is most intricate and almost baffling. It is intricate enough when confined only to the Indian disabilities but the inclusion of all the races while logically correct is fraught with grave danger, if the struggle is not kept at the highest level and is not firmly based on truth and non-violence. I wanted to warn the organizers of the rally against rhetorical display or raising idle hopes and to advise them to carry on their demonstration with dignity and restraint. Let no one doubt that the salvation of all the exploited peoples of the earth and, therefore, of the world lies in the strictest reliance on the coin on whose one face is written truth and the other non-violence in large letters. Sixty years of experience has taught me no other method.

New Delhi, 5-5-47

### Gram Sevak Vidyalaya

(All India Village Industries Association)

The first annual convocation of the Gram Sevak Vidyalaya after the break in 1942 was held on the 30th of April, 1947. The Hon'ble Shri R. K. Patil, Minister for Food, C. P. and Berar, delivered the convocation address and gave away the certificates to the successful candidates.

The total number of students in the Vidyalaya was 62, out of which 11 obtained merit certificates, 26 got ordinary pass certificates and 15 were awarded industries certificates only. 10 students failed.

The next session of the Vidyalaya commences from the 1st of July, 1947 as usual; application for admission to the session should be sent in by the 15th of June latest.

Besides this, another course for village organizers is proposed to be started from the 1st September, 1947 to the 30th April, 1948. This will be open to those who have attained the academical standard of a graduate of a university.

For detailed information and prospectus please write to the Superintendent at Maganvadi, Wardha, C. P.

J. C. K.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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TRIPUNJAVI

## NAKALI GHEE

Our articles on *vanaspati* ghee brought in a sheaf of letters—of approbation from the public and of opprobrium from the manufacturers naturally. A valued friend has coined *nakali* (imitation) ghee as the name for this product and we hope this will receive legal sanction as *margarine* (the word means imitation or *nakali* butter) has in Europe. An alternative name can be *devitalized vegetable oil*.

The burden of the battle cry of the manufacturers is stated below with our reactions.

One of the "scientific" minions of the manufacturers writes.

"If one compares *vanaspati* with cow's ghee, then it is definitely inferior in its food value. However, when *vanaspati* is compared with the oil from which it is made, then it is definitely a better food article because (1) it has a more palatable taste, and (2) it has better keeping qualities".

This statement is typical of the half truths and suppression of facts on which the manufacturers' case is built up. In dealing with ghee they admit the inferiority of *vanaspati* in "food value" meaning thereby nutritive value.

While dealing with the oil the comparison is not on the nutritive value but is shifted to its keeping qualities and taste only, while to the reader "better food article" will convey the idea of nutrition.

Again the comparison is with cotton seed oil or groundnut oil and not with coconut, *til* or mustard oils which are the commonly used edible oils.

Further the comparison is between the mill-pressed oil and not with the cold-pressed *ghani* oil. These statements are evidently calculated to mislead the unwary reader.

The manufacturers have launched out on a wide-spread, expensive advertising programme, by which they hope to confuse the public. They compare *vanaspati* to margarine. This comparison is not valid. While *vanaspati* is prepared from mill-pressed cotton seed or groundnut oil, margarine is not necessarily prepared from such inferior hydrogenated vegetable oils. The history of its manufacture dates back before hydrogenated oils came to be known. Generally it is made from softer animal fats or from a mixture of animal fats and vegetable oils churned with milk and chilled with ice to give it an appearance of a milk product. Because this animal-fat-based margarine is used widely in Europe and America and "eminent research workers agree unanimously that it is both wholesome and nutritious," it does not follow

by any stretch of imagination that *vanaspati* manufactured from hot processed inferior vegetable oils are also equally nutritious. Why not push the same illogical argument one step further and say, "because ghee is nutritious therefore *vanaspati* ghee is also nutritious?"

They proceed to compare the price of *vanaspati* with the price of dairy ghee and claim that it is one-third. A true comparison will be with the price of mill-pressed groundnut oil. It would then be seen to be about fifty per cent more expensive. We are entitled to ask what additional or proportionate benefit have the manufacturers conferred to impose this heavy tax on the unsuspecting public?

One would think that these manufacturers are liable to be prosecuted for such misleading advertisements under the Defence (sale of goods) Regulations and by the consumers for damages.

In Great Britain cold pressed olive oil is held in high esteem. In any case cold pressed oils are better than mill oils. We should have expected the *vanaspati* manufacturers to prove their claims of superiority over cold pressed coconut, *til* or mustard oil. Then alone they will have a leg to stand on. If at any time cold pressed oil goes rancid it is not the process that is at fault but the carelessness of the oilmen.

The manufacturers claim that they are meeting the "cremendous shortage in fats in the country". Have they increased the fat content in any way? All they have done is to transform good existing material into a bad and expensive product which will "taste better and keep better!"

There are two ways of meeting this shortage. one is by increasing milk production and the other is to increase the production of cold pressed oils both by stopping export of edible oil seeds and increasing the cultivation of oil seeds.

The Chairman of the *Vanaspati* Manufacturers Association of India in his letter refers to the apprehension that traces of nickel found in *vanaspati* may "prove poisonous in the long run" and assures us that.

"they would do no harm as it has been found that human beings can absorb and excrete relatively large quantities of nickel without any ill effects resulting therefrom" and that vegetables which people consume "such as carrots, onions, tomatoes, lettuce etc. contain much larger quantities of nickel than is ever likely to be found in *vanaspati*."

He seems to be innocent of the fact that the nickel in the vegetables is in combination while that in *vanaspati* is definitely foreign matter. This will make



a world of difference in the capacity of the human body to deal with such matter. The one may be excreted while the other may act as a poison.

Again the Chairman makes light of "Col Sokhey's speculations" based on "two month old experiments on rats". We are not here to put up a defence on behalf of Sir S. S. Sokhey. He is quite capable of taking care of himself. But when the Chairman goes on to state that "to condemn *vanaspathi* on inconclusive evidence, while the case is officially *sub judice* is to do a disservice to the country in general and to an important food industry in particular" and calls upon us "to withhold criticism until the Expert Committee publishes its findings", we feel he is applying the safety valve in the wrong place. If I am walking through the jungle with a child and the child is picking wild berries to eat and two villagers passing by express differing opinions on the poisonousness of the berries, would I suggest that the child should go on eating the berries while the question of their poisonous nature is *sub judice*? The prudent course will be to stop the child eating the berries pending satisfactory proof that the berries are wholesome. Similarly, if the Chairman feels the matter is *sub judice* we submit that the proper course for the manufacturers, on whom the onus of proof would lie, is to immediately stop producing *vanaspathi* until conclusive evidence that it is not harmful is forthcoming. We trust this reasonable course will now be adopted by the *vanaspathi* manufacturers without a legal injunction.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## GANDHIJI'S ADVICE TO SINDH HINDUS

Gandhiji's timely clarification of his advice to Sindh Hindus has heartened them to face the future with courage and fortitude. Asked to clarify his advice that Sindh Hindus should migrate in the event of partition, Gandhiji told Bhai Pratap Dayaldas of Hyderabad who met him at New Delhi:

"I said that you should suffer bravely, but non-violently unto death. But if you cannot do that and must take a disgraceful surrender of all including honour, your womenfolk and religion, in that case, the only and safe proper course for you to take is migration, not singly, but of all the Hindus and other non-Muslims."

To a further query as to what would be the plight of the minorities in Sindh in the case of a partition of India, Gandhiji replied:

"That question is to be fought out in the Constituent Assembly, but I am certain that all protection that is humanly possible will be stipulated for. You must not be weaklings."

### Errata

In *Harijan* of May 4, 1947 last word on page 135 should read *madam*.

In *Harijan* of May 11, 1947 on page 143, in १-१ read शम्भ instead of शोभन्त, in २-३ read अतिमुष्य instead of अतिमुष्य, in २-६ read वृषीदुष्ट instead of वृषीदुष्ट, in the next verse read चात्पुर् for चात्पुर् and ४१ for ३१. In the next paragraph after that for *the bank* read *on the bank*. In ३-६४ for सखीति read समीति. In the monk's address for *the wealth* read *wealth*, and in the last line for अविष्यो read अविष्यो.

## GANDHIJI'S BIHAR TOUR DIARY

15-5-'47

Gandhiji addressed the prayer gathering today in Bankipore Maidan at Patna after a fortnight. In the interval, he said, he had been to Delhi and Calcutta. He had not foreseen his visit to Calcutta. For, his vow of *do or die* was taken only for Noakhali and Bihar. But what he heard about Calcutta made him feel that he might be of some use there. And he could say that he had not been entirely unsuccessful. In Calcutta also he was serving Bihar. For the cause was the same. By going to Calcutta or elsewhere, where he might be called upon to go in future, though the possibility was very remote, he did not leave our Bihar or Noakhali. It only extended the field of the operation of his *do or die* mission. He felt that success at one place would be followed by success at other places. The future was, however, in God's hands.

During his absence Gandhiji had kept himself informed about the work going on in Bihar. During the day he had received more information. Affairs in Bihar moved slowly. The Biharis were, however, not slow when they committed acts of madness. There was no reason why they should be slow in making amends. The rains were coming. They were working against time. The Ministry had concentrated the control of rehabilitation work in Ansari Sahab's hands for the sake of efficiency. General Shah Nawaz, who had gone on a short leave, would be presently in their midst. If sufficient capable women workers imbued with the spirit of loving service came forward to work among the Muslim women, he felt sure, the work would go forward.

Gandhiji was sure that if Bihar succeeded in instilling confidence in the Muslims, her influence would be felt throughout India. Some Hindus wrote to Gandhiji to ask if he expected them to flatter and fawn on the Musalmans. He, as a life-long fighter with truth and *ahimsa* as his weapons, could not countenance that. What he counselled was the control of their baser instincts of anger and hatred. And if avoiding harshness and adopting perfect gentlemanliness was flattery, he would not hesitate to use that word.

Gandhiji then informed the congregation that he could not bear the strain of touring every place in the heat. He had to content himself with holding his prayer meeting at different places every day.

16-5-'47

Gandhiji in his post-prayer speech at Gulzarbagh today referred to his visit to the refugee camp nearby prior to the prayer meeting. He had not been able to see it as thoroughly as he would have liked to do. But what he saw and heard from the Superintendent made him really glad.

The camp was being run on the principle of self-help. Men worked and were paid their due. The children also worked, though they were paid more than what they would be otherwise entitled to. Such self-help bred self-respect.

They were innocent men and women, continued the speaker, who had suffered at the hands of the Hindus who had gone temporarily insane. It was their (the Hindus') duty, therefore, to make all amends they could. They should go and visit the refugees in the camp, interest themselves in every detail of their life, and seek to help them in every way they could. If they did that, Gandhiji said, it would be in part payment of the debt that they owed to the refugees whom they had wronged.

Similarly, about the refugees who had left the province through fear or due to false propaganda, they need not beg them to come back. They should win them back by the magnetic power of their love. If they could create such an atmosphere of affection and brotherliness, most of the Muslims who had left the province would return. His work and that of the Government would be considerably lightened. And Bihar would truly become the province of Spring, as its name signified.

17-5-47

Gandhiji did not address the prayer gathering this evening, arranged at Dinapur, about six miles from here, because of the noise at the meeting which included a large number of women and children.

A large congregation had assembled at the prayer ground and thousands of men and women continued pouring in. With all efforts the noise created by the crowd could not be stopped. Gandhiji, therefore, dispensed with the usual practice of two minutes' silence during the prayer.

Gandhiji told the gathering that he felt that he was defeated in his attempt to make them hear what he wanted to say. He felt sorry for that. He told the audience that he was leaving the prayer ground without addressing them.

18-5-47

As Gandhiji's weekly silence had begun earlier in the day, his written message was read out to the prayer gathering.

In the course of the message he stated that it pained him that the day before he had to keep a very large number of the audience, who attended the prayer meeting, without being able to give them his usual message. He thought that due to the carelessness or inefficiency of the volunteers or because of an insufficiency of loud-speakers the eager and vast crowd had to go away disappointed. "Such failures should be a matter of shame for us and we should learn to keep order even when we gather in hundreds of thousands," he remarked.

Gandhiji further stated that if we were not able to observe this elementary rule of good conduct he was afraid, we would not be able to retain our hard-won independence. Democracy required that every one, man or woman, should realize his or her responsibility. That was, he thought, what was meant by *Panchayat Raj*. If any limb of the body ceased to function properly the whole body became slack. Similarly, Gandhiji stated, the whole of India was one body and the individuals were its limbs. If one limb should become slack or useless, the

whole body would suffer proportionately. That was why he laid so much stress on lack of discipline at meetings, in railway trains or at railway stations.

Gandhiji went on to state that he would go so far as to feel that if they had been trained to keep order at all gatherings, the Bihar riots would have been an impossibility.

Today any disturbance was given a communal colour with the result, Gandhiji thought, that what was not meant to be a communal conflict turned into one. The volunteers, therefore, should realize how important it was to teach the people to keep order whenever they congregated. This would not be accomplished by merely attempting it when meetings were actually being held. Previous training was necessary. Volunteers must go from house to house and give the people this necessary adult education.

Gandhiji suggested that the volunteers should aim at taking him again to Dinapur and to that end prepare the people for perfect silence and other observances of the laws of meetings and when they were sure they could take him back when he returned from Delhi, Gandhiji stressed that that would be a good object lesson.

## TO SOUTH AFRICA

[On the eve of their departure for South Africa, Gandhiji sent the following message to Drs. Y. M. Dadoo and G. M. Naicker, to be conveyed to Field Marshal Smuts, the European community, the African and coloured peoples and to the *Satyagrahis*. Ed.]

Field Marshal Smuts is a trustee for Western civilization. I still cling to the hope that he will not sustain it on the suppression of Asiatics and Africans. South Africa should present a blend of the three.

To the people of South Africa, to whom I am no stranger, I would say that they should not make the position of their representatives impossible by their unwarranted prejudice against colour. The future is surely not with the so-called White races if they keep themselves in purdah. The attitude of unreason will mean a third war which sane people should avoid. Political cooperation among all the exploited races in South Africa can only result in mutual goodwill, if it is wisely directed and based on truth and non-violence.

I have no doubt that those South African Indians who seek to create a division will do harm to themselves and to the great cause of liberty for which the movement of *satyagraha* has stood and must stand.

To the *satyagrahis* I would advise strict adherence to the fundamentals of *satyagraha* which literally means force of truth and this is for ever invincible. It is a good sign that they have a progressive European group solidly behind them. The *satyagrahis* of South Africa should know that they have India at their back in their struggle for preserving the self-respect of the Indians in South Africa.

# HARIJAN

May 25

1947

## AHIMSA. A FACT OF LIFE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. 1. The Hindus being influenced by your preaching of *ahimsa* may in the near future get beaten by the Muslim League followers. This is the general feeling in view of the belief that the Muslims are being secretly armed on a wide scale.

A. 1. The assumption is serious. If it is sound, it casts a grave reflection upon the Provincial Governments. In any event, how I wish the Hindus were influenced by my teaching of *ahimsa* which is a force mightier than the force of arms however powerful. No teacher can be held responsible for a caricature of his teachings. Do we not know how geometrical propositions are caricatured by indifferent pupils? Are the teachers to be blamed? The utmost that can be said against me is that I am an incompetent teacher of *ahimsa*. If such be the case, let us pray that my successor will be much more competent and successful.

Q. 2. After the British withdrawal from India, there is a likelihood of chaos and anarchy prevailing in the country. There is a fear that the Nationalists, unless they immediately started learning self-defence with fire-arms, may suffer and ultimately find themselves under the heels of the Muslim League whose followers believe only in fighting. Pakistan or no Pakistan, the trouble is coming because there is the secret hand of imperialism working behind the scenes. Would you not modify your theory of *ahimsa* in the larger context of such a political situation overtaking the country for the sake of individual defence?

A. 2. The Nationalists are not worth the proud name they bear, if they fear the Muslim League as you imagine. Can the Nationalists exclude the followers of the League from the sphere of their action? I am not thinking of vote-catching devices. I am thinking of the Muslims as Indians, the same as others, needing their care and attention. If the leaders have ceased to believe in *ahimsa*, they should boldly and frankly say so and set about putting their house in order. For me there is no scope for any change. *Ahimsa* is no mere theory with me, it is a fact of life based on extensive experience. How can a man who has tasted apples and repeatedly found them sweet be induced to describe them as bitter? Those who say they are bitter have tasted not apples but something looking very much like them. *Ahimsa* should not fear the secret or open band of imperialists assuming for the sake of argument that it is working as suggested in the question.

## DEBTOR, JUDGE AND JURY

In a previous issue we had indicated how the present Sterling Balances are but the resultant of many items of expenditure that have been debited to India, and later appropriated out of our revenues and other items representing goods taken away from India, not on a contract basis, but more or less, on a system of confiscation. We had pointed out that these debts if properly scrutinized and adjudicated by an impartial Tribunal will show a credit balance to India of about five thousand seven hundred crores. We had also suggested an impartial judicial Tribunal to be appointed to go into all transactions of debts and credits since the days of Clive to the present day.

A few days ago Dr. Hugh Dalton, the Chancellor of the British Exchequer, threatened to use the giant strength of Great Britain in repudiating her legitimate dues to her creditors. The nobility of strength lies in using it in the defence of the weak and the needy, not in terrorizing the world to do the will of the wielder of the big stick.

Now comes the news that to a question in Parliament, raised by Col. Crosswaite Eyre, asking if Dr. Dalton's statement — that the war debt owed by Great Britain is to be very substantially scaled down — represented the British Government's policy, the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee replied saying that "there is nothing new in this policy which, so far as the Sterling Area Countries are concerned, was set out in Article 10 of the Anglo-American Financial Agreement of December 13, 1945."

When it suits the parties they preach the high principles of sanctity of contracts and the fulfilment of obligations, and when it does not suit them, they come out with excuses which will not appeal to anybody but themselves. When India was a debtor, we were not even given a hearing when we questioned the accuracy of the debts and these very debts have been settled by the Britishers paying themselves out of Indian revenues, the public of India having had no voice or say in the matter.

By an adventitious circumstance now India stands as a creditor. These credits were not piled up by India supplying war materials on her own volition. Whatever was needed was taken away by the British Government of India and in return paper notes were substituted resulting in untold suffering caused by maladjustment in the economic organization of the country. Ultimately we can trace, not only the Bengal famine, but even the recurring famines since, to this disruption of the economic structure. The poor people of India have not only suffered physically, but millions have lost their lives as a consequence. It would, therefore, be seen that the claims of Great Britain to scale down her debts are not tenable.

When a powerful debtor country wishes to get out of its obligations there will be nothing to prevent dissatisfaction, hatred and ill-will between the parties. These are the seeds on which global wars are raised. If we wish to prevent the mighty relying on their might to suppress justice and fair play,

we ought to have an International Tribunal to adjudicate on such matters. Would it be possible for the UNO to bring into existence such a body to which these and other such questions may be referred and thus prevent the debtor himself playing the role of the judge and the jury?

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## DIARY OF GANDHIJI'S CALCUTTA VISIT

9-5-'47

In his post-prayer speech Gandhiji said that he had not expected to come to Calcutta but when he had reports from friends about events in Calcutta, he thought that he should go there and put in his work in pursuit of the same object that had taken him to Noakhali and then to Bihar.

They saw before them Gurudev's portrait with floral decorations, for 25th of *Baisakh* was Gurudev's birthday. That was why they had two hymns from Gurudev's pen sung to them. Great men never died and it was up to them to keep them immortal by continuing the work they had commenced. The second (*Hinshaya Unmatta Prithvi*) was most apposite at the moment when the Hindus and the Muslims were fighting. The purport of the hymn was that God should take them from darkness unto light, from untruth unto truth and from misery unto bliss indefinable. This was the *mantra* with which he had armed Deenbandhu Andrews and Pearson when he permitted them to proceed to South Africa. These two were among the best of Gurudev's numerous devotees throughout the world. It was a good thing that Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's words uttered to the Pathan deputation that had waited on him were to the same tune. They should read those words for themselves. If all followed the advice, India would truly become a unique land of real peace. They knew that the Qaid-e-Azam was joint signatory to the document on non-violence he had signed. That at once imposed on him (Gandhiji) the duty of fasting unto death if either the Hindus or the Muslims descended to the level of savages or beasts. Let the Hindus of Bihar and the Muslims of Noakhali remember the fact.

He had earned the right to fast by the service which he had and was still rendering to the Muslims of India. The poet Iqbal had taught them already that true religion does not teach men to hate one another. Let them all take that lesson to heart and render India a land of peace and brotherhood among men.

The British were surely going to quit India. If we had any differences between ourselves let us make it completely our own affair and not approach the British for a settlement; for the latter had no duty except to quit at the earliest possible moment. If they fulfilled that part of their task, all else could be settled between ourselves as between brother and brother.

10-5-'47

Gandhiji addressed himself to two questions that were asked of him

The first question was: In view of the sourness between the Hindus and the Muslims that seemed to be daily growing, was it possible for the two to become friends?

Gandhiji answered emphatically that the enmity could not last for ever. They were brothers and must remain so in spite of temporary insanity. But perpetual feud was not an impossibility between communities as it was not between two individuals. He hoped that that would not happen, for he prophesied that in that case they would bury the two religions in India and would sell their freedom for a mess of pottage.

The second question was: Could partition of Bengal be avoided in view of the rising Hindu opinion in its favour?

Gandhiji recognized the force of that opinion. He himself was not in a position to pronounce an opinion. But he could say without fear of contradiction that if there was partition, the Muslim majority would be responsible for it and, what was more, the Muslim Government that was in power. If he was the Prime Minister of Bengal, he would plead with his Hindu brethren to forget the past. He would say to them that he was as much a Bengali as they were. Differences in religion could not part the two. We and they spoke the same language, had inherited the same culture. All that was Bengal's was common to both, of which both should be equally proud. Bengal was Bengal. It was neither the Punjab, nor Bombay, nor anything else. If the Prime Minister could possibly take up that attitude he (the speaker) would undertake to go with him from place to place and reason with Hindu audiences and he made bold to say that there would not be a Hindu opponent left of the unity of Bengal, the unity for which the Hindus and the Muslims had fought together so valiantly and undone "the settled fact" of so powerful a Viceroy as Lord Curzon. If he were Janab Suhrawardy, he would invite the Hindus to partition his body before they thought of partitioning Bengal. If he had that sturdy love for Bengal and the Bengalis, whether Hindus or Muslims, that love would melt the stoniest Hindu heart as it was their fear and suspicion that had seized the Hindu mind. He could not forget Noakhali or even Calcutta if all he heard was true, as it was equally true of the Muslim mind in Bihar. And he had not hesitated to tell the Hindus (of Bihar) that they should remove all suspicion and fear from the Muslim mind. He believed in the sovereign rule of the law of Love which made no distinctions.

11-5-'47

In the course of his post-prayer address Gandhiji said that he had the privilege of receiving Shaheed Sahab at Sodepur. He had wished to go to his house but he would not let him go to his place. He had no information to give on the interview save that he had to repeat what he had said the day before.

He then addressed himself to the two questions put to him at the prayer meeting.

The first was: You have advised us to work for an undivided Bengal. But can there be an undivided Bengal with a divided India?

The answer was that if what he had said was well understood, it followed that nothing could happen without the joint wish of both the Hindus and the Muslims. If a third party was not to decide their fate, it could be only decided by their joint will. Then there was no question as yet of a divided India. If the distant event unfortunately did come to pass, the joint and free will of Hindu and Muslim Bengalis would decide which part to join.

The second question was: The British have not yet quit. Should not that be our first demand? Can we not wait to settle matters between ourselves after power is really transferred to the Indian people?

This question really did not arise. For when the whole of Bengal had one united mind, it was irrelevant whether it was expressed then or after the British power had actually withdrawn.

12-17

In a written message to the prayer gathering Gandhi said:

The thought that is uppermost in my mind today is how to combat the *goonda* rule that seems to be fast enveloping us. This I say of all India, perhaps it is true more or less of the whole world.

Let the Hindus not deceive themselves with the belief that it is well with them. As a devout Hindu that I claim to be, I wish to affirm that we Hindus will be living in a fool's paradise if we harboured any such thought. *Goondism* is no preparation for taking the place of foreign rule.

The thoughtless interference at prayer meetings is not a small symptom of the disease I am describing. Intolerance is a form of *goondism*. It is no less disgraceful than the savagery which we see announced in the daily press. Let all political workers, be they Hindu, Muslim or any other ponder well over what is happening before their eyes. Let it not be said by the future generations that we were trying to learn how to lose liberty before it was even gained. I would ask all the school masters of India, now that they are no longer under the observation of the foreign masters, that they should recognize their true function even at the risk of their lives to give the right bent to the minds of those whom it is their proud privilege to mould.

13-5-47

At today's prayer meeting Gandhi dealt with the questions that were before him.

The first was: What could we do to save ourselves and our culture—whether Hindu or Muslim?

Gandhi said that he thought that nobody else could protect their culture for them. They had to protect it themselves and could destroy it by their folly. Thus, if Bengal had one culture, as he believed it had, it was for the people of Bengal to protect it.

The second question was: When everything at the top goes wrong, can the goodness of the people at the bottom assert itself against its mischievous influence?

In answer Gandhi said that if the people at the top went wrong, it was certainly open to, and it was the duty of those at the bottom, to remove the wrong top even as he would remove an umbrella which appeared to be at the top but which was sustained by him.

Thus Pandit Nehru was at the top. But in reality he was sustained by them. If he went wrong, those at the bottom could remove him without trouble. Coming nearer home if they found Suhrawardy Sahab (the Bengal Premier) to be unworthy, they at the bottom could certainly remove him, not by physical force but by the way he had had the honour of putting before them. The argument that he was elected by the Muslim voters was beside the point.

It all boiled down to the fact that if the people at the bottom were ignorant, they would be exploited. Such was the case with the English. When they realized their strength and the fact that the bottom sustained the top, it would be well with them. Therefore, he would say that if the top was wrong there was something radically wrong with the bottom. Let them, therefore, dispel their ignorant helplessness.

Before he dealt with the questions, Gandhi told some demonstrators that they need not be afraid of his doing anything that they did not like. He represented nobody but himself. He could only give advice which they were free to accept or reject. Therefore, if Bengal was divided or united, it would be their act.

1, 5, 7

Gandhi, in his after-prayer speech today said that he was leaving for Patna and then proceeding to Delhi, and hoped to return to Calcutta after his work in Delhi was finished.

He had spent two hours in visiting the scenes of the recent disturbances in the company of the Chief Minister and could see that the destruction was small compared to the August disturbances. He hoped this was the last of disturbances in Calcutta.

Gandhi then replied to two questions put to him. The first question was:

Calcutta has virtually become divided into Hindu and Muslim zones. What can be done by the citizens so that normal life can once again be restored?

Gandhi replied:

The only way is at least for one party to be wholly truthful and non-violent. Then they will fear no one but God. Such men are the men of courage. All parties will make friends with them and even *goondas* will shed their *goondism* before them. I know of no other better way. I have appealed to the Muslims who are in a majority to take the lead.

The second question was:

Why do you ask the Hindus to study the Quran also? Is it not enough if they study their own religion?

Replying Gandhi said:

It is the duty of everyone to study the scriptures of religions other than his own. This enables people to keep their religion pure and rid it of blemishes. Moreover, we have Christians, Muslims, Parsis and followers of other religions amongst us. It behooves the Hindus to study their religious books if they regard them as their brothers.

## ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## INSTALMENT XX

## ENGLISH

## HINDUSTANI

- Crab, catch a v.** चप्पुका झुलझना या फँसना, झुलडी खाना।  
 جیر کا الجھا یا پھاسا، الٹی کھانا
- Crabs, to turn out v.** असफल होना, नाकाम होना।  
 بھیل ہونا، نا کام ہونا
- Crabbed adj.** कड़वा, कटोर, विह्वलित, झुलझा हुआ, पेचीदा (लेखका) घुरी लिपि, बदस्त, खराब लिखायी।  
 کڑوا، کنہور، چڑ بڑا، الجھا ہوا، پیچیدہ (لکھ کا)، رلی  
 لپی، بد خط، خراب لکھائی
- Crack n.** दरार, कड़क, गरज, घमाका; चाट (अवानकरी)  
 دوار، کڑک، گرج، دھमाکا، چوٹ (جھٹکا)
- Crack adj.** चाँदया, तड़ाकेला, जाँरका, खिलाही।  
 ڈھا، چڑی، کا، زور کا، کھلاڑی
- Crack brained adj.** पागल, पगला, मूर्ख, सक्की।  
 پاگل، پگلا، مورکھا، سक्की
- Crack v.** फटना, चिटकना, तोड़ना, फाँड़ना, दरार डालना; गावातक भारी पड़ जाना।  
 پھٹنا، چٹکنا، ٹوڑنا، پھوڑنا، درار ڈالنا، آواز کا پھاری پڑنا
- Crack a bottle v.** बोतल खाली कर देना, सब पी जाना।  
 بوتل خالی کر دینا، سب پی جانا
- Crack a joke v.** ठग्न मारना—करना, हँसी करना।  
 ٹھग्न مارنا—करना، हँसी करना
- Cracked adj.** पागल, मूर्ख; टटा, तरेड़वाला, तड़का हुआ।  
 پاگل، مورکھا، ٹٹا، تریڑ والا، تड़का ہوا
- Crack one's fingers v.** चुटकी बजाना, छुटलियों चटकाना।  
 چٹکی بجانا، छुटलियों चटकाना
- Crack up v.** बढ़ना, चढ़ना, तारीफ करना।  
 بڑھنا، چڑھنا، تعریف کرنا
- Cracker n.** पटाखा, करारा बिस्कुट; झूठ।  
 پٹاخا، کرارا بیسکٹ، झूठ
- Crackers, nut- n.** सरोता।  
 سروता
- Crackle v.** कड़कड़ाना, चटकना, चड़चड़ाना।  
 कड़कड़ाना، चटकना، चड़चड़ाना
- Cracknel n.** अंक तरहका कुरकुरा बिस्कुट।  
 अंक तरह का कुरकुरा बिस्कुट
- Cradle n.** पालना, झूलना, हिंदोला।  
 पालना، झूलना، हिंदोला
- Cradling n.** दौना, खाना, चौकट (लकड़ी या लोहेका)।  
 दौना، खाना، चौकट (लकड़ी या लोहेका)
- Craft n.** खालाकी, घाखेबाजी; निपुणता, कारीगरी, काम, यन्त्र, पेशा; नाव, जहाज।  
 خالاکي، دھارے بازی، تپا، کاریگری، کام، دھند، پيشه، ناؤ، جہاز
- Craftsman n.** कारीगर, शिल्पकार, दस्तकार।  
 کاریگر، شلپکار، دستکار
- Craft, handi- n.** दस्तकारी, हाथका काम।  
 دستکاری، ہاتھ کا کام
- Crafty adj.** चालाक, चतुर, कपटी, छली।  
 چالاک، چتر، کپٹی، छली
- Crag n.** कड़ाड़ा, भूची चट्टन।  
 کڑاڑا، اوبھی چٹان
- Cram v.** ठेंसना, झुंहासुंद भरना, घुसड़ना, अमिष्ठानके लिये रटना, पढ़ना।  
 ٹھنسا، مہاسیم بھرن، گھسڑنا، امتحان کے لئے رٹنا، پڑھنا
- Crambo n.** चुकवरी, चैतबाजी, खेल।  
 चुकवरी، चैतबाजी، खेल
- Cramp n.** अँल, सरोड़।  
 اँل، سरोڑ
- Cramp v.** रोकना, अटकना।  
 روکنا، اٹکنا

- Crane n.** सागर, कूब, दमकला (बाँस झुठानेकी अंक बड़ी कल)।  
 سارس، کوب، دمکلا (جوبھالنے کی ایک بڑی کال)
- Cranium n.** खोपड़ी।  
 کھوپڑی
- Cranial adj.** खोपड़ीका।  
 کھوپڑی کا
- Crank n.** धुरेका काँहनीदार सिर; धुरेकी मोड़; वहगी आदमी, सक्की।  
 دھرے کا کہی دار سر، دھرے کی موڑ، وہی آدمی، سक्की
- Cranny n.** दरार, छुराख, तरेड़।  
 درار، سوراخ، تریڑ
- Crape n.** अंक किसका काला सिरसिरा काड़ा (यातमके लिये विस्ताराल हाता है)।  
 ایک قسم کا کالا جھرجھرا کڑا (یا تم کے لئے استعمال ہوتا ہے)
- Crash n.** चढ़ाका, घमाका, टक्कर, मोटा कपड़ा, खेतकी तरह।  
 دھوا کا، دھماکا، ٹکڑ، موٹا کڑا، کہیں کی طرح
- Crash v.** चढ़ाकें साथ गिरना, टकराना, टुकड़े टुकड़े हो जाना।  
 دھوا کے ساتھ گرن، ٹکرانا، ٹکڑے ٹکڑے ہو جانا
- Crass adj.** मोटा, घना, बहुत, निहायत।  
 موٹا، بھنا، بہت، بہت
- Crate n.** टोकरा, छाया, लौची (लकड़ीका)।  
 ٹوکر، پھا، کھاسی (لکڑی کا)
- Crater n.** ज्वालामुखी पहाड़का मुख, आग झुगलनेवाले पहाड़का मुँह; गड्ढा।  
 جوالا مکھی پہاڑ کا مکھ، آگ اگلنے والے پہاڑ کا مکھ، گڑھا
- Cravat n.** गुलबंद, नेकटासी।  
 گلو بند، نکٹا سی
- Crave v.** माँगना, चाहना, बहुत ही चाहना, लालसा करना।  
 مانگنا، چاہنا، بہت ہی چاہنا، لالسا کرنا
- Craven adj.** दरपोक, कायर, गिरा हुआ।  
 ڈرپوک، کاہر، گرا ہوا
- Craven, cry v.** इधियार डाल देना, हार मान लेना।  
 ہتھار ڈال دینا، ہار مان لینا
- Crawl v.** रेंगना, पेटके बल चलना; घुटनियों चलना, घसितते चलना, धीरे धीरे चलना; कीड़े-सकोंकी बहुतयात होना।  
 رینگنا، پٹ کے بل چلنا، گھسیرنا، چلنا، گھسٹے چلنا، دھیرے دھیرے چلنا، کیڑے مکوڑوں کی بہت ہونا
- Crayon n.** रंगीन खरियाकी पेन्सिल; चित्र या तस्वीर (रंगीन खरियाकी)।  
 رنگین خریا کی پینسل، چित्र یا تسمیر (رنگین خریا کی)
- Craze n.** पागलपन, वीचानती।  
 پاگلپن، دیوانگی
- Craze, be the v.** बहुत पसंद आना, रिवाजसे होना (किसी चीज़का)।  
 بہت پسند آنا، رواج میں ہونا (کسی چیز کا)
- Crazy adj.** पागल, वीचाना, सौदासी, कमजोर, गिरेवाला।  
 پاگل، دیوانہ، سودا سی، کمزور، گریے والا
- Crazy pavement n.** बेजोड़ ओटों या पत्थरका कर्षी।  
 بے جوڑ اینٹوں یا پتھر کا فری
- Creak v.** चूँ चूँ करना, किरकिरीना।  
 چوں چوں کرنا، کیرکیرنا
- Cream n.** मलाभी, बालाभी; मलाभीकी मिठाभी, सत, सार, जान, बितर, असल।  
 ملائی، بالائی، ملائی کی مٹائی، ست، سار، جان، بتر، اصل
- Cream cheese n.** मलाभीका पनीर, दूधिया पनीर।  
 ملائی کا پنیر، دودھ یا پنیر
- Cream coloured adj.** दूधिया रंगका।  
 دودھیا رنگ کا
- Cream separator n.** मलाभीको दूधसे अलग करनेकी कल।  
 ملائی کو دودھ سے الگ کرنے کی کل
- Cream v.** मलाभी बनाना, मलाभी जुतना सार या बितर निकाल लेना।  
 ملائی بنانا، ملائی بنانا، سار یا بتر نکال لینا
- Creamery n.** मखन, घी बनानेका कारखाना; दूध, मलाभी या मखनकी दुकान।  
 مکھن، گھی بنانے کا کارخانہ، دودھ، ملائی یا مکھن کی دکان

**Crease** *n.* चुपट, सलबट, तह; खिलाड़ी और मैद फैकनेवालेकी हड (किंकरी)।  
چٹا، سلوٹ، تہ: کھلاڑی اور گیند پھینکنے والے کی ہڈ (کرکٹ میں)

**Create** *v.* پیدا کرنا، اختراع کرنا؛ بنانا، بنا سدا کرنا، رचना، कारण साधना होना।  
پیدا کرنا، این کرنا، بنانا، بنا کھڑا کرنا، رچنا، کارن یا ساخت کرنا

**Creation** *n.* پیداؤش، اختراع؛ تراش، جगत، दुनिया; भावना, कल्पना, कथाल आदी।  
پیداؤش، بی: تراش، جگت، ، بھاننا، کلیا، خیال آرائی

**Creator** *n.* پیدا کرنے والا، بنانے والا۔  
پیدا کرنے والا، مانے والا

**Creature** *n.* जीव, हैवान, प्राणी, बनाया हुआ।  
جیو، حیوان، پرائی، بنایا ہوا

**Creche** *n.* बच्चोंका सरकारी दाखाना।  
بچوں کا سرکاری دای خانہ

**Credence** *n.* विश्वास, अित्तिवार।  
وٹواس، ایتار

**Credence to, give** *v.* मान देना, विश्वास या अित्तिवार करना।  
مان لینا، وٹواس یا ایتار کرنا

**Credentials** *n.* सन्दर्भ पत्र।  
سند

**Credible** *adj.* यकीन करने या माननेके लायक, मानने योग्य।  
یقین کرنے یا ماننے کے لائق، ماننے योगی

**Credit** *n.* विश्वास, यकीन, भरसा, अित्तिवार, साख, मान, नेक-नामी, आय, जमा; शुधार, कल।  
وٹواس، یقین، ہر سہ، عبارت، سا کھ، مان، سک، ای: آؤ، جمع: ادھار، قرض

**Credit** *v.* मानना, भरसा करना; जमा करना, आय खातेमें लिखना।  
ماننا، ہر سہ کرنا، جمع کرنا، آؤ کھانے میں لکھنا

**Credit, a letter of** *n.* हुंसी।  
ہنسی

**Credit to, give** *v.* अित्तिवार या विश्वास करना।  
ایتار یا وٹواس کرنا

**Credit for, get the** *v.* नेकनामी पाना, नामवर होना।  
بیک نامی پانا، نام ور ہونا

**Credit, lose** *v.* साख खाना, विश्वास या अित्तिवार जाता रहना;  
ساکھ کھانا، وٹواس یا ایتار جانا رہنا

**Credit, on** *n.* शुधार।  
ادھار

**Creditable** *adj.* अच्छा, तारीफ या सराहनेके योग्य, मान या अित्तिवार लानेवाला।  
اچھا، تعریف یا سراہنے کے योगی، مان یا ایتار لانے والا

**Creditor** *n.* क्रेणदार, जिसे कर्ता केना हो, साहुकार।  
لی داور، جسے قرض لیا ہو، ساہکار

**Credo** *n.* देखो Creed।  
دیکھو Creed

**Credulous** *adj.* भोला, सीधा-सादा, जल्दी मान देनेवाला।  
بھولا، سیدھا سادہ، جلدی مان لینے والا

**Creed** *n.* धर्म, मत, अित्तिवार, मत, अित्तिवार (धर्म کے)۔  
دھرم، مذہب، مت، اصول (دھرم کے)

**Creek** *n.* खाड़ी, कोल।  
کھاڑی، کول

**Creel** *n.* मछली रखनेका टोकरा।  
مچھلی رکھنے کا ٹوکرا

**Creep** *v.* रेंगना, पेदके बल चलना, चुपके या धीरे धीरे चलना, बेल या लता चढ़ना।  
رینگنا، پیٹ کے بل چلنا، چپکے یا دھیرے دھیرے چلنے، چل یا لٹا چڑھنا

**Creep in** *v.* चुपकेसे अंदर आना, घुसना।  
چپکے سے اندر آنا، گھسنا

**Creep out** *v.* चुपकेसे बाहर निकलना।  
چپکے سے باہر نکلنا

**Creeper** *n.* लता, बेल।  
لٹا، بیل

**Creepy or crawly** *adj.* डराना, घिनौना, रेंगता।  
ڈرانا، گھبرانا، رینگنا

**Creeps, flesh** *v.* शरीरमें घुन्सुनी पड़ जाना, बांठियाँसी चलना।  
شریر میں سسنی پڑ جانا، جیوٹاں سی چلنا

**Creeps, gave me the** *v.* मुझे डर आया, मुझे घिन आयी।  
مجھے ڈر آیا، مجھے گھن آئی

**Creeping things** *n.* कीड़े-मकोड़े, जीव-जन्तु।  
کیڑے مکوڑے، جیو جنتو

**Cremate** *v.* देह या लाश जलाना।  
دھم یا لاش جلاتا

**Cremation** *n.* दाहकरण, सुर्दा जलाना।  
داه کرنا، مردہ جلاتا

**Crematorium or Crematory** *n.* समाधान-भूमि, सुर्दा जलानےकी जगह, लाश-भट्टी।  
سماڈان بھومی، مردہ جلاتے کی جگہ، لاش بھٹی

**Cremona** *n.* खास वायोलिन (सारंगी) जो क्रमोना नगर (अतालिया)में बनता है।  
خاص وایول (سارنگی) جو کرمونا نگر (ایتالیا) میں بناتا ہے

**Crenated** *adj.* दौलीला।  
دائلا

**Crenelated** *adj.* कंगारेदार।  
کنگورے دار

**Creole** *n.* सरापके लोग जो वेस्ट इंडीजमें पैदा हुये और जिनका पावन-पोषण वही हुआ; दांगला भेल (फ्रांसीसी या हस्पानी और हल्लीका)।  
سرآپ کے لوگ جو ویسٹ انڈیز میں پیدا ہوئے اور جس کا پالن پوسن وہیں ہوا؛ دھنگلا بھل (فرانسیسی یا ہسپانوی اور جسی کا)

**Creole negro** *n.* हल्ली जो अमेरिकामें पैदा हुवा हो।  
ہल्ली جو امریکہ میں پیدا ہوا ہو

**Crepe** *n.* रेशमका धारीक कपड़ा, केप।  
ریشم کا باریک کپڑا، کپ

**Crepe de Chine** *n.* चीनी केप (कच्चे रेशमका कपड़ा)۔  
چینی کپ (کچھے ریشم کا کپڑا)

**Crepitate** *v.* चिचकिड़ या कुड़कुड़की आवाज करना।  
چپ چپ یا کو کو کی آواز کرنا

**Crepitation** *n.* फेफड़ोंकी आवाज (जो डाक्टर नेक खास यंत्रसे सुनत है)۔  
پھیڑوں کی آواز (جو ڈاکٹر ایک خاص یتر سے سننے میں)

**Crescendo** *n.* बढ़ता हुआ सुर, बारीके तरफ बढ़ना।  
بڑھتا ہوا سر، باریکی کے طرف بڑھنا

**Crescent** *n.* बढ़नेवाला, चढ़ता; दूजका चाँद; आखिरी चाँद; दूजके चाँद या आखिरी चाँदकी शकलका; तुर्कीका धवा; अित्तिवारका निशान।  
بڑھنے والا، چڑھتا؛ دوج کا چاند؛ آخری چاند؛ دوج کے چاند یا آخری چاند کی شکل کا؛ ترکوں کا جھنڈا؛ اسلام کا نشان

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## HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL



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TWO ANNAS

## THE INTERNATIONAL CHORE-BAZAAR

A few weeks back, we commented on the immorality of India taking part in any programme of reparations. We hold that we were not a party to the last war, nor do we now seek to gain anything as a consequence of the last war, which was waged for imperial purposes by all parties concerned. In any case, to take advantage of people who are down at the moment, because of their inability to be the first amongst the most violent, is mean and unchivalrous. It is on a par with highway robbery or with depriving the weak of their property, using one's own strength for the fulfilment of one's own desires. First came the news that German patents were being distributed amongst the Allies and some of their industrial establishments were being dismantled for distribution among the so-called "victors". Then a similar news item in regard to Japanese assets also appeared. India was asked to send her indent for the German booty. Our reaction was that to have any part in those nefarious transactions would dab us with the same brush with which we have been painting the imperialists.

Greed and selfishness have been the root cause of creating hatred and illwill amongst all nations and they have led to repeated global wars which have brought in distress, starvation and death in their wake. India's cultural background is one of peace and goodwill amongst nations and we ought not to deviate from this tradition of India if India is to deliver the message of goodwill amongst the nations of the world.

Referring to Reuter's report that 80 million yards of piece goods and 8 million pounds of yarn of Japanese textiles are being allotted to India, the special correspondent of a Madras newspaper reports that the Government of India seem to be chary of giving any information in regard to the news. He added that the Government of India have asked for higher allotment than that mentioned above and that the question of distribution was under active consideration. We are not clear whether these goods form part of the reparations loot from the Japanese. If it is so, it would mean that India is rapidly drifting towards imperialism. We earnestly hope that the present Interim Government would do all it can to keep us from following the downward path that the Japanese had taken during the last century.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## PUBLIC PROTESTS

A news item from Madras states that thousands of people had foregathered at the Tilak Ghat on the beach at the meeting arranged for Shri C. Rajagopalachari and Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Rajaji's arrival seemed to be the signal for an unseemly demonstration of hurling sandals, stones and sand at the platform. This kind of demonstration is simple hooliganism and lawlessness and this tendency appears to be gaining ground all over the country. It is a disgrace to the public life of any country and much more so to that of ours which aims at achieving great political ends through non-violent means.

In a vast country like ours, there will be occasions for public dissatisfaction at the course adopted by the powers that be. Governments are not omniscient and often are led away by those who are in the proximity of the ministers. It may be that the people of Madras had a great many grievances against the Interim Ministers which they wished to bring to their notice. This is both natural and proper, and it is also the duty of the public to keep the ministers in touch with their desires and it is their right to pull up the ministers when they deviate from the path laid down by the nation. But, at the same time, the ways and means of doing this must be both dignified and graceful. Unruly methods, such as the one adopted at the Madras meeting, harm the cause much more than perhaps the participants were aware of. It is an insult to the guests and it is a reflection on our public life. As we move towards Swaraj and democracy, greater and greater opportunities will occur for bringing to the notice of the ministers and Governments the grievances of people. Hence, it would be necessary for us to develop self-control and discipline in such matters even from now.

To this end we would suggest that the leaders of the various parties should educate their followers, either through regular classes or propaganda, in the proper ways of bringing to public notice the grievances of the parties. This should be considered as a very urgent item of their immediate programme otherwise lawlessness and indiscipline will spread and mar the public life of the country.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## HOW FOOD MAY BECOME POISON

[The following from a correspondent will be of interest to the readers. The quotation from an authority on nutrition values of food clearly explains how oils lose their food value in the process of hydrogenation—the process through which oils have to pass to become *vanaspathi*.—Ed.]

I have been watching with interest and pleasure the efforts you have been making to bring home to the Governments and the public the injurious nature of the foods of commerce such as *vanaspathi* and such other oils. The following passage taken from the book *Chemistry of Food and Nutrition* by Sherman, an authority on nutritional matters, may help to clarify the position. The passage is under the heading *Unsaturated Fatty Acids*.

"These unsaturated acids have as a rule a much lower melting point than the saturated acids containing the same number of carbon atoms. The glycerides show correspondingly lower melting points than those of the saturated fatty acids and are therefore found more largely in the soft fats and the fatty oils. Such soft fats or fatty oils can be hardened to any desired consistency (up to that of stearin) by hydrogenation which changes the unsaturated fatty acid radicals into the corresponding members of the more saturated series. This process has been enthusiastically developed commercially, and large quantities are now hydrogenated to the consistency of lard substitutes. It remains to be determined how far this is at the expense of the special nutritional value which food fats owe to the presence of some of the more highly unsaturated fatty acid radicals. (Then follow details of oleic, linoleic and such other fatty acids). These are but examples, doubtless many other fatty acids of this series occur in natural fats.

"It is now generally regarded as established that some unsaturated fatty acid or acids, as or are *nutritionally essential* in the sense in which this term has long been applied to some of the amino acids in connection with protein metabolism, i. e. these acids are either not synthesized in the body, or not rapidly enough to meet its needs; so they must be furnished in some form in the nutriment.

"Recognition of the special nutritional importance of some of the more highly unsaturated fatty acids has been followed by reinvestigation of several food fats as to the presence of such acids, with the result that they are now being reported, where previously they had escaped attention."

It must be borne in mind that food, when all its components are intact, promotes health and longevity, but the same food when one or more of its elements are either missing, or are changed chemically, not only ceases to be a food but is a source of disease. It is not food but poison. This is in accord with the definition of food (खाद्य) given in the *Upanishads*. It is, therefore, highly necessary that both the public and the Government should beware of patronizing or encouraging chemical methods of converting foods into a form fit for preserving them. There must be

sufficient clinical experiments on men, spread over a sufficiently long period, before advocating such foods to the public.

## "MIST OF DEATH OVER NEW YORK"

[This is an article contributed by David B. Parker, Lieutenant Colonel U. S. A., to *Coast Artillery Journal* and condensed in the *Reader's Digest* of April 1947. It gives us a vivid picture of what is in store for mankind if the sub-brutal instinct of man's inhumanity to man is not subjected to salutary restraint. —V. G. D.]

*Excerpts from some future historian's note book*

At 3-30 in the morning of February 25, 1952 Roger Jones, a resident of lower New York, woke up with a violent, inexplicable attack of nausea, which lasted a quarter of an hour. When he went back to bed he noticed a thick mist blowing in at his window. This surprised him, for the night had begun clear, with a strong steady wind.

At 3-40 Ellis C. Manchester, Port Commissioner of New York, arrived at the water front. He had been routed out of bed by frantic phone calls from subordinates, who now met him at Pier 10, the end of which had been battered by a huge wave in spite of darkness and mist, he could see more damage farther up the Hudson. The excited men about him spoke of a great tidal wave caused by an earthquake far out at sea. As the Commissioner walked back to his car, he was overcome by a sudden attack of nausea.

At about the same time Dr. Hiram Strandberg, a Columbia University radiologist, who often worked all night in his laboratory, noticed that the pointers of three of his radio-activity meters had moved clear off the calibrated dials. After a hurried check with other instruments, he telephoned his wife to get out of the city at once. Then he called the police, the Mayor and Army Headquarters. Some of those who answered were politely incredulous, others sleepily annoyed. As Strandberg left his laboratory, he noticed the mist riding on a stiff southwest wind—a combination he had never observed before.

By five o'clock the Mayor's office was full of officials, newspaper and radio executives. Pale and unshaven, they listened to a group of scientists, among whom was the famous physicist and Nobel Prize winner, Dr. Felix Novak, trying to outline a catastrophe that no reliable witness had actually seen.

Not until months later was the whole story of the disaster pieced together. An atomic bomb had been detonated deep in the waters of New York Harbour. Whether the bomb had been planted by a submarine, or dropped overboard with a time fuse from surface craft was never determined. It exploded at 3 a. m. with a muffled roar noticed by few of the city's sleeping millions. The explosion sent skyward, a mile or more into the air, several million tons of water—not solid water but a rainy mist of particles each one of which was laden with radio-active fragments that shot forth deadly gamma and beta rays. The enemy had picked a night ideally

suited to his purpose, a 30-mile wind was blowing from the bomb's bursting point straight up the long splinter of Manhattan island. In less than an hour the lethal rain had fallen all over the city. Although the intensity of the radio-active deposits varied greatly from block to block, death threatened everyone.

At 5-15 the Mayor put into effect "Schedule 99" — a plan for the evacuation of New York which had been prepared some years ago. Immediately orders and warnings flooded the air from all radio stations — until they were silenced by power failure caused by the flight of power house employees. There were some other deserters, but city firemen, policemen, national guards and scientists remained at their posts, risking the accumulation of an almost certainly lethal dose of gamma rays. The calmest people in the city were the scientists who had mustered New York's collection of Geiger Counters (most sensitive instruments for the detection of radio-activity invented by Hans Geiger, Rutherford's German assistant) — a pitiful 100 machines where 10,000 would have been too few and went about mapping the contours of infection.

Ten minutes after the news of the explosion reached him, Dr. Felix Novak had estimated the amount of radio-activity released. "Over the city's most heavily contaminated areas," he told the Mayor, "the average dose of gamma radiation is enough to be fatal to anyone who remains there for more than three hours. In these cases death will not occur for at least nine days — possibly not for six weeks — and there will be no symptoms for two or three days. In a few places people will get such a concentrated dose that they will be nauseated almost at once.

These people will die within four days. The people who are able to get out of the city fast may lose some of their hair next week, or run a slight fever, but they will recover completely. Only the future can tell what the gamma rays will do to their descendants."

Dr. Novak died on the ninth day after the disaster. But while his estimate of the radio-activity proved uncannily accurate, there were many who died in less than the minimum time he predicted. For neither he, nor the Mayor, nor the police, nor the young soldiers, who wept as they fired into mobs, foresaw the chain reaction of hysteria which seized the inhabitants of New York as they tried to get off their narrow island. It was the worst panic known in all human history.

Thousands were crushed to death in subway stations, on bridges, in the tunnels under the rivers. After the first hour of the panic the city's exits were so clogged with wrecked cars and corpses that only a trickle of people — some of them swimmers — were able to escape. The trains that were in the city early that morning got out with capacity loads. Many train crews heroically volunteered to return, and continued the evacuation until the city was nearly emptied and the panic had subsided. But these return trips often exposed the volunteers to the few additional minutes of radiation needed

to tip the balance, and caused their deaths four weeks later.

At the time of the explosion, there were more than 20,000,000 people on Manhattan. According to figures admittedly inaccurate, given out later, within six weeks 3,89,101 New Yorkers were dead or missing. Most of the survivors suffered from some form of radiation sickness. In addition, many thousands outside of Manhattan were stricken, particularly in the Bronx and Westchester County, and large numbers of them died. The casualties most distant from explosion were in the upstate town of Watkins Glen, about 180 miles away, where the vagaries of the air currents dropped a large concentration of fission products.

Dr. Strandberg, the first man to see the disaster recorded on his tell-tale instruments, had at once been put in charge of the Geiger-counter survey squads, and had worked night and day until ordered out of the city by Dr. Novak. Two weeks after the explosion his hair began to drop out. After 18 days he began to lose weight and ran a fever. After four weeks he was deathly pale, suffered from nose bleeds and had lost 25 pounds. Only many transfusions and vitamins saved his life. The Wall Street night watchman in the hospital bed next to his developed exactly the same symptoms and died on the 32nd day.

It took nearly a week to get all the living out of New York. No one will ever know how many died from causes other than radiation, — how many were drowned in the rivers, how many were killed in subways by contact with third rails, how many were shot as looters.

On March 6, a small party of bold scientists, Geiger counters in hand, threaded its way back through the invisible maze of death to retrieve precious documents. Gradually, as radio-activity on the city's walls and pavements and stairways and table tops decayed, more such raids were organized, some of them in lead-lined army tanks.

It was not easy to find volunteers for such expeditions, even when under the protection of Geiger counters. The gamma-ray effects were cumulative and made repeated exposure as deadly as a single concentrated dose.

All through the spring and summer, efforts to decontaminate portions of the city were continued. A good deal of radio-activity was washed from the streets with sea water but once the first layer had been removed, repeated treatment had little effect on the residue. It was particularly difficult to decontaminate the outside of buildings, for hosing them down collected deadly washings at their base. There were no chemicals that could be used to neutralize the poison of radio-activity. Machinery worth countless millions was a total loss. Even when it could be removed, its contamination stayed with it.

Not for a whole year was New York City officially declared fit for repopulation by its survivors.

# HARIJAN

June 1

1947

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

HOW TO COMBAT HIMSĀ

Q. 1 The leaders and followers of the League do not believe in attaining their object through non-violence. In such circumstances, how is it possible to melt their hearts or to convince them of the evil of violent action?

A. 1 Violence can only be effectively met by non-violence. This is an old, established truth. The questioner does not really understand the working of non-violence. If he did, he would have known that the weapon of violence, even if it was the atom bomb became useless when matched against true non-violence. That very few understand how to wield this mighty weapon is true. It requires a lot of understanding and strength of mind. It is unlike what is needed in military schools and colleges. The difficulty one experiences in meeting *himsa* with *ahimsa* arises from weakness of mind.

Q. 2 Today many people are beginning to feel that a clash, possibly of a violent character, with the supporters of the League is inevitable. The nationalists feel that until the League agrees to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab, its demand for Pakistan is unjust. What means should they adopt to meet the situation?

A. 2. If the answer to the first question is held valid, the second question does not arise. However, the question may be discussed for a clearer understanding. If the majority of the Muslims obey Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah, a violent conflict should be out of the question, or if the majority of the Hindus take their stand on non-violence, no matter how much violence the Muslims use, it is bound to fail. One thing, however, should be perfectly understood. The votaries of non-violence cannot harbour violence in thought, let alone the question of doing it. If Pakistan is wrong, partition of Bengal and the Punjab will not make it right. Two wrongs will not make one right.

Q. 3 The majority of the Socialists claim that if there was a socialist revolution the economic question will come to the forefront throwing the communal conflict in the background. Do you agree? If such a revolution takes place, will it promote the establishment of the Kingdom of God which you call *Ramarajya*?

A. 3. The economic conflict you envisage is likely to make the Hindu-Muslim tension less acute. Even the end of the Hindu-Muslim conflict will not end all our troubles. What is happening is this. With the end of slavery and the dawn of independence, all the weaknesses of society are

bound to come to the surface. I do not see any reason to be unnecessarily upset about it. If we keep our balance at such a time, every tangle will be solved. As far as the economic question is concerned it has to be solved in any case. Today, there is gross economic inequality. The basis of socialism is economic equality. There can be no *Ramarajya* in the present state of iniquitous inequalities in which a few roll in riches and the masses do not get even enough to eat. I accepted the theory of socialism even while I was in South Africa. My opposition to the Socialists and others consists in attacking violence as a means of effecting any lasting reform.

Q. 4. You say that a *Raja*, a zamindar or a capitalist should be a trustee for the poor. Do you think that any such exists today? Or do you expect them to be so transformed?

A. 4. I think that some very few exist even today, though not in the full sense of the term. They are certainly moving in that direction. It can, however, be asked whether the present *Rajas* and others can be expected to become trustees of the poor. If they do not become trustees of their own accord, force of circumstances will compel the reform unless they court utter destruction. When *Panchayat Raj* is established, public opinion will do what violence can never do. The present power of the zamindars, the capitalists and the *Rajas* can hold sway only so long as the common people do not realize their own strength. If the people non-co-operate with the evil of zamindari or capitalism, it must die of inanition. In *Panchayat Raj* only the *Panchayat* will be obeyed and the *Panchayat* can only work through the law of their making.

(Adapted from the original in *Hindustani*)

New Delhi, 25-5-'47

## KHADI IN OUR LIFE

For nearly three decades Gandhiji has been preaching *khadi*. Thousands of our national workers have taken to wearing handspun and handwoven cloth as a result. But few of them realize the full implications of this symbolic apparel. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in one of his oratorical flourishes, has called *khadi* the "livery of freedom". Others have looked upon the wearing of *khadi* as a matter of discipline. But how many have realized that *khadi* is the way of life which aims to bring our practical everyday relationship between our fellowmen to conform to the ideals of non-violence and truth which is the basis of this programme?

*Khadi* is not merely the wearing of handspun and handwoven cloth. *Khadi* stands for an economic organization based on a self-sufficiency and cooperation wherein production takes place for use or consumption and not for exchange. This is in contrast to the present economic order which is based on competitive production for exchange. The rules and regulations as well as the principles which

govern our actions under co-operation greatly differ from those which regulate competitive life. The competitive order, when pushed to its logical end, brings us to the jungle law of the survival of the fittest and let the weakest go to the wall. But, under co-operation, if anything, the weak get greater care and consideration, and the satisfaction of our primary needs is given priority over production for exchange purposes. Trade takes place only on surplus goods and not on those which supply the needs of our existence. Co-operation ultimately leads us to achieve goodwill and peace in society, while competition spells hatred, jealousy and strife.

Hence, if we appreciate the introduction of *khadi* into our life, the idea should be broad-based so as to include all goods produced by our own efforts for our own consumption. In such an order, importation or buying of articles produced by organization within the competitive realm of production would be avoided and encouragement of production by mutual cooperation and understanding should be the order of the day.

The adherence of our Congress workers and public-minded citizens to *khadi*, therefore, will support village industries and they will not be guided purely by money considerations and prices. The price mechanism is distinctively a device of the competitive economy. "Will an article pay?" is a rule of law which will not be allowed to guide the *khadi*-minded.

In a household, when the mother prepares food for her child, her consideration is not based on money values, she puts in her labour of love as a matter of course and delights in her service as a member of the family, not as an imposed duty but as a function and of part of her life. She has her being in the happiness of her child. She gets her satisfaction in attending to the needs of those who are helpless.

The guiding factors in a social order governed by the ideals of *khadi* are our cultural tradition, the equitable distribution of goods and such other considerations which bring us into close relationship with our fellow-men. These will be determined by the existing needs and not by the ideas of creating and accumulating wealth. If there is land available, it will be first utilized for production of the food needed by the community and not for growing tobacco, long-staple cotton and such other raw materials for mills which may bring in more money. When land is diverted from food to raw materials, by the consideration of the return the owner gets, society will suffer from the maladjustment of its economic organization.

The message of *khadi*, therefore, includes bringing enough food into existence which will supply all our needs by our own efforts, looking after those in need of help and bringing about human relationships based on non-violence and truth not only amongst our immediate neighbours but also in our relations with our neighbouring nations.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## STORY HOUR

(Continued from Vol. XI No. 14, Page 135)

[XV is from Southey's letter to Caroline Bowles and XVI from Martin G. Brumbaugh's *The Making of a Teacher* (Harpers), V. G. D.]

### XV

There is a story of a Spaniard who was fond of cherries, and whenever he ate them, put on glasses to make them look large and finer. I do this with all my enjoyments of every kind; make little pleasures into great ones, and put on diminishing glasses when I look at the inconveniences.

### XVI

She taught a rural school far back in pine woods. The school had neither door nor windows, and the children sat on cross-sections of trees set on end. The teacher had no chair, no stove, no protection from bad weather. One day in February a severe storm damp and cold and penetrating, swept over the State. Without a moment's hesitation she stood in the open doorway, with her face turned to the pupils and her back to the cruel cold that she might afford them shelter. But her love cost her her life. She had an attack of pneumonia and in less than a week was laid to rest in a bower of roses carried by those that loved her and for whom she had given the highest expression of human love.

## INDIA MUST NOT BE DIVIDED

I had the privilege of being with Gandhiji for a week during his recent trip to Calcutta. It was very tragic to find that the Bengalis who had so valiantly resisted the division of Bengal in the early years of this century were now mad after partition. "If there is to be Pakistan, Bengal must be divided," is their slogan. "But where is Pakistan?" asked Gandhiji. "Why do you regard Pakistan as inevitable?" The usual replies were: "Jinnah Sahib is adamant on Pakistan; he will surely have his pound of flesh! Oh, there seems to be no other way out!" "Why do you silently submit to all the tyranny?" interrogated Gandhiji impatiently. "Have you forgotten the technique of fearless civil disobedience that has been so successfully employed against the British?" But the people seemed to be in no fighting mood, they were overwhelmed with panic and a sense of utter frustration. Gandhiji was, indeed, deeply distressed to witness all this frustration and abject helplessness berraying a defeatist mentality.

And the pity of it all is that the Congress initiated the move for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Had we not been repeatedly assured by our national leaders that Pakistan was an idle dream and that it could never be established on the Indian soil? But the communal disturbances in Bengal and in the Punjab seem to have unnerved the people and, perhaps, even the leaders. The very demand for the partition of provinces implies that we have reconciled ourselves to Pakistan. Otherwise, instead of saying that if there is Pakistan, Bengal and the Punjab should also be divided, we should

have firmly declared : "No, India shall remain one no power on earth can divide her !"

Even the British Cabinet Mission, after patiently listening to all that Mr. Jinnah had to say in the matter, had definitely rejected Pakistan for very good reasons in their statement of May 16, 1946. In his recent pronouncements as well, the British Prime Minister has promised to abide by that statement. Why should we, then, take any step which renders the statement of May 16 out-of-date? We are told that in their statement of February 20, the British Government have declared that, if necessary, power could be separately transferred to the existing provinces. It is argued, therefore, that Pakistan is inevitable. But such arguments all befit a great organization like the Indian National Congress. If we could compel the Britishers to quit India, we can also tell them plainly but firmly : "No, India shall not be divided." And if Pakistan is forced on us, even then the nation must resist it with all the strength at its command by starting a country-wide mass rebellion.

It is hardly necessary to repeat that the demand for Pakistan is most illogical and absurd. I need not enumerate the reasons which are legion. Even the British Cabinet Mission pooh-pooed it. But the Muslim League has been threatening to achieve Pakistan by 'Direct Action' which has now come to mean naked and inhuman violence. Have we not yielded to these threats by demanding partition of provinces? Are we not directly encouraging political *goondism* by regarding Pakistan as 'inevitable'? If we could liquidate the might of British Imperialism, it should be a child's play to liquidate the bogey of Pakistan.

There would have been some sense in conceding Pakistan if that would have satisfied Mr. Jinnah once and for all. But he is deadily against the partition of provinces, and wants the whole of the Punjab and the whole of Bengal. And his ambitions do not stop at that either. His latest demand is for a corridor joining the Western and Eastern Pakistan Zones. Later on, corridors may be demanded for joining Pakistan with the Nizam's Dominions which would, sooner or later, become part and parcel of Pakistan. Thus Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan would ultimately engulf the whole of India, perhaps, with the help of the neighbouring Muslim countries. The establishment of a sovereign Pakistan would be a constant threat to the defence of Hindustan. By hobnobbing both with the United Kingdom and the U. S. S. R. Pakistan may be able to create a very uncomfortable international situation for India. And, if unfortunately for us the Tories succeed in capturing power at the next general election, a Divided India would once again easily fall a prey to cunning British Imperialism.

Moreover, the demands for Pakistan and the partition of provinces are exercising a very unhealthy psychological influence all over the country. Many Indian States have already begun thinking in terms of sovereignty. There are serious talks for the establishment of a sovereign Pathan State, a

sovereign Baluchistan Province, a sovereign Rajasthan, a sovereign Maharashtra, an independent Dravidistan and so on. The Muslim League will also claim numberless "pockets" of Pakistan in the Hindustan areas. The logical conclusion of partition will ultimately mean the partition of districts, *talukas*, villages and even streets in cities. Are we prepared for all this? If not, we must resist the vivisection of the country with all the strength here and now. If not now, then never.

Fortunately for us, Gandhiji is still in our midst to guide us. He is definitely against both Pakistan and partition of provinces. We should seriously think a hundred times before disregarding his advice. There is yet time to ponder and decide. From one end of the country to the other, a powerful voice should be immediately raised against the vivisection of our country : *India must not be divided.*

S. N. AGARWAL

### GANDHIJI'S BIHAR TOUR DIARY

19-5-'47

Gandhiji addressed a huge but a perfectly quiet audience at Barh this evening. He congratulated the audience and the volunteers for the perfect order maintained. With the advent of their own Government the latter had to play the new role of builders of the nation, for which they required to build considerably on the constructive training received incidentally during their fight against the foreign Government because of the non-violent character of the fight.

His topic, however, for the evening, continued Gandhiji, was the great sin Bihar had committed and its atonement. He warned the people against falling into the snare of the seemingly plausible argument that in view of Muslim provocation, retaliation was inevitable and the only effective method of putting an end to it. To answer brutality with brutality was to admit one's moral and intellectual bankruptcy and it could only start a vicious circle of which they had already seen so many manifestations. He could only say that if they continued their mad game, they would not be able to retain the independence that was coming.

Barh was one of those fortunate places which did not entirely go mad. But it could not escape the responsibility for the acts of those around it. It was difficult to estimate what India had already lost through madresses like Bihar's or what she might have to lose in future. The only way to escape the consequences of their acts was to show genuine repentance and thus lighten the heavy responsibility of Ansari Saheb, with which he had been entrusted by the ministry. The people should refuse to shelter criminals who had acted barbarously or who were still threatening the returning Muslims under the false belief that they had done something heroic. How it could be heroic, Gandhiji said, he failed to understand.

To the criminals Gandhiji said that as a mark of true repentance they should surrender themselves to the police and bear the punishment that might be meted out to them. Even otherwise it was in

their interest to surrender, for if the Government and the police did their duty - which they must if they wanted to justify their existence - they would be arrested sooner or later. A voluntary surrender was bound to win them consideration from the court. What he had said, continued Gandhiji, should not be dismissed as a counsel of cowardice.

Inculcation of cowardice was against his nature. Even since his return from South Africa, where a few thousand had stood up not unsuccessfully against heavy odds, he had made it his mission to preach true bravery which *ahimsa* meant. They could not forget how in their own province the age-long tyranny of the indigo planters was swept off in six months in Champaran through non-violent resistance. They had to show the same bravery to a much greater extent if they wanted to get out of the abyss in which the country was being plunged at the time.

20-5-'47

This evening Gandhiji's prayer was held at Hilsa, one of the worst affected areas in the riots. Addressing the gathering after prayer was over he said that it was a matter of great shame and sorrow. But the shame of the sin could be turned to good account by adequate repentance. All the religions that he had studied were full of instances proving the maxim - "The greater the sinner the greater the saint". For the poignancy of the pain of the guilt enhanced the joy that a guiltless life brought with it. The speaker wished that the maxim could be proved true in the reformed life of the people of Hilsa. They would be repelled by physical dirt. Surely the repulsion caused by mental dirt which the insanity of the Hindus of Hilsa meant was much greater than the pain caused by any physical dirt however great. He was wondering, continued Gandhiji, how he could awaken genuine repentance in the hearts of the Hindus of Hilsa. It had been suggested to him that if he settled down in Hilsa and went from house to house, he would be able to effect the desired transformation. Although there was truth in the remark, he must own his physical weakness and consequent inability to follow the advice. They were none the better for his confession. He hoped, therefore, that his remarks would penetrate the hearts of the large audience and that they would invite the Muslim sufferers to return.

He had been told that many Muslims came to see the place and finding it unprepared left it. He expected them to help the process of renovation of the shattered houses. The rainy season was approaching. They should therefore, be quick about their work. Till then it was their duty to accommodate the Muslims in their own houses as they would accommodate their own blood relations. The Hindus and the Muslims had lived like blood relations in Bihar before. There was no reason why they should not revive the old time.

If the Hindus showed the spirit of brotherliness, concluded Gandhiji, it would be good for Bihar for India and the world.

21-5-'47

Gandhiji addressed a mammoth gathering at Bikram this evening. He congratulated the audience for the perfect quiet maintained throughout the prayer and the correct beating of time in the singing of *Ramadhun*.

He also congratulated them for keeping their sanity while insanity raged all round - thanks to the efforts of Congressmen and other Hindus. Still some tension did exist and many Muslims left the place out of fear. As the houses were intact, the problem of their repair did not arise. The Hindus could, however, clean up lanes and houses deserted by the Muslims and create such an atmosphere of hospitality that the Muslims would be forced to return.

Gandhiji next took up the thread of his talk at Hilsa where he had dropped it the day before. He had heard from various quarters that ever since the acceptance of office by the Congress it was abandoning its tradition of penance, sacrifice and service, so painfully built up during its glorious history of over 60 years, from its humble beginnings in 1885 to the present day when it had become a mighty organization having millions of followers. They said that it was fast becoming an organization of selfish power-seekers and job-hunters. Instead of remaining the servants of the public, Congressmen had become its lords and masters. The Congress was, moreover, torn by petty intrigues and group rivalries. What he said was true of all the provinces. If that continued, he was afraid Indians would not be able to retain the precious thing that was approaching. For that they required knowledge, understanding and purity of mind. If the Congress and the League did not retain the requisite purity and strength, they would find all power slipping from their hands. They could not hope to maintain it with the help of the bayonet like the British. All their power came from the people, who were the real masters, though they might not realize it at the moment. The Congress won their confidence through years of service. If it betrayed them, he was afraid, they would fall a prey to the wire-robed *gomidas* of society in whose hands all power would pass.

He had come to Bihar for solving the Hindu-Muslim problem but things were so interrelated that he was forced to take up other issues as well. He had, therefore, dwelt on the corruption that was coming in the Congress. The Congress should be above party intrigues and be a symbol of unity and service of the whole of India.

22-5-'47

Explaining to the huge congregation at Fatehpur how the people could make the best of his present programme of holding his prayer meeting at different places everyday, Gandhiji said that if the people living within a radius of five miles from the place of the prayer could walk up to it, which they could easily do, instead of waiting for him on the roadside, they would not have to disturb his



rest on the way and would have the additional advantage of hearing his message.

He knew, continued Gandhiji, that a peace committee had been formed to work in the disturbed areas. Such a committee should have on it all the influential Hindus and all the Muslims of the province who formed after all a very small percentage.

Gandhiji next explained how women could help in the work of rehabilitation in answer to a sister's question. Fortunately most of the Hindu women were free from purdah. True purdah should be of the heart. Whatever sanction outward purdah might have in any religion, it was entirely out of keeping with the present times.

Hindu women, therefore, could and should freely mix with their Muslim sisters and share their pain and sorrow. He had heard, continued Gandhiji, that at the Masaurhi milk distributing centre Muslim children were objecting to taking milk in cups already used by Hindu children. This should not make the Hindus angry. It was their own untouchability practised against the Muslims and others which had infected the Muslims. Otherwise, untouchability should be foreign to the spirit of Islam. Hindu women, unalienated by this new sad development and full of the spirit of love and service, could perform the noble task of creating understanding among their Muslim sisters.

Gandhiji next referred to an incident related to him by his grand-daughter who had just come back from the hospital. The sad significance of that incident was that with the advent of power, Congressmen had begun to think that everything belonged to them. In a way it was true. But that did not imply that all sense of discipline should be thrown to the winds. Discipline and true humility should be a matter of pride for Congressmen.

Gandhiji also dwelt on black-marketing that was rampant in Bihar as in other provinces. If the people made up their minds not to buy from the black market even if they had to starve, the evil would end at once. He also advised the merchant class to become honest. For, black-marketing was criminal when the country was passing through a period of acute shortage of cloth and food grains, and Dr. Rajendra Prasad was saying in Madras that unless food came from outside, he saw no way to prevent starvation. He could not subscribe to this cry of despair. If all followed his advice, none need strave in this land which was capable of producing all the food grains it required rather than be reduced to the position of a beggar. Australia had offered to sell food grains to India provided the latter sold her linseed in return. Such bargaining spirit ill-became any country when dealing with another country in dire need. Such were however the ways of the world.

23-5-'47

After making a feeling reference to Saint Makhdum Maneri who lived about eight hundred years ago at Maner where the evening prayer was

being held, Gandhiji proceeded to say that in Maner though communal tension had existed it had been saved from actual rioting by the efforts of Congressmen. As he had said the day before, continued Gandhiji, due to the interrelations of things he could not help taking up other questions along with the present task of rehabilitation. He referred to the question of the landlords.

They all knew the century-old Raj of White planters ended by the determined will and concerted action of all the people and their leaders. The most well-known of whom were the late B. K. Kishore Babu and Rajendra Babu, but he was told that the tyranny of white Rajas was being continued today by the Indian zamindars who exploited their ryots economically, terrorized them through their officials and escaped due punishment through collusion with the authorities. If it was true, the zamindars were digging their own graves. Their future lay only in being the trustees for their tenants.

But as a man of truth and justice, he must also dwell, said Gandhiji, on the other side of the picture presented to him by the zamindars who recognized him as a friend because of his universal friendliness, although they knew his identity with the masses. They told him that with the coming of Congress Raj, drawing its sanction from the masses, the ryots felt that they could commit all sorts of excesses, dispossess zamindars of their entire property, destroy their crops and terrorize them by other acts of violence. Similarly, labourers in mills thought under the influence of false propaganda that they could become the masters of the mills by damaging them.

As one of the masses he could only say to the peasants and industrial labour that they were only harming their own cause by that senseless policy. They were the real masters but they must realize their strength, and know its use. By going mad, the millions could easily destroy a handful of zamindars but ultimately their madness would turn against themselves.

He also heard destructive criticism of the Government by people who could not themselves wield the power that had come to the nation, and would not let those wield it who could. The Ministers on the other hand should be real servants of the people from whom they derived their power, free from nepotism and corruption, meting out even justice to all.

If all the three—the zamindars, the ryots and the Government—in Bihar did their duty, concluded Gandhiji, Bihar would give a noble example to the whole of India.

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## HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## IN DELHI

In the sweltering heat of Delhi Gandhiji arrived on the 25th May in answer to Pandit Nehru's call. Both the Sardar and the Panditji had wired to him to go to Mussoorie where they had gone for a brief rest and change. But he could not go as he had promised himself not to leave his field of service till friendly relations were established between the two communities in Noakhali, Bihar and Calcutta. A member of Gandhiji's party at Patna came to see me while I lay ill in the hospital at Bombay last month. "Gandhiji is leaving hostages wherever he goes," she said humorously. "Pyarelalji and others who accompanied him to Noakhali are the hostages there and we who are with him in Bihar are left behind as hostages every time he goes to Delhi." The fact is that he would be in every riot-affected area himself if he could manage it by some magic. Mr. Khan of Chandpur came to pay his respects to him at Delhi the other day. "Tell the people of Noakhali that I have not deserted them," he said to him. "I hope to return as soon as possible." The workers of the Nature Cure Trust at Uruli and Panchgani have been beseeching him to go there for a short stay in the interests of the Trust and his own health. But he is adamant. "The Hindus and the Muslims of Noakhali and Bihar must first assure me that they no longer require my services. Then alone will I think of going elsewhere for rest."

The happenings in the country oppress him heavily. Having deprived himself of the help of his usual staff, he burns the candle at both ends. He has become reckless with regard to his health and life. "In the India as I see it shaping today, there is no place for me," he said. There was passion in his voice. "I have given up the hope of living 125 years," he continued. "I might last a year or two. That is a different matter. But I have no wish to live if India is to be submerged in a deluge of violence, as it is threatening to do. There is the communal frenzy and they are talking of militarization and industrialization. India might become a first class military power and a highly industrialized country. But where is the place for village industries or *khadi*, symbols of non-violence, in such India?"

In a letter to an old Ashramite he wrote: "I am in the midst of flames. Is it the kindness of God or His irony that the flames do not consume me?"

What is it that sustains him? It is his Himalayan faith. A European friend who had spent a few days with him in India in 1935 writes to him

from America: "I think of you in prayer while in that part of the world, where I am not very far from the place where they manufacture the atomic bomb material U 235. I see only the light of hope for our Western civilization in your radiant and friendly guidance and wisdom." In his reply Gandhiji wrote "I am the same as when you saw me except that my faith burns, if possible, brighter than before."

The Chinese Ambassador Dr. Lo Chia Luen came with Pandit Nehru to see Gandhiji. "How do you think things will shape themselves? How do you predict the future?" he asked.

"I am an irrepresible optimist," replied Gandhiji. "We have not lived and roiled in vain all these years that we should become barbarians as we appear to be becoming, looking at all the senseless bloodshed in Bengal, Bihar and the Punjab. But I feel it is just an indication that as we are throwing off the foreign yoke all the dirt and froth is coming to the surface. When the Ganges is in flood, the water is turbid. The dirt comes to the surface. When the flood subsides, you see the clear blue water which soothes the eye. That is what I hope for and live for. I do not wish to live to see Indian humanity becoming barbarian."

"And who can predict the future? Years ago I read Butler's *Analogy*. Therein I read that the 'future is the result somewhat of our past'. This thought has persisted with me because it coincides with the Indian belief. We are the makers of our own destiny. We can mend or mar the present and on that will depend the future."

The Chinese Ambassador was thoughtful. "History sometimes repeats itself. If we do not learn the lesson of history," he said. "It is only a half truth," replied Gandhiji. "History may seem to be repeating itself today. I believe that nothing remains static. Human nature either goes up or goes down. Let us hope, in India, it is going up. Otherwise, there is nothing but deluge for India and probably for the whole world."

They talked of the havoc wrought by the war in China. Would the war-weary Asiatic countries follow in the footsteps of Japan and turn to militarization? The answer lay in what direction India would throw its weight. "India is becoming the laughing stock of the world," he said in the course of one of his post-prayer speeches. "The world asks where is your non-violence with which you have won your independence? I have to hang down my head in shame. Will a free India present to the world a lesson of peace or of hatred and violence of which the world is already sick unto death?"

The learned ambassador conveyed to Gandhiji the deepest respect and affection of the Chinese people. Gandhiji valued their affection and said he would love to visit China which had so much in common with India. The ambassador began to talk of Chinese philosophy and quoted Lao-tse's maxim: "Production without possession, action without self-assertion, creation without domination." Gandhiji's face beamed. "You are talking the language of the *Upanishads*," he said. "The same thought is to be found in the *Ishopanishad*."

New Delhi, 28-5-'47

S. N

## WEEKLY LETTER

### INTOLERANCE

During Gandhiji's last visit to Delhi he had often to suspend public prayers as a result of some individuals' vociferous objection to the recitation of verses from the *Quran*. The majority of the audience wanted the prayers to be held and was indignant at the disturbance. In the surcharged atmosphere of the day, Gandhiji was afraid that a continuation of the prayers might result in injury to the objectors. Therefore, he suspended the prayers. In the meantime he continued to impress upon the public the need for keeping calm and maintaining discipline in spite of all provocation. This time also a lady sent him a letter on the very first day protesting against the recitation of the *Quran*. She was present at the prayer meeting. Before commencing the prayers Gandhiji explained that he could not stop the prayer because one or two persons objected. The owners of the *mandir*, where he was praying, did not object. He observed that the Delhi audience had obtained mastery over itself so as to hearten Gandhiji in the belief that they would not be provoked to do any injury to the objector. He, therefore, felt that prayer should be held irrespective of whether anyone objected or not. There was a similar incident at Calcutta, he said, but the prayer was held, because the vast gathering, which had assembled, wanted it. The objector desisted ultimately. He could not stop prayers every time someone objected. He asked the audience to pray, leaving disturbers unmolested.

The prayer was held undisturbed and in his post-prayer speech Gandhiji congratulated the sister for observing the outward decorum at least. That was the least that laws of public prayer demanded. He hoped there would be no disturbance from anyone in future. But on the second day the sister wrote again that the Sikhs and the Hindus had suffered untold miseries and hardships at the hands of the Muslims. The *Quran* preached killing of non-Muslims. How could Gandhiji include verses from such *Quran* in his prayers? She also tried to shout and cause disturbance when the prayer was started. The volunteers gently led her away.

She wrote again protesting against the holding of prayer and against volunteers leading her away. It was wrong on the part of any man to touch a woman, she said.

Replying to her on two successive days Gandhiji said that he did not agree that it was always wrong

on the part of a man to touch a woman. He himself leaned on girls' shoulders during his walk. There was nothing wrong in it. It was wrong for a man to touch a woman if it was done with a lustful impulse.

Public prayer, he continued, was a precious privilege. It could not be lightly thrown away. It was a good thing to pray silently when someone objected even though wrongly and there was danger of the objector being molested. But he was glad that there was an exemplary response to his entreaty and the audience had remained perfectly and deliberately passive. He had received threats that if he persisted in reciting the *Quran*, there would be a black flag demonstration on the prayer ground against it. Gandhiji declared that he would hold the prayers in spite of the demonstration. He asked the audience to take no notice of the demonstrators if they came. And if they all joined the demonstration and brought black flags and *lathis* and began to beat him, he hoped he would still go on repeating God's name under their blows, without harbouring any ill-will towards them. He might be killed, but they would afterwards feel sorry for what they had done. If, on the other hand, he retaliated and even succeeded in killing a few, he would be ultimately killed and they would feel proud of their victory.

To the objecting sister he said that she had been misled. He had read the *Quran*, which she had not. Nowhere did it preach killing of non-Muslims. It preached justice for all human beings; not that all Muslims had lived up to that teaching. But had all Hindus lived up to the teaching of the *Gita* or the *Vedas*? Did that detract from the greatness of the *Gita* or the *Vedas*? Why should the misdeeds of the Muslims detract from the greatness of the *Quran*? It was wrong to develop dislike for the scriptures of those, some of whom might become temporarily insane.

### SCARE OF JUNE SECOND

There is a strong rumour afoot that on the 2nd of June following the Viceroy's statement, there would be country-wide riots. There is a tense atmosphere of expectancy as to what the Viceroy would bring. Deprecating this mentality Gandhiji said that he felt sorry that people should look to London for their own future. The Independence of India, which was their real *Kohinoor*, was there right in front of them and it was for them to decide whether to take it or discard it. There was endless speculation as to what the British political parties wanted to do or would desire to be done. All this should not affect Indian independence, if only the people of India decided to have it.

Following the same thought in a written message on Monday, he said: "It is unbecoming on our part to look to London for what the British Cabinet thinks. It is not for them to give us liberty. They can only get off our back. That they are under promise to do. But for keeping it and giving it shape we have to look to ourselves. And I promised to tell you how we were to do it. In my opinion

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we are unable to think coherently whilst the British Power is still functioning in India. Its function is not to change the map of India. All it has to do is to withdraw and leave India, carrying out the withdrawal if possible, in an orderly manner, may be even in chaos, but withdraw in any case on or before the promised date.

"There is an additional reason why no vital change in the shape of Hindustan is possible in the present state of the country. There is the joint statement issued by the Qaid-e-Azam and me. It enunciates a sound principle that there should be no violence employed in the pursuit of political aims. If in the teeth of that document, the country continues the mad career of violence of the worst kind and if the British Power is weak enough to submit to it in the vain hope that after the mad thirst is quenched things will run smooth, it would have left a bloody legacy for which not only India but the whole world will blame her. We will then have learnt the cruel lesson that everything was to be got if mad violence was perpetrated in sufficient measure. I would therefore, urge every patriot and certainly the British Power to face out the worst violence and leave India, as it can be left under the Cabinet Mission document of 16th May of the last year. Today in the presence of the British Power we are only demoralized by the orgy of blood, arson and worse. After it is withdrawn, let me hope, we shall have the wisdom to think coherently and keep India one or split it into two or more parts. But if we are bent even then on fighting, I am sure we will not be so demoralized as we are today, though admittedly all violence carries with it some amount of demoralization. I shall hope against hope that India free will not give the world an additional object lesson in violence with which it is already sick almost unto death.

#### TO THE HINDUS AND THE SIKHS

A telephone message from Bihar said that tension was increasing in view of the rumour that there would be unparalleled massacre and bloodshed following the Viceroy's declaration about transfer of power on June 2nd. It hurt him deeply. Why should they look to the Viceroy for what he would bring? Why should that make the Hindus and the Muslims panicky? There had been rumours of a similar nature previously<sup>1</sup> also but nothing untoward had happened. He hoped the present scare would similarly prove baseless. This much he wanted to convey to the Hindus of Bihar that if they went mad again and began killing the Muslims there, whom he regarded as his blood brothers and who looked upon him as their friend, they would kill him.

He had received a letter from a Sindhi friend. The Hindus were in panic there. Had the Hindus and the Muslims all become brutes? Had they no fear of God?

The talk also went about that he was staying in Bihar, no doubt, in order to help the Muslims but the result would be that the Hindus would be butchered. He had said to the Hindus that even

if the Muslims went mad, they should not lose their reason. He was not ashamed of giving that advice to anyone. The Hindus were in a minority in the Punjab, but there were the brave Sikhs each one of whom considered himself equivalent to 1½ lac. Did it mean that one Sikh could shed as much blood as 1½ lac? He thought not. It meant that one Sikh could stand up to 1½ lac persons against him. In that sense it was a tribute to the bravery of the Sikhs. Not one Sikh should stand by and see a wrong perpetrated. He should give his life to prevent it. His advice, therefore, to the Sikhs also was that whatever might have been the use of the sword in Sikh history, in this age of the atom bomb there was no weapon like non-violent resistance. It did not make cowards of men. It infused courage even in women. If he recommended non-violence, it was because he was convinced that it was the weapon of the really brave.

#### ANALOGY OF THE MAD DOG

Some one asked Gandhiji what should be done with a mad dog? His reply was that if the friend meant a mad dog literally, he himself would say that in the first place a dog would not go mad amongst really god-fearing men. But supposing in the presence of men who considered themselves of God, they found a dog running amuck, they would naturally kill it rather than allow many of themselves to be bitten by a rabid dog and be sent to Kasauli for treatment as they used to before.

But what if a human being went mad? His own brother had gone mad. He (Gandhiji) was a small boy of ten at that time. But his mother and father did not have the mad son killed. They sent for *vidyaks* and doctors and had him treated and cured.

"You are all my blood brothers whether you are Hindus or Muslims. Supposing you go mad and I have a battalion at my command, would I have you shot? No. I would not like to be shot myself, if I went mad. My friend's son went mad. I had to send him to the lock-up but I would not have him killed."

Today the madness of communal frenzy had taken possession of the country. People talked of country-wide riots on June 2nd. He was convinced none of them wanted rivers of blood to flow. One had to put up with mad frenzy and not begin to be frenzied himself by way of retaliation.

He and the Qaid-e-Azam had issued an appeal not to use violence for political purposes. Sulrawardy Sahab and others had issued an appeal that the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal were not to go mad on June 2nd, but remain friends. He hoped they would all follow the advice.

#### THE SACRED TRUST OF PROTECTING MINORITIES

Another correspondent had written a letter saying that whenever the Viceroy invited leaders from the Interim Government for discussions, he invited the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs. Were there no other communities in India? What about the Parsis, the Christians, Jews and others? They had been with the Congress. Were they to be suppressed by the vociferous elements? The

Sikhs were a brave race. The Muslims had raised a hue and cry for years and so they were being consulted. Were the quiet citizens to have no voice in shaping the destiny of the country?

The question was relevant and important, said Gandhiji. If the Sikhs and the Hindus and the Muslims thought themselves to be the only people that mattered and the rights of the other communities were in any way less than their own, they would prove themselves utterly unworthy. The curses of the innocent would destroy them. Such a Government would never be *Rama Raj* or the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth.

It was the duty of every citizen to treat the lowliest on a par with the others. If some persons became mad, that was no justification for others to follow suit. If Indians decided to live independently, Gandhiji urged, none in the world, not even a combination of powerful nations, could thwart them.

New Delhi, 29-5-'47

S. N.

## HARIJAN

June 8

1947

### HOW DID I BEGIN IT?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Readers must have noticed that last week I started writing for the *Harijan*. How long I shall be able to continue it, I do not know. God's will be done in this as in other things.

When I think of it, the circumstances under which I stopped writing for the *Harijan* have not altered. Pyarelalji is far away from me and in my opinion is doing very important work in Noakhali. He is taking part in what I have called *Maha Yagna*. Parasuramji, the English typist, who had become used to the work has gone to Ahmedabad of his own choice to help Jivanji. Kanu Gandhi was of much help, but he is also taking part in the *Maha Yagna* of Noakhali. Most of the other helpers are also unable to help under the stress of circumstances or other causes. To resume writing for the *Harijan* under these adverse conditions would be ordinarily considered madness. But what appears unpractical from the ordinary standpoint is feasible under divine guidance. I believe I dance to the divine tune. If this is delusion, I treasure it.

Who is this Divinity? I would love to discuss the question, only not today.

The question that is foremost with us all, I discuss every evening after the prayer. This writing will come before the readers after seven days. This interval would be considered too long in connection with the pressing problem. Therefore, in these columns for the moment, I must confine myself to things of eternal value. One such is *brahmacharya*. The world seems to be running after things of transitory value. It has no time for the other. And

yet when one thinks a little deeper it becomes clear that it is the things eternal that count in the end.

What is *brahmacharya*? It is the way of life which leads us to Brahma (God). It includes full control over the process of reproduction. The control must be in thought, word and deed. If the thought is not under control, the other two have no value. There is a saying in Hindustan: "He whose heart is pure has the all purifying waters of the Ganges in his house." For one whose thought is under control, the other is mere child's play. The *brahmachari* of my conception will be healthy and will easily live long. He will not even suffer from so much as a headache. Mental and physical work will not cause fatigue. He is ever bright, never slothful. Outward neatness will be an exact reflection of the inner. He will exhibit all the attributes of the steadfast one described in the *Gita*. It need cause no worry if not one person is met with answering the description.

Is it strange that one who is able completely to conserve and sublimate the vital fluid which has the potentiality of creating human beings, should exhibit all the attributes described above? Who can measure the creative strength of such sublimation, one drop of which has the potentiality of bringing into being a human life? Patanjali has described five disciplines. It is not possible to isolate any one of these and practise it. It may be posited in the case of Truth, because it really includes the other four. And for this age the five have been expanded into eleven. Acharya Vinoba has put them in the form of a Marathi verse: They are non-violence, truth, non-stealing, *brahmacharya*, non-possession, bread labour, control of the palate, fearlessness, equal regard for all religions, *swadeshi* and removal of untouchability.

All these can be derived from Truth. But life is complex. It is not possible to enunciate one grand principle and leave the rest to follow of itself. Even when we know a proposition, its corollaries have to be worked out.

It is well to bear in mind that all the disciplines are of equal importance. If one is broken all are. There seems to be a popular belief amongst us that breach of truth or non-violence is pardonable. Non-stealing and non-possession are rarely mentioned. We hardly recognize the necessity of observing them. But a fancied breach of *brahmacharya* excites wrath and worse. There must be something seriously wrong with a society in which values are exaggerated and underestimated. Moreover to use the word *brahmacharya* in a narrow sense is to detract from its value. Such detraction increases the difficulty of proper observance. When it is isolated even the elementary observance becomes difficult, if not impossible. Therefore, it is essential that all the disciplines should be taken as one. This enables one to realize the full meaning and significance of *brahmacharya*.

New Delhi, 2-6-'47

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

## CALL TO COURAGE

Division of India and consequent partition of the Punjab and Bengal has been in the Press for some time. "Let them have their Pakistan and see for themselves the absurdity of it," it is said. A Muslim lady met me in the train the other day. She was the wife of a high-placed military officer. She was sad and despondent over what was happening in the country. "My grandparents are Kashmir Pandits," she said. "How can I be a different nation from them? Today passions are running high. No one can think clearly. The Muslims won't realize the absurdity of the demand for Pakistan till they have it. But I am sure within ten years they will be coming back to the Indian Union."

She was a sensitive, well-educated, cultured lady. Her male companion had got ill and the guard of the train going in search of a doctor had called me to attend to the patient in the middle of the night. I stayed with her till the train stopped at the next station. There was a Parsi lady in their compartment. She started talking of the senseless arson and bloodshed going on in the country. "Here are we belonging to three different religions—perfect friends. Why cannot the same law apply to all?" she said. She was full of indignation. "Some of these leaders should be shot," she burst forth in anger. "To further their own schemes and their own selfish ends, they lead astray the innocent, poverty-stricken men and women and get them to kill each other. Tell me, has a single leader been killed in these riots?" We agreed with her. My own experience of the three months I spent in the riot-affected Noakhali was the same. The Muslim lady sighed and added, "I feel so utterly miserable. This country is literally going to the dogs. My children, when they grow up, will be utter misfits in this world full of hatred. In short it means 'shed sufficient blood and you can get anything'."

In Delhi I found some people talking of the same subject. "The Congress is now prepared to yield Pakistan," they said. "Why did not they do so a year ago? Is not it yielding to goondaism?"

Gandhiji's whole life has been devoted to infusing courage into the people and teaching them never to bend before violence. From the 29th May to the 1st of June his post-prayer speeches were devoted to this theme. The audience which is daily increasing in numbers listens to him spell-bound. The full text of Gandhiji's speeches from the 29th May to the 1st June inclusive is given below:

29-5-'47

Speaking after prayers, Gandhiji said that during the few days that remained between now and June 2nd, he would love to speak to them daily on some aspect or other of the topic that was uppermost in their minds.

By their exemplary restraint and attention they had drawn him and enabled him to open out his heart to them. How he wished that all those who called themselves the sons of the soil would think well and act bravely—a very difficult performance at the moment when newspapers gave gruesome

details about senseless arson and murder. He himself was not perturbed with the thought of June 2nd. He returned to India in 1915 after spending 20 years of the prime of life in South Africa. He had not stayed there to make money. He had realized early in life that God had created him to serve his fellow beings. In that service lay the service of God. That was the lesson of the first verse of the *Ishopanishad*: "That which is yours is not yours, it belongs to God, and that which belongs to others is certainly not yours." What was one to fight for?

Senseless correspondents would have him take to forest life unless he would ask the Hindus to answer sword with sword and arson with arson. He could not oblige those correspondents by denying the whole of his life and by being guilty of advocating the law of the brute in place of the law of man. On the contrary, he would plead with leaders of all parties at least to have courage to refuse to yield to brute force.

He was not thinking of the eternal law of love, much as he believed in it. If the whole of India accepted that, India would become the unquestioned leader of the whole world. Here he merely wished to suggest that there should be no surrender except to reason.

They had worked hard for achieving freedom. They had bravely faced the bayonets of the mighty British Empire. Why should they falter now? Let them not make the mistake on the eve of hard-won freedom of thinking that they were likely to lose it if they did not yield, even though it be to brute force. That way lay perdition.

He discounted all the cables that came from London. He must cling to the hope that Britain would not depart by a hair's breadth from the letter and spirit of the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16 of last year, unless the parties of their own free will came to an agreement on any variation. For that purpose they had to meet together and hammer out an acceptable solution. That statement had been accepted by the Congress and the British Government. If either of them went back on it, it would be a breach of faith.

If they would face reality in terms of the welfare of their own country they would agree first to establish peace in the country, telling the turbulent elements in the country firmly and boldly that there could be no departure from that document of May 16 until they stopped the sanguinary strife.

The Constituent Assembly was sitting in terms of the May 16 paper. It was for the British to hand over power and quit. The Government of free Indians formed under the constitution worked out by the Constituent Assembly could do anything afterwards—keep India one or divide it into two or more parts.

The British officials should know what the people were whispering. Many believed that their hand was in the riots. He must refuse to believe the serious charge unless it was established beyond doubt.

The Viceroy had no easy task before him. Here there was no question of brilliant naval strategy. It was one of honest and brave statesmanship. May God endow him with the required courage and wisdom.

30-5-'47

Speaking after prayer Gandhiji said that he had been telling them all these days not to look to London or to the Viceroy, but to look to themselves. He did not mean to suggest that the Englishmen in London were bad men or that the Viceroy was not a good man. He believed they were good men. But one did not want the interference of even good men in one's domestic affairs. They had in any case decided to go. There was no mention of safeguards for British interests. The Britishers in the Civil Services could stay on if the Indian Government would keep them. But they had to stay on their own responsibility. Not a single British soldier would be left for their protection. Their safety would be in their winning the goodwill of the Indians through service. The same thing applied to British traders and businessmen. That was the meaning of "Quit India". June 1948 was the last date on which they were pledged to quit India. "Let them look to their duty while we look to ours." And how could Indians perform their duty?

He had often wondered whether he represented anybody except himself. He did not represent the Congress because he was not even a four-anna member of the Congress. He sometimes did speak for the Congress, but that was by right of service. Similarly, he could speak for the Princes and even the Muslim League. Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah had wanted his signature to the joint appeal for peace issued by both of them sometime ago.

Being the joint author of the famous statement signed by Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah, he should represent him at least in the one deciding and supreme factor of peace. Did he represent the Qaid-e-Azam? If he did, they should be found working on the same platform and not resting till they had secured peace in the land of their birth or die in the attempt. He knew that he did not represent those who burnt villages near Gurgaon and committed murder. Whether they were Muslims or Hindus or both did not matter to him. They were all children of Mother India. It was unfortunate that the Interim Government had inherited a bad tradition and therefore they did not know who killed whom. It was the deed of "the members of a certain community". Why should they not be frank and bold enough to name the butcher by his name? Anyway he had made it clear the day before that if he had his will there never would be Pakistan before peace and certainly not through British intervention. After the joint statement he had just referred to, Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah had left no way open to himself but the way of conviction through cold reason for the attainment of Pakistan. Let him first establish peace with or without his (Gandhiji's) association and afterwards convene a meeting at his house or anywhere else of Indian leaders of all classes and

communities and plead with them the cause of Pakistan and wait till he had carried conviction to them. Let him dismiss the "Caste Hindus" from his brain. He would assure Jinnah Sahab that in the ocean of Indian humanity and even Hindu humanity they were but a microscopic minority if the Shudras were excluded. By "Caste Hindus" were generally known Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. Jinnah Sahab himself excludes the Scheduled Classes from this category and therefore would have to exclude the Shudras. For the wretched caste system had always traduced the Shudras who together with the Atishudras made the millions. If Pakistan of Jinnah Sahab's conception was a reasonable proposition, he should have no difficulty in convincing India. Let him not appeal to the British power or its representative Viscount Mountbatten. The latter's function was only to quit India at the latest by the end of June next year, leaving India at peace if possible, but quit in any case, peace or no peace. Imposed peace would be the peace of the grave of which all India and the British should be ashamed. Let it not be said that he (Gandhiji) was too late on the scene. He was not. It was never too late to mend, never too late to replace the force of the sword with that of reason. Could the British dare to impose Pakistan on an India temporarily gone mad?

Was Pakistan, according to Jinnah Sahab, a State, where every child would enjoy the fullest security, where there would be no caste and no distinctions of high and low, where there would be justice for all? No one could have anything against such a Pakistan. He himself would tour with Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah all over and explain to the people that they could all live happily in that Pakistan. But the happenings in N. W. F. P., the Punjab and Bengal did not encourage such a belief.

A friend had sent him some literature to prove that the *Quran* preached killing of *kafirs*, i. e., non-believers. He had been in the midst of Muslims all his life. No one had ever suggested that he should be killed as a *kafir*. He had been in the midst of *Maulvis* in Noakhali. Learned Muslims had told him that the meaning of the particular verse of the *Quran* was that God would take to account the so-called non-believer. But that he would do to the Mussalmans also. He judges men by their deeds and not by their words. There was mention of terrible punishments in the *Bhagvata*, the *Manu Smriti* and the *Vedas*. Yet the central teaching of Hindu religion was: "Mercy or kindness is the essence of all religion." He wanted them to bear in mind what Tulsidas had said.

"Good and bad, all men are the creation of God. The man of God picks up the good and discards the bad like the proverbial swan which is able to drink the milk and leave behind water, when a mixture of water and milk is placed before it."

31-5-47

Before commencing the prayer, Gandhiji told the audience that he wanted every word of what he said to them these days to sink into their hearts.



The best way to listen was to keep their hearts and minds open.

Speaking after prayer, Gandhiji told the audience how for a period of 54 years, since the light of non-violence dawned upon him in the far-off South African days, he had been trying to instil into them the beauty, truth and power of this matchless weapon. And yet there was the objector foolish enough to ask them to imprison Jinnah Sahab. He said that Jinnah Sahab could not be imprisoned by them and, if he could be, he would gain more strength. He suggested that the only way to do so was by remaining adamant against the establishment of Pakistan by force and by being friendly towards Jinnah Sahab. If all followed his advice, it was not impossible one fine evening to find Jinnah Sahab side by side with him. Gandhiji himself was the enemy of none and hence he claimed to represent Jinnah Sahab as he claimed to represent even Englishmen even whilst they repudiated the claim. He recited how a Pathan, his client at one time, had become his enemy and then his friend when he had discovered his mistake.

The speaker then came to the topic he wanted to discuss that evening. He reminded them that the previous evening he had said that in a free India they would neither have Birla Raj nor Nawab of Bhopal Raj. They would have *Panchayat Raj*. In a free India individuals did not count except as such. Therefore, in Kashmir, it was not the Maharaja with his soldiery that would count but the Muslims who were the vast majority there. The same thing applied to the rulers of Hyderabad, Bhopal, Travancore, Baroda and the rest. He fervently hoped that the Hindu and Muslim Princes would not take sides. It would be an evil day if they did. The Princes, therefore, would be wisely advised if they joined the Constituent Assembly. If the British were sincere, they would see to it that there was no Prince left capable of doing mischief.

Having spoken about the Princes, Gandhiji took the audience with him to a Harijan named Chakrayya, who had become a son to him in Sevagram and who died in a Bombay hospital three days ago. He was a true and brave young man. He was trained after the model of basic education. His conduct was exemplary. He belonged to Andhra and had learnt Hindustani. He was a believer in nature cure and would have willingly given up his life, if nature cure did not cure him of a tumour of the brain, had Gandhiji not intervened and wanted him to undergo what proved to be a fatal operation in spite of all the care bestowed on him by the best surgeon in the hospital. He was proud to be able to say that Chakrayya died with *Ramanama* on his lips, whilst he was conscious. It was the deceased's ambition, if he had lived, to work amongst the Harijans of Andhra. His putting Chakrayya's name side by side with the Princes had a meaning all its own.

1-6-'47

The usual interruption took place at the reading of the *Quranic* verse. Gandhiji asked the

people to bear with the insanity of the interrupter and also pleaded with the police not to remove him from the prayer ground if he remained quiet. Both requests were honoured and Gandhiji congratulated the audience and the policemen for their restraint. He then turned to the interrupter and told him that he would not have the usual *bhajan* if he continued the interruption and rebuked him for his rudeness. He claimed to be a *Sanatani* Hindu himself. The sacred thread and the tuft of hair did not make a Hindu without a pure heart and the spirit of toleration. The rebuke quietened the objector and the *bhajan* and the *Ramadhun* were sung. Gandhiji congratulated him on his ultimate restraint. He then told the audience with sorrow that Badshah Khan had during the day said that perhaps it would be bear if he did not come to the prayer lest his presence might offend. But he insisted on his coming. The daily interruptions were a sign of madness and did no good to the Hindu religion. Commenting on the quantity of discipline required in a free people he instanced that of the English people. He related the well-known story of Queen Victoria when at the age of seventeen she was awakened one night to be told that she was the Queen of England. The young girl was naturally agitated and overawed at the terrible responsibility thrown on her by God. The old Prime Minister as he knelt before the Queen consoled her. She merely said that she would be good. It was the disciplined people of England who helped her to govern. Today he wanted them to realize that independence was at their door. The Viceroy was only the nominal head of the Cabinet. They would help him by expecting no help from him in the Government of the country. Their uncrowned king was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He was working, slaving for them, not as a king but as their first servant. It was his desire through the service of India to serve the world. Jawaharlal was an international figure and he had friendly relations with all the foreign ambassadors who were now in India. But it was not possible for Jawaharlal alone to govern if the people by their indiscipline spoiled the work. He could not, as did the former autocrats, resort to the rule of the sword. That would be neither *Panchayat Raj* nor *Jawahar Raj*. (There was play upon the word *jawahar* meaning jewel). It was the duty of everyone to make the task of the Ministers easy and not force their hands in any way.

Then the speaker reminded the audience how a year ago he (Panditji) had gone to Kashmir when he was badly needed in Delhi and how at the bidding of the Maulana Sahab, the then President of the Congress, he had returned to Delhi. Today Panditji was talking of wanting to go to Kashmir again. His heart was sore because the leader of the Kashmiris, Sheikh Abdulla Sahab, was still in prison. But Gandhiji felt that Panditji's presence here was more necessary and offered to go in his place. There were many things to be considered before he was permitted by Jawaharlalji to go. If he went he would even from there serve Bihar and Bengal as if he was bodily in one of the provinces.

He then reiterated what he had said the day before that the rulers of all the States in India were no more than individuals like anyone else. They could justify themselves only as servants of the people. The British power was to go from every corner of India and it was impossible to think of undemocratic rule anywhere in a democratic India.

What he said about the Princes applied equally to the rich business community of India. He would appeal to them also to be honest and pure in all their dealings and trade not for themselves but for the people. It was they who created the black market, it was they who often made prices of commodities soar, as was happening in the case of salt for instance. If they were like an honest *baniya* that he was by birth, (this remark evoked hearty laughter from the big crowd), there would be no shortage of food and Rajen Babu's task would be greatly lightened.

It had hurt him much to hear from Panditji that the English people were living on short rations. Gandhiji was certain that if all put their shoulders to the wheel and were honest and if the God of rain favoured them, India would not only feed herself but could spare food for starved England also. Unfortunately they found greed, dishonesty and internecine senseless quarrel stalking the land. He had no doubt that India could become a model country, the cynosure of every eye, and the leader in world peace if only all her people would exercise self-restraint and be her disciplined servants.

New Delhi, 3-5-'47

S. N.

### GLEANINGS

These are picked from what Gandhiji wrote during the week to friends.

"All rights to be deserved and preserved come from duty well done. Thus the very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of citizenship of the world. From this very fundamental statement perhaps it is easy enough to define the duties of man and woman and correlate every right to some corresponding duty to be first performed. Every other right can be shown to be a usurpation hardly worth fighting for."

"I am now trying to evolve a system of Nature Cure suited to the millions of India's poor. I try to confine myself to the propagation of such cure as is derivable from the use of earth, water, light, air and the great void. This naturally leads man to know that the sovereign cure of all ills is the recitation from the heart of the name of God whom some millions here know by the name of Rama and the other millions by the name of Allah. Such recitation from the heart carries with it the obligation to recognize and follow the laws which Nature has ordained for man. This train of reasoning leads one to the conclusion that prevention is better than cure. Therefore, one is irresistibly driven to inculcating the laws of hygiene, i.e. of cleanliness of mind, body and its surroundings.

## FAITH IN NON-VIOLENCE RE-ENFORCED

[Gandhiji gave the following answers to questions put to him by the United Press of America —Ed.]

Q. 1. Do you feel that India will ultimately be united under one Central Government regardless of what the immediate settlement may be?

A. 1. The future will depend upon what we do in the present.

Q. 2. Do you foresee the possibility of the world being united under one central governing body composed of representatives of the component parts?

A. 2. That is the only condition on which the world can live.

Q. 3. Do you think there is any possibility of an armed conflict between Russia and the United States?

A. 3. Anything is possible, but it is highly improbable.

Q. 4. What do you feel is the most acceptable solution to the Palestine problem?

A. 4. Abandonment wholly by the Jews of terrorism and other forms of violence.

Q. 5. Do you believe that Egypt and the Sudan should unite under one government when the British leave?

A. 5. I have no doubt that they ought to.

Q. 6. As a result of your experiment during the past five months, do you feel that the principle of non-violence can yet be triumphant in the solution of the world's problems?

A. 6. My five months in Noakhali have only confirmed my previous experience that non-violence can solve all our ills.

### Erratum

In *Harjan* of June 1, 1947, on page 170, column 2, in the last paragraph but one, for *outline* read *outline*.

## THE NATION'S VOICE

(Second Edition)

[Being a collection of Gandhiji's speeches in England and S. C. Mahadev Desai's account of the sojourn—September to December 1931]

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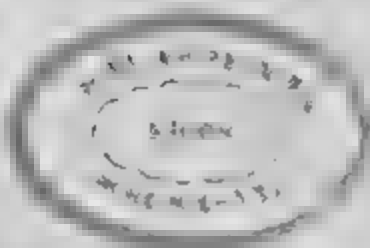






## HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL



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AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JUNE 15, 1947

TWO ANNAS

## MEDICINE FOR THE MASSES

Gandhiji's partiality for Nature Cure is well-known. His experience of allopathic doctors in early life does not appear to have been very happy. One doctor told him in South Africa that his wife who was suffering from some gynaecological trouble could not be cured unless she was given beef tea. She was very ill, but both he and she being strict vegetarians refused to use animal food even at the risk of death. The doctor gave up the case and she recovered with simple rest and Nature Cure treatment. One or two other similar experiences confirmed his faith in Nature Cure beyond any doubt and it has persisted ever since.

He is of the masses and for the masses. Therefore, Nature Cure as it is practised by well-known Nature Cure experts in this country does not attract him. To a foreign Nature Cure expert he wrote a few days ago :

"You will be pleased to know that I became a confirmed convert to Nature Cure when I read Kuhne's *New Science of Healing* and Just's *Return to Nature* over forty years ago. I must confess that I have not been able fully to follow the meaning of *Return to Nature* not because of want of will but because of my ignorance. I am now trying to evolve a system of Nature Cure suited to the millions of India's poor. I try to confine myself to the propagation of such cure as is derivable from the use of earth, water, light, air and the great void. This naturally leads man to know that the sovereign cure of all ills is the recitation from the heart of the name of God whom some millions here know by the name of *Rama* and the other millions by the name of *Allah*. Such recitation from the heart carries with it the obligation to recognize and follow the laws which Nature has ordained for man. This train of reasoning leads one to the conclusion that prevention is better than cure. Therefore, one is irresistibly driven to inculcating the laws of hygiene, i. e., of cleanliness of the mind, of the body and of its surroundings."

Recently during Shri Manu Gandhi's illness, he consulted several naturopaths, some of whom firmly held that she was not suffering from appendicitis. Therefore, he would gladly have avoided any operation but when the doctors came to the conclusion that the operation was inevitable he yielded. Colonel Bhargava of Patna performed the operation and removed the appendix which was found to be chronically inflamed. The day after

the operation he spent considerable time in writing strictures to the naturopath friends.

I received the news of Shri Manu Gandhi's operation while I was convalescing after an appendicectomy myself. In a letter Gandhiji wrote: "My pride has had a fall. I have had to have Manu operated upon. I hope and pray that God won't expose me any further. The love of life is hard to overcome."

On my arrival at Delhi he said: "My faith in Nature Cure is increasing. It is the only thing for the masses. But it has its limitations. Those must be recognized."

The key-note of his teaching is humility, hard work and sincere desire to serve the poor. Tall claims of some of the modern Nature Cure experts as of the physicians of any other system annoy him. He appreciates the scientific outlook of the allopaths and the hard work their pioneers have done. But the greed and arrogance of the medical profession as a whole oppresses him. To a naturopath friend he wrote a few days ago: "I admire your enthusiasm. But Naturopathy in India cannot live on blind enthusiasm and certainly not because I have identified myself with it, for, I regard myself as blind. If you translate your enthusiasm into knowledge there may be some hope."

"If you admit your defect, why don't you systematically study anatomy? And have you any intimate knowledge of physiology? The blunder you made would not have been possible if you had benefited by the knowledge which the allopaths have slaved for years to gain. If allopathy rules the world today, it is not because the allopaths have state patronage but because they have sacrificed themselves on the altar of what they consider, wrongly I hold, true science. But modern naturopaths have sacrificed nothing. They are easily satisfied and think that they have a right to flourish at the expense of a credulous public. This is not in praise of allopathy. I have fundamental differences with them. They are guilty of easily satisfying themselves that they have but to receive degrees and use their undigested knowledge for filling their pockets".

Addressing the medical profession in one of his post-prayer speeches he said: "I would like to know what the medical men and scientists are doing for the country. One finds them readily going to foreign lands to learn new modes of treating special diseases. I suggest that they should turn their



attention towards the seven lakhs of the villages of India. They would immediately discover that all the qualified men and women are required for village service not after the manner of the West but after the manner of the East. They will then adapt themselves to many indigenous systems. India does not need imported drugs from the West when she has an inexhaustible stock of a variety of drugs grown in the villages themselves. But more than drugs they have to teach the people the right mode of living."

New Delhi, 5-6-47

S. N.

## THE CHALLENGE CUP

Speaking at San Francisco, Mr. Henry Wallace threw out three suggestions for "the abolition of war". His first suggestion is that there should be a military settlement, providing for the world control of atomic energy, internationalization of strategic areas, disarmament in weapons for man's destruction and development of a world security system. His second suggestion is for a political settlement, liquidating Fascism, terminating civil wars in Greece and China and for the attainment of the aspirations of unfree peoples. His last is a ten-year economic programme of reconstruction, administered by the United Nations Agency. But with all these hopeful schemes he says in desperation that he finds "the will lacking". He adds, "We can and must find the will. The devastated and hungry world is crying out, not for guns and tanks to spread hunger but for ploughs and machines to fulfil the promise of peace."

Surely the former United States Vice-President is aware that however good his suggestions may be as a remedy for the world's ills, they will be futile as long as the root cause of the world's ailment is allowed to remain. Before prescribing the remedy it is necessary to diagnose the disease.

At this hour of the day most people will not need to be told that the cause of this hunger and devastation is not the atom bomb, nor any weapons of man and that no security agreement can form a bulwark against the repetition of the holocaust this generation has suffered. The trouble is deep-seated and needs drastic surgical measures.

As long as the present system of economic organization, whereby it becomes imperative to control sources of fuel, raw materials and supply of labour and ensure adequate markets for finished goods, persists it would follow as night the day that control over other people's lives will be an essential feature of the world order. This system will inevitably call for violence and that of an increasing and novel type. This will guarantee the race to the swiftest in devising ways and means of terrorizing fellow-beings.

An American news agency sends a message that the United States military authorities are testing the possibilities of a deadlier atomic weapon than the atom bomb. This hellish device is the radioactive cloud which is promised to be so Satanic

as to win the challenge cup for the most violent. This race will go on unless the nations are willing to adopt economic methods which will not entail violence as a means of working it.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## PROFESSOR DHARMANAND KAUSAMBI

Professor Kausambi was one of the foremost scholars of India. His speciality was a study of Buddhism and the Pali language. For years he worked in America and England as a research worker in Buddhism and made many original contributions in that line.

Last year in September or October he went on a fast unto death. He felt that his work in this life was over and that, therefore, he should put an end to it. But his friends requested Gandhiji to intervene and Gandhiji was able to persuade him to give up the fast. But his health was shattered. He could not digest anything and suffered from urticaria which kept him awake at night. His own people wanted him to have the best of medical treatment, but he chose to spend his last days at the Sevagram Ashram. He would not have his children visit him even during the last stages.

Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar was a great friend of Professor Kausambi and came to see him now and then. It was a treat to hear the two scholars talk and discuss things.

At Sevagram Ashram he tried allopathic treatment for a while and then gave a trial to Nature Cure. But the will to live was not there and nothing seemed to help him.

He had a great desire to see Gandhiji before his death. But Gandhiji was held up in Noakhali and Bihar. During Gandhiji's last visit to Delhi he asked me to escort him to Delhi and back. All of us considered it a privilege to be able to do anything for him and I got Gandhiji's permission to take him to Delhi, but at the last moment he changed his mind. "Why inconvenience Bapu in this state of my health?" he argued. "If I am destined to see him I will get better or else he will come here." But neither of the two eventualities took place and he expired on the 4th instant in perfect peace of mind. An Ashramite has given a graphic description of his last moments.

"At 10-00 a. m. Kakasaheb arrived and talked to him. He listened attentively and answered by making signs. Kakasaheb pleaded with him that he should allow his son and daughter to come to see him. But he said no. After that he had his sponge bath and asked someone to open the door on the eastern side as if he was about to step out. Then he took Shankaraji's hand and lightly pressed it, as if to thank him for the latter's services. And he quietly passed away. There was no sorrow or depression in the atmosphere. It seemed as if one of our esteemed companions was starting on a pilgrimage.

The cremation took place at 5-30 p. m. Kakasaheb, Vinoba and the inmates of all the institutions were there. Kakasaheb discoursed about Kausambi's life and work after the cremation. It was a rare privilege to witness such a death. He has set an example as to how to welcome death as a friend. How I wish all of us would be able to cultivate Kausambi's detachment for life and be able to welcome death with a smile!

Speaking about Professor Kausambi's death in the prayer meeting on the 5th instant Gandhiji had said

"I am sorry to give you the news of the death of Professor Kausambi, the distinguished Buddhist divine and scholar. He was one of the finest Pali scholars. As such he had worked in America. Though his scholarship would have commanded a lucrative career, he chose the field of service and gave it to the Gujarat Vidyapeeth established during the non-cooperation days. He passed his last days at the Sevagram Ashram. Ablest doctors would have gladly attended to the deceased scholar. He could have gone to his native place Goa. He had a son and a daughter both receiving high salaries. But he preferred to live as a monk. He was reluctant even to receive any service from the Ashram members. But when he was assured that the Ashram people would consider it an honour to serve him, he readily consented to end his last days in the quieter atmosphere of the Ashram. He practically fasted during the time at the Ashram. Enforcement of the Buddhist doctrine in his own life had taught him to regard death as the most faithful and unfailing friend and deliverer. He therefore shed the fragrance of his life among the privileged inmates of the Ashram. His desire was that there should be no fuss when he died. His only wish was that scholarship or scholarships should be founded to send selected students to Ceylon to learn Pali and become Buddhist preachers."

New Delhi, 8-6-47

S. N.

### Gold-Hunger

A Reuter's message informs us that the British Government has been accumulating gold at a significant pace. At one time England depleted India of her stocks of gold and sent them to American vaults and now she is getting back this gold. One of the great arguments that England has been advancing against the settlement of our sterling credit is that such a settlement will affect their export trade and therefore affect her production of consumer goods. India, being an agricultural country, needs considerable amount of gold reserves for her economic organization to function smoothly. Being largely an illiterate country, banking facilities can form no substitute. Therefore, if England can return her dues to India partially in gold, it will help India and at the same time not affect her programme of production of consumer goods.

J. C. K.

### HARIJAN AS THE FIRST PRESIDENT

In one of his post-prayer speeches Gandhiji explained who in his opinion should be the first President of the Indian Republic. In a letter to an Ashramite after Shri Chakrayya's death he wrote "If all that Lilavati has told me is true, then he certainly did deserve to be the first President of the Indian Republic. I have no doubt in my mind that he who is a devotee of God, who is brave, and who is a servant of the nation can become the first President of free India. A similar idea was expressed by me as president of the G. P. Conference at Godhra years ago. I said then that I won't be happy till the President of the Congress came from the 'lowest class' of the Harijans."

In the speech he narrated how Queen Victoria became the Queen at the age of 17 and the old Premier bowed before this young girl and carried on the Government in her name. "If I have my way I would put a suitable Harijan girl in the presidential chair. In a free India knowledge of English won't be necessary for the President. She need not have knowledge of high politics. All the learned statesmen of the country would help her to carry on the Government."

And who was this Chakrayya whom Gandhiji considered as a fit person to be the first President of India's Republic to be? He was a Harijan from Andhra. He came as a youngster. He became a good tailor, good spinner and weaver and learnt Hindustani. Unlike the average educated Harijan who wants to settle in a city, Chakrayya's ambition was to serve the Harijans in his own village. Suddenly in about 1940 he started getting what looked like epileptic fits. He was a believer in Nature Cure. He went to a Nature Cure sanatorium in Andhra and was reported to have got over the fits. The fits, however, recurred every now and then and they were connected by him with some irregularity in his diet. About a month ago he came back to the Ashram complaining of failing vision and headache. Examination revealed signs of increased intracranial pressure. It was a case of brain tumour. He was sent to a hospital at Bombay where an operation which was considered dangerous was recommended. He sought Gandhiji's advice. A confirmed believer in Nature Cure that Gandhiji is, he saw that Nature Cure could not help a case of brain tumour and advised in favour of the operation. The operation proved fatal. Here is an extract from his letter to Gandhiji written two or three days before the operation, received after his death "I am not afraid of death. But if you will permit me, I would like to try Nature Cure for a period of four months. If I get better, well and good. If not, I would much rather lay down my life for naturopathy than for allopathy. But I leave the final decision to you."

To an Ashramite he wrote half an hour before going to the operation theatre: "I was very despondent, but now my despondency has gone. One feels happy to go to see the earthly father. How much happier one should feel at the thought of going to see the Father in Heaven? My

fear of death is gone. I am prepared to meet it with joy in my heart." No wonder, Gandhiji considered him a fit person to be the first President of the Indian Republic.

New Delhi, 5-6-'47

S. N

## HARIJAN

June 15

1947

### WALLS OF PROTECTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Let us ask ourselves what walls should be erected to protect *brahmacharya* of which I wrote last week. The answer seems clear. It is not *brahmacharya* that needs walls of protection. To say this is easy enough and sounds sweet. But it is difficult to understand the import of the statement and more so to act accordingly.

It is true that he who has attained perfect *brahmacharya* does not stand in need of protecting walls. But the aspirant undoubtedly needs them, even as a young mango plant has need of a strong fence round it. A child goes from its mother's lap to the cradle and from the cradle to the push-cart — till he becomes a man who has learnt to walk without aid. To cling to the aid when it is needless is surely harmful.

I made it clear last week that *brahmacharya* is one out of the eleven observances. It follows, therefore, that the real aid to *brahmacharya* are the remaining ten observances. The difference between them and the walls of protection is that the latter are temporary, the former permanent. They are an integral part of *brahmacharya*.

*Brahmacharya* is a mental condition. The outward behaviour of a man is at once the sign and proof of the inner state. He who has killed the sexual urge in him will never be guilty of it in any shape or form. However attractive a woman may be, her attraction will produce no effect on the man without the urge. The same rule applies to woman. But he or she who has not conquered lust should not turn the eyes even towards a sister or a brother or a daughter or a son. This advice I have given to friends who have profited by it.

As for myself I have to admit with great shame that while the sight of women had ceased to rouse any sexual urge in me in South Africa, in the early days of my return to India past recollections roused the urge against which I had to battle fairly hard. The same is true of the vague fear which is so unbecoming in man.

I was cowardly by nature. I was frightened to sleep in the dark. To sleep alone in a room was an act of bravery for me. I hope I have lost that cowardliness. Yet I do not know what would be my state if I lost my way and had to wander alone in a thick forest on a dark night and if I were to forget that God was ever with me. If this childhood's fear has not completely gone from me, it

would be certainly more difficult for me to be fearless in a lonely jungle than to control the sex urge.

There are certain rules laid down in India for the would-be *brahmachari*. Thus he may not live among women, animals and eunuchs, he may not teach a woman only or even a group, he may not sit on the same mat as a woman, he may not look at any part of a woman's body, he may not take milk, curds, *ghee* or any fatty substance nor indulge in baths and oily massage. I read about these when I was in South Africa. There I came in touch with some men and women who, while they observed *brahmacharya*, never knew that any of the above-named restraints were necessary. Nor did I observe them and I was none the worse for the non-observance. I did give up milk, *ghee* and other animal substances but for different reasons. I failed in this attempt after two or three years after my return to India. But if today I could find any effective vegetable substitute for milk and *ghee*, I would gladly renounce all animal products. But this is another story.

A perfect *brahmachari* never loses his vital fluid. On the contrary, he is able to increase it day by day and, what is more, he conserves it, he will, therefore, never become old in the accepted sense and his intellect will never be dimmed.

It appears to me that even the true aspirant does not need the above-mentioned restraints. *Brahmacharya* is not a virtue that can be cultivated by outward restraints. He who runs away from a necessary contact with a woman does not understand the full meaning of *brahmacharya*.

Let not the reader imagine for one moment that what I have written is to serve as the slightest encouragement to life without the law of real restraint. Nor is there room in any honest attempt for hypocrisy.

Self-indulgence and hypocrisy are sins to be avoided.

The true *brahmachari* will shun false restraints. He must create his own fences according to his limitations, breaking them down when he feels that they are unnecessary. The first thing is to know what true *brahmacharya* is, then to realize its value and lastly to try to cultivate this priceless virtue. I hold that true service of the country demands this observance.

New Delhi, 8-6-47

(From the original in Gujarati.)

### THE NATION'S VOICE

(Second Edition)

[Being a collection of Gandhiji's speeches in England and Sgt. Mahadev Desai's account of the sojourn—September to December 1931]

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## WEEKLY LETTER

## OUR DUTY

With the return of the Viceroy to Delhi the atmosphere became tense with expectation. The proposals embodied in H. M. G.'s announcement were discussed with the Congress and the League leaders, who in their turn held consultations with their colleagues. But it was decided that nothing should go out until the announcement was formally made on the 3rd June. On the 2nd and the 3rd instant, therefore, Gandhiji requested the audience to check their curiosity. He could not tell them what had happened or what was happening. And he and the audience were men in the street. They should not concern themselves with what the Viceroy had brought. They should concern themselves with what they were to do under given circumstances.

He called upon the doctors to turn their attention to the villages of India and study indigenous drugs and treatments. Above all, he wanted them to teach the people the right way of living.

"What shall I say of the scientists?" he continued. "Are they giving their attention to growing more food, not again through the aid of artificial manures, but through real scientific treatment of the soil and through a wise use of organic manure. In Noakhali I saw the people even making wise use of the terribly destructive water hyacinth which grows wild and blocks the very necessary water ways. This they will remove when they live for the country rather than for themselves."

He asked the people of India to turn the search-light inwards. They were perfectly entitled to praise or blame the Congress or the League according to the dictates of their intelligence and conscience. That was the right of the people. They must from then onwards think in terms of *Panchayat Raj*. He had called Pandit Jawaharlal the uncrowned king of India, but the real rulers were the toiling millions.

"Jawaharlalji cannot be replaced today whilst the charge is being taken from Englishmen. He, a Harrow boy, a Cambridge graduate and a barrister, is wanted to carry on negotiations with Englishmen. But a time is fast coming when India will have to elect its first President of the Republic that is coming. I would gladly have presented the late Chakravarty as such had he lived. I would rejoice to think that we had a mehtar girl of stout heart, incorruptible and of crystal-like purity to be our first President. It is no vain dream. There are such Harijan girls, if we would but set our hearts on having rustic Presidents. Did I not choose little Gulnar, the daughter of the late Maulana Mahomed Ali as my successor? The stupid girl married Shwaib Qureshi, once a fakir and introduced to me as the first *satyagrahi* when the Ali Brothers were prisoners. Stupid Gulnar is now a proud mother of bright children but she has forfeited the right to be my successor. Our presidents of the future would not be required to know English. They would have as their counsellors wise patriots knowing the necessary foreign languages and the

art of true statesmanship. Such dreams can only be realized if we cease sanguinary fratricide and turn our attention towards our villages."

Referring to the black market he said that a businessman had said to him that it was perhaps only a few traders who indulged in it whereas the real black market was to be seen in the corruption that existed in the Government offices. Gandhiji said that the Government itself was a trading concern. Nevertheless, it made him sad to think that the members of the services were implicated. It made no difference whether they were Europeans or Indians, Hindus or Musalmans. He said that it would be a sad look-out for the future of the country if the services and the people encouraged bribery and corruption. What could Rajaji or Rajen Babu do if they were not honestly helped? No elected representative of the people could rule by the sword. That was not possible in a democratic State. Gandhiji, therefore, pleaded earnestly with the members of the services, whether British or Indian, to be true to the salt of India and eschew all dishonesty wherever it existed. He appealed also to the public to realize the great responsibility that freedom was throwing on them and to rise to their full stature by clinging to truth and non-violence. Such action would redound not only to their own credit but would be for the good of all and also help the British to withdraw from India, leaving India enjoying an orderly government. He asked them not to believe that the British were dishonest unless they proved themselves unworthy of their trust. He himself believed that the Viceroy was honest. Only by being strictly honest themselves, however, would they be able to steer their ship of State safely to harbour.

## UNWILLING PARTNERS NOT WANTED

On the evening of the 3rd the Viceroy followed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah and Sardar Baldev Singh spoke to the people on the radio. The reactions to H. M. G.'s announcement were mixed. Most of the Hindus were sad. Panditji's broadcast was most touching. They all disliked the vivisection of India. But they could not let India bleed continuously. A surgical operation was to be preferred under the circumstances. Three lorries full of Muslims were reported to have gone to the Qaid-e-Azam's house shouting *Pakistan zindabad*. And yet several Muslims came to see Gandhiji and expressed sorrow over what had happened. In the Punjab and Bengal large numbers of Muslims are reported to be dissatisfied. Speaking on the plan embodied in H. M. G.'s announcement, Gandhiji said that he had already told them over and over again that to yield even an inch to force was wholly wrong. The Working Committee holds that they had not yielded to the force of arms but they had to yield to the force of circumstances. The vast majority of Congressmen did not want unwilling partners. Their motto was non-violence and, therefore, no coercion. Hence, after careful weighing of the pros and cons of the vital issues at stake they had reluctantly agreed to the secession from

the Union that was being framed of those parts which had boycotted the Constituent Assembly. Gandhiji expressed sorrow at what he considered was a mistaken policy of the Muslim League. They feared Hindu domination they said, and desired to rule in what they were mistaken in calling their own homelands. As a matter of fact, however, India was the homeland of all who were born and bred in India. Would the Muslim homeland live in isolation? Was not the Punjab as much the homeland of the Hindus, the Sikhs, the Christians, the Jews and the Parsis who were of the Punjab?

Gandhiji could not blame the Viceroy for what had happened. It was the act of the Congress and the League. He (the Viceroy) had openly said that he wanted a United India but he was powerless in face of Congress acceptance, however reluctantly, of the Muslim position.

There were the brave Sikhs whose leaders had been to see him. Gandhiji had explained to them what he meant by one Sikh being equal to 1½ lakhs of persons. It was the courage of one Sikh to stand firm in spite of the opposition of 1½ lakhs of men. This could only mean bravery of the highest and purest kind. If they had that faith and courage born of non-violence, they would be worthy of the proud name *Khalsa*. That was the lesson he had learnt from the *Granth Sahib* and *Khalsa* History.

He had done his best to get people to stand by the Cabinet Mission Statement of May 16th but had failed. But what was his duty and theirs in the face of the accepted fact? He was a servant of the Congress because he was a servant of the country and he could never be disloyal to them. Panditji and the Viceroy had said that nothing had been imposed on anyone. The agreement that was embodied in the announcement being a voluntary act of the parties could be varied by them at any stage by mutual consent. He pleaded with the Muslim League, now that they had their wish fulfilled, to relieve the Viceroy of the heavy task of being the middleman between the parties. He hoped that it was a final agreement between the parties. Therefore, all violence should stop. And Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah should invite Congress leaders for a discussion as to the best way of dealing with the further stages. Thus, for instance, there was no reason why they should not by mutual agreement define the boundaries of partitioned Punjab and Bengal.

#### WOULD HE FAST?

The feeling against the division of the country is strong. Gandhiji's speeches had revived the hopes that the evil might be averted. Some people asked him whether he would undertake a fast unto death in view of the decision of the Congress Working Committee accepting division of India. Had not he called Pakistan a sin in which he could never participate? Replying to this Gandhiji said that he could not fast at the dictation of anyone. Such fasts could not be lightly undertaken. They could conceivably be wholly undesirable. They could not be undertaken out of anger. Anger was a short mad-

ness. He must, therefore, undertake the fast only when the still small voice within him called for it. He was a servant of the country and, therefore, of the Congress. Was he to fast because the Congress differed from his views? He had to be patient. There were occasions enough for being impatient. The Congress seemed to stand for projects of industrialism in which he saw no deliverance for the masses from their grinding poverty. He did not believe in mill-made civilization as he did not in mill-made cloth. He did not believe in an army for the removal of the menace to the real freedom of the country. If he was to impatiently fast, in the symptoms he had described and others he could add, there were reasons enough to justify a fast unto death. He felt that he must be steadfast in the midst of the fire raging round him and prove his faith in the ultimate triumph of truth. He referred even to the document he had signed together with Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah and to which the Viceroy was really a party. He must watch what his two partners did before he acted. He could only say that he would gladly walk or drive with them to the affected parts. They (the people) might well ask what they were doing while Gurgaon was burning? He asked the audience and the authors of the rebuking messages to bear with the Congress, the League and with him, and watch, even critically, and see how things were moving. He hoped that they would not fail them, the people. The Government belonged to the latter as he did. There was ample time for the people to judge them and leave them if any of them were found wanting.

There is a large section of the Hindus who have heaved a sigh of relief that at last they are rid of the Muslims and would be able to work out and develop the country without any bickerings. But there are others who see clearly that partition is no solution to the problem. Nearly four crores of the Muslims would still remain in the Union of India and about two crores of the Hindus will remain in the so-called Pakistan areas. They feel helpless and angry at the Congress decision and as such blame the Congress and Gandhiji. A sister wrote to him that he should retire to the jungle. It was he who had spoilt Jinnah Sahab and turned his head. He (Gandhiji) was responsible for the evil that the country was facing. Gandhiji's reply was that the sister was quite wrong. Love or *ahimsa* was the most powerful magnet in the world. It never did any harm to anyone.

#### BRITISH BONA FIDES

Addressing the prayer gathering on the 6th instant just after his return from the Viceroy's house, Gandhiji said that they might ask him what he had brought from the Viceroy. He had brought nothing for he (the Viceroy) had nothing to give except his services if they were wanted. He had told him that his one object was to withdraw from India in the quickest manner possible, leaving behind peace and order throughout India. They had decided to go in June 1948. Now they would probably

withdraw by August 15th this year. Why had they decided to go? They were impressed by our non-violent struggle. India believed that British rule was an evil. Yet she did not try to kill the British. She simply tried to non-cooperate with the evil not with the evil-doer. Such interval as was necessary was due to the fact that it was a voluntary withdrawal. Some arrangement was a necessity of the case.

There were several who still suspected the British *bona fides*. It was not they who were dividing India. Unity of rule they claimed as their greatest achievement. The division was the result of an agreement, however reluctant, between the Congress and the League.

Brave people were not perturbed by mere suspicions. He himself believed that the Viceroy was sincere. If he proved to be a duper, he would be the sufferer, never the duped.

#### PUT PAKISTAN ON THE SCREEN

Now that the Qaid-e-Azam had got what he wanted, said Gandhiji, it was up to him to give the world the shape of Pakistan and make it attractive in word and action. Was it not up to him to invite all non-Muslims and show them that they would be as happy as the Muslims of Pakistan? What about the Frontier Province? It was a Congress Province. If it was to be of Pakistan, the Qaid-e-Azam had to convince the Pathans that they would be just as well off in Pakistan as in the Union of the Provinces of India. Referendum was a dangerous method at this time. He, therefore, suggested the method of attracting the Pathan through reason and love.

What should happen was that the Union of India and Pakistan should vie with each other in well doing. If Pakistan did better, the whole of India would be Pakistan in which there would be neither majority nor minority and all would be equal. If he were the President of the Muslim League, he would put Pakistan on the screen and make it attractive by its matchless beauty. In that case he (Gandhiji) would be the first one to admit his mistake and commend Pakistan to everybody. Will the Qaid-e-Azam do this?

#### HAD THE CONGRESS ERRED?

Referring to the newspaper report that Gandhiji had differed from the decision of the Working Committee and that the A. I. C. C. would raise its voice against it, Gandhiji said that the A. I. C. C. had appointed the Working Committee and they could not lightly discard its decisions. Supposing the Working Committee signed a promissory note on behalf of the A. I. C. C., the A. I. C. C. had to honour it. The Working Committee might make a mistake. They could punish it by removing it. But they could not go back upon the decision already taken by it.

As for the people, he would ask them to oppose the Congress only when it tried to mislead the public deliberately. They knew his method of resistance. After all, he had preached rebellion against the mighty Sanatanist Hindu stronghold on the subject of untouchability and the result was quite good.

He might differ from the Working Committee. But having stated the fact he would recommend their decision for acceptance. He was of the opinion that they could still mend the situation to a large extent.

He had said at the Second Round Table Conference that the Congress was the representative not merely of the few lakhs of the members on the Congress rolls, but it represented all the millions of India in that it had their real welfare at heart. Thus who but the Congress could represent the Princes and the people under them? When paramountcy was at an end, surely the will of their people should be paramount.

#### THE VOICE OF SILENCE

Shri Girdhari Kripalani sang in the prayers *sun ri sakhi Mohan ki yeh bansri pyari* (सुनरी सखी मोहनकी यह बंसरी प्यारी). Commenting on it in his post-prayer speech Gandhiji said that he was very fond of the *bhajan* both for the sweetness of the voice that had sung it and for the richness of the content. It described how Lord Krishna played the flute and the *gopis* went into exultation over it. God described as Krishna resided in everyone's heart which was likened to the silent forest. *Gopis* were the human family. The refrain of the *bhajan* was that they were to listen to the voice of the silence even in the midst of the din and the noise of the battle of life. All men and women were *gopis* before God. If they were to listen to the silence within, outward silence was of utmost necessity. If they were in tune with the Infinite, they would not move from their place even though bullets may rain over them.

#### TO THE FIGHTING PARTIES IN GURGAON

Turning next to the situation in Gurgaon, Gandhiji said that the *Jats*, the *Ahirs* and the *Meos* were still fighting. It was reported that they did not descend to inhuman levels and spared women and children and old people. There was arson on a large scale. They were burning huts, which to the dwellers were as precious as palaces to the princes. He appealed to the parties to cease hostilities when the Congress and the League had come to an agreement. The people must respect it and cease fighting amongst themselves. Someone had suggested that he should become the arbitrator between the fighters. He could not do so. He did not know the combatants. Nor had he ever been a self-styled arbitrator. He would have no sanction behind his award. He had not in mind the sanction of the sword. He meant the sanction of public opinion. In any event let the parties regard his appeal in the shape of an award which they should carry out.

#### UNITED BENGAL?

The talk of a united sovereign Bengal has been in the Press for sometime. The sponsors of the scheme, told Gandhiji that Bengal had a common culture and a common language. They did not want to split their Province in two. They were one people and would live and die as such. The valiant fight that the Bengalis put forth against Lord Curzon's scheme of partitioning Bengal was not so very long ago. Gandhiji had nothing to say against

the argument. Indeed, it applied, equally to the whole of India. If any single province wanted to do the right thing, he would not oppose it.

Referring to this he said that some people had told him that the move for a united sovereign Bengal was a sinister one. The Hindus were fed up and wanted to separate West from East Bengal. The Bengal Muslim League had also rejected the unity plan but some people were still persisting with it and it was said to be due to the fact that he (Gandhi) was behind the move. He wanted to make it clear that he could never support any questionable practice. He was even told that money was being spent like water to buy votes in favour of a united Bengal. He appreciated unity but not at the cost of honour and justice. He was taken to task for supporting Sarat Babu. He was undoubtedly his friend. He was in correspondence with him. But he would never be guilty of supporting anything that could not be publicly and honestly defended. That was his universal practice. He did not believe in questionable means even to secure a worthy end.

New Delhi 9-6-'47

S. N

### THE LAST STATE

In a parable Jesus told us of the danger of pious resolutions without a definite programme. When an unclean spirit goes out of a man and its place is not taken up by a good spirit, but the house is merely swept and garnished, then the evil spirit that has gone out will bring seven other spirits, more wicked than itself and will take possession of the well-intentioned man and the last state of the man will be worse than the first.

The truth of this appears to be becoming more and more apparent in the way the Madras Government is going about its business. It cleaned up the Adviser Regime, formulated good resolutions under the Prakasam Ministry and now seems to have relapsed into slumber.

The news comes that the Firka Cottage Industrial Officers have been given the quit order. Public men of the type of R. Vinayakam Pillai who, out of their zeal for the Gandhian Economy, condescended to enter the portals of Government employment have had a rude awakening. These men are seasoned constructive workers who have to their credit much good work done in the past. We have no quarrel with the Ministry concerned as to the policies they choose to follow. That is for their constituencies to decide. If the ministers are doing things contrary to the wishes of the people, it is for the latter to take the necessary steps to pull them up or in the last resort to disown them. But what we do expect is that the Ministry will, without any prevarication, state definitely the goal they are pursuing. The reversal of the Textile Policy and the abolition of these officers indicate which way the wind is blowing; and that makes us fear that "the last state of the man will be worse than his first".

J. C. KUMARAPPA

### AN ENGLISH WOMAN'S HUMILIATION

An English sister who loves India writes to me as follows.

"I am deeply troubled and ashamed. You will understand something of how I feel. I cannot agree with the arguments of those of my friends who, in my view, seem to miss the spiritual tragedy of dividing and sub-dividing a great people on a basis of religious differences. If divisions *must* come and sometimes they seem to be the inevitable, inescapable consequences of past policies, then let them come naturally and not by imposition from an alien hand. Then the healing forces, which Gandhi seeks to release, can freely play their part. It is no use, no use at all trying to solve India's human problems by political juggery is it? Those who declared that it was unrealistic to follow *principle* and *realistic* to follow expediency, must take the responsibility for what they have done.

"Of course, India will rise to her full stature in the end. But our follies have set the clock back temporarily. The trail of sorrow and suffering distresses and humiliates me for I am convinced that whatever may have been India's own share in creating the present situation, our share is far greater. Would that our statesmen would make this confession and 'come clean'. Then we might begin to build on a basis of mutual trust and friendship."

There are many English men and women who do feel humiliated at the injury their rule has inflicted on India. Division of a country or any part of it on a religious basis can never be a cure for communal strife. Such action is the very negation of religion. If the Hindus and the Muslims have gone mad temporarily, let us hope, there is no reason whatsoever why Britain should not act sanely. Gandhi has said more than once that their one and only duty is to withdraw their power. How we shall elect to live is our concern and we alone can settle our differences satisfactorily.

The division of India will, as the sister rightly says, be a spiritual tragedy. It will, in any event, if it comes about, be a very poor commentary on our good sense. Britain had to follow the policy of divide and rule in order to maintain her empire. Her departure should serve to unite rather than divide. The opposite course will be our everlasting humiliation.

29-5-'47

A. K.

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# HARIJAN

Editor PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## WHITHER STATES?

[The following is a summary, from Gandhi's post-prayer speeches on the 13th and 14th June and his speech at the A. I. C. C. meeting, of his remarks about the duty of the States.—S. N.]

On the 13th Gandhi referred with sorrow to the sad news he had heard that day that Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer, the learned Diwan of Travancore, an able administrator and a writer, had banned the State People's Congress from holding any meetings and, if the newspapers were to be believed, had said that on August 15th when the British transferred power to Indian hands, Travancore would declare itself an independent State. If any Travancoreans objected, they were at liberty to leave the State. Gandhi would like to know how Travancoreans were expected to leave the land of their birth. Evidently, Sir C. P. was quite content for Travancore to remain in India so long as the British King was Emperor of India, but the moment the power passed into Indian hands, he wanted Travancore not to join the Union of India. It was an amazing position and wholly unworthy of any State. If the British were going to be party to such conduct, it would be to their lasting shame and Gandhi fervently hoped that they would act on the square. And what applied to Travancore applied equally to Hyderabad. The Nizam's *firman*, if the papers again were to be believed, was wholly wrong. 90% of the population in Hyderabad was non Muslim. This State, as indeed all States, belonged to their people. The rulers had the right to exist only if they became trustees and servants of the people. Times had changed and if the Princes did not take time by the forelock, they would cease to be. The Congress had been a true friend of the States from the beginning. He cited the instance of Mysore in the G. O. M.'s Dadabhai's time. The Congress had also served Kashmir, Baroda and other States. It had no desire to annihilate them but the Princes could not afford to disregard this great organization which represented the people in the States as it sought to represent the Princes. As for himself, he had always been a friend of the Princes and of all who possessed this world's goods. He wanted through his friendship to bring them close to the poor and needy, near to the *bhungs* of whom he was one. He appealed to them with all the emphasis at his command to come into the Constituent Assembly. He did not mind which it was. India was, alas! being partitioned because of the Hindu-Muslim quarrels. Let

not the Princes attempt to create further separatism. Gandhi hoped that God would give the necessary wisdom not only to the Princes but also to Lord Mountbatten. As Britain's last Viceroy he must not leave this country in needless strife.

On the 14th Gandhi received a telegram from Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer saying that Travancore was willing to come into the Constituent Assembly of a United India, but if there were to be two independent Indias, Travancore which had never been conquered would maintain an independent status while working in closest cooperation with the rest of India and entering into necessary agreements and treaties on matters of common concern. The Diwan stated that the majority of the people of Travancore were in favour of an independent Travancore. Referring to this telegram Gandhi said that he was sorry that he was no wiser on the main issue. He could not help noticing a grave omission in the wire. Was there a ban on the State People's Congress? If so, why?

If Travancore would have come in provided there was no division or, in more precise language, no secession from the Union, surely this State should not treat secession as a signal for the balkanization of India. Travancore was independent when there was no politically unified India. Now that there was secession on purely religious grounds, Gandhi would have expected a man like Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer to advise the Maharaja of Travancore in no way to emphasize the secession by using, wholly wrongly, the vicious example set by the All India Muslim League.

He made bold to say that if a referendum were taken, the Christians of Travancore as also the Hindus, not excluding the untouchables, would vote against Sir C. P.'s strange idea of an independent Travancore in which he hugged the suzerainty of the British but rejected the suzerainty of the Union of the people of India. If Sir C. P. was unfortunately unable to appreciate his appeal and argument, he hoped the other Princes would recognize the obvious wisdom of making common cause with the people of India in which, without fear of contradiction, he included the people of the States.

Speaking at the A. I. C. C. meeting Gandhi said,

"There was a time when I told everyone to leave the States alone. At that time we were

engaged in a grim fight against the third power. The times have changed, India is on the threshold of independence. Hyderabad and Travancore are talking of becoming independent States. Such talk is vain. I congratulate the majority of the States who have decided to join the Constituent Assembly. If they have come wholeheartedly, they are quite safe as servants and trustees. They must march with the times.

"It is amazing that the Princes who were virtual slaves of the British should spurn an honourable position in the Union of India and should want to be independent. The Union are not inimical to the Princes. But today when the reins of the Government have come into the people's hands, they have jealously to guard the welfare of the whole of India. The people of the States are with us. If the Princes become independent, it can only be at the cost of the freedom of the people of the States. So far as I know India, such a thing will never be tolerated. The Princes must read the writing on the wall

### MAN OR BEAST?

The so-called "labour-saving devices" in lands where man-power is scarce, develop into "unemployment creators" in countries where there is a surfeit of labour. With the advent of "labour-saving devices" the artisans are thrown on the land in the first instance. Then the pressure becomes so great that man is obliged to compete with the beasts of burden for the "husks that the swine do eat

This is the position of rickshaw coolies. They are competing with tonga horses. A tonga needs a driver to guide it. Now, with the rickshaw, the horse is eliminated and the coolie does both the work of the horse and that of the driver at a lower charge. Thus falls man from the human state to that of a beast of burden. Man is not physically built like a horse. This change overworks his heart and he finds an early grave along with his morsel of bread.

Any society which allows such degradation is guilty of inhumanity. People have organized societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, but is there no one to heed the cry of those who are driven by poverty and dire necessity to envy cattle-feed?

At least at one place, with the dawn of freedom, society is waking up to its duties. At Medan, Sumatra, the Chinese community has purchased and destroyed the ninety rickshaws that were plying in the town. The coolies were given 100 guilders each and were either repatriated to China or were found other jobs.

Will our rickshaw-ridden cities like Madras and Nagpur take a leaf out of this and demonstrate that their social consciousness is awakening? Madras is planning to license this nefarious traffic instead of banning it. Will the advent of Swaraj mean anything to the section of humanity reduced to this plight?

J. C. KUMARAPPA

### A SCIENTIST'S PROPHECY FULFILLED

Ever since Gandhi left Sabarmati on March 12, 1930 in order to break the salt law at Dandi on the shores of the Western ocean, the Government monopoly of salt has been the symbol of foreign rule, and free salt has been the symbol of Swaraj in our eyes. The Dandi march drew the attention of the world to the iniquity of the salt tax, and Professor J. B. S. Haldane, the famous biologist, was one of those who criticized it in a number of articles written for the British press. He observed that in England salt is a luxury for most people. However there are exceptions in England which are interesting 'because they prove the rule for India' (*The Inequality of Man and Other Essays* Chatto and Windus, 1932, p. 231)

Professor Moss who investigated the dietary of coal miners found that in the deeper, and therefore hotter, mines the workers ate astonishing quantities of salty foods such as bacon and red herrings. They also bought a good deal of table salt, and sometimes even relished salted beer. Moss then showed conclusively that this demand for salt was simply to make up the salt lost in sweating.

The world's sweating record of over two quarts in an hour is held by an English collier, and as much as eighteen pounds weight may be lost in a single shift in a hot mine, including about an ounce of salt. A shortage of salt in the dietary leads to weakness and to a very distressing form of cramp.

Now in India during the hot weather one sweats for twenty hours a day and to make good the loss over an ounce of salt per day may be needed. Salt is thus an essential component of the diet, and a tax on salt in India is as undesirable from the biological point of view, said Haldane, as would be an excise duty on wheat in England, and even more so. It is quite detrimental to the health of the people. No doubt its abolition would dry up an important source of revenue, but this need not matter if biological issues—questions of life and death—are regarded as equally important with economic issues. Haldane's conclusion was that "the continuance of the salt tax is a biological argument for Swaraj". As it weighed most heavily on the poorest workers, he held that Gandhi's campaign for its abolition was "biochemically justified" (*Science and Everyday Life*, Kitab Mahal, p. 199) and hoped that "one of the first acts of a self-governing India will be the abolition of the salt tax" (*ibid*, p. 29).

This pious hope has been fulfilled by the Nehru Government which took office on September 2, 1946, an ever memorable date in the modern history of India.

V. G. D.

### NOTICE

Change of address to be effective for the week should please be intimated to us by *Tuesday*. Please quote the subscriber number with the intimation.

Please note that change of address cannot be effected twice within one month.

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MANAGER

## MEDICAL WORK UNDER KASTURBA TRUST

A joint meeting of the Kasturba Trust Provincial Agents and the Advisory Medical Board of the Kasturba Trust was held on the 30th of May. The Chairman explained the policy of the Medical Board. The Board had advised the Trust to concentrate on the training of midwives and nurses for village work according to the special syllabus prepared for that purpose and the agents should also select suitable candidates for training as health visitors.

In view of the limited funds at the disposal of the Trust, the Board had suggested that the Trust should concentrate on maternity and child-welfare work only. Considering the appalling figures of maternal and infant mortality in this country maternity and child-welfare work was a crying need of the day.

It was suggested that the training should be given as far as possible in rural areas, so that the candidates had the rural background in view. The Trust should have one good training institution in every province. Possibility of utilizing Government hospitals in small mofussil towns for this purpose should be explored. The need for better educational standard of the candidates was emphasized. The Trust should make arrangements for giving preliminary training to village girls so as to bring them up to the standard for imparting to them the specialized training. The policy of starting large numbers of small maternity centres under the care of midwives was discouraged.

The agents raised the point that outdoor dispensaries were an absolute necessity in order to establish contacts and win the confidence of the villagers. The Board was of the opinion that outdoor dispensaries should form part of the maternity centres wherever possible. Starting of independent outdoor dispensaries was discouraged.

The question of domiciliary and institutional midwifery was discussed. From the point of view of providing better surroundings, better food and more rest to mothers during the first ten days of delivery, institutional midwifery was to be preferred. But it was impossible to provide a sufficient number of beds to enable every woman to deliver in an institution. Moreover domiciliary midwifery conducted properly could serve as a very potent means of adult education. According to Dr. Dasgupta, the Public Health Officer of Bombay, domiciliary midwifery carried out properly, raised the standard of the whole village in about five years. The Board recommended that both institutional and domiciliary midwifery should be encouraged for the time being.

Some of the agents wanted a short course of instructions in medicine for the Grama Sevikas. The Board disapproved of the suggestion. They should have instructions in First Aid and Home Nursing, but nothing should be done to make them think they had been trained to treat sick people and charge fees. It would be a disservice to the

villagers to expose them to half-trained medical workers.

It was recommended that the village *dais*, wherever possible, should be given preliminary training so as to raise their educational standard and enable them to take full midwives' training. Wherever that was not possible the daughter or the daughter-in-law of the village midwife should be given such training. The *dais* should be employed as *ayas* or attendants at the maternity centres. The workers of the Trust should try to win their cooperation rather than make them feel that they were rivals.

New Delhi, 14-6-'47

S. N.

## THE "CUE" METHOD

Prof Cue preached auto-suggestion. He told us that as long as we repeat the formula: "In every way and in every respect I am getting better and better every day" religiously often enough, it will have the desired effect on our constitutions. The Government of India appears to be an ardent follower of this method. There has been an alarming shortage of food in this country and it shows no possibility of getting less. Dr. Rajendra Prasad on bended knees is extending the beggar's bowl to the International Emergency Food Council for a supplementary allocation of 73,000 tons of wheat to India in addition to the 485,000 tons of rice already allocated. As a supplement to this programme of mendicancy the Government of India comes out with a campaign of "Grow More Food". This slogan has been used, in season and out of season, during the last few years. The striking results of this, that have been obvious to the man in the street, are nothing but the ploughing up of a few well-kept plots of lawns of luxurious palaces and public parks. We are not aware of any appreciable amelioration of the food situation as a consequence.

What is needed is the will to plan out our cultivation so as to meet the situation. We should like to know how many thousands of acres are under cultivation to supply the needs of foreign tobacco companies. Is Government willing to ban such criminal misapplication of good social assets for mercenary purposes? Again, thousands of acres of first-class fertile lands are being used for growing the needed raw material for sugar mills while crops of palm trees in waste lands, which can supply the needed sugar and *gur*, are allowed to remain unexploited. Is it not time that reason guided us in these matters, to put good land to such use as to supply the much-needed cereals? Has the Government the courage to tackle the vested interests involved, so as to bring relief to the masses? Similarly, crops raised for raw materials for export must be surveyed to see what lands could be made available to supply the deficiency in the acreage of food crops to make our harvests adequate for our needs. The first lien on our lands must be our primary needs and no land-holder should be allowed to raise crops to satisfy his financial greed, while the country is facing the danger of death from famine and starvation. What is needed is not a slogan but drastic action.

J C. KUMARAPPA

# HARIJAN

June 22

1947

## WHO AND WHERE IS GOD?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have defined *brahmacharya* as that correct way of life which leads to *Brahma*, i. e. God. Straggle away the question arises: "What or who is God?" If man knew the answer, it would enable him to find the path that leads to Him.

God is not a person. To affirm that He descends to earth every now and again in the form of a human being is a partial truth which merely signifies that such a person lives near to God. Inasmuch as God is omnipresent, He dwells within every human being and all way, therefore, be said to be incarnations of Him. But this leads us nowhere. Rama, Krishna, etc. are called incarnations of God because we attribute divine qualities to them. In truth they are creations of man's imagination. Whether they actually lived or not does not affect the picture of them in men's minds. The Rama and Krishna of history often present difficulties which have to be overcome by all manner of arguments.

The truth is that God is the force. He is the essence of life. He is pure and undefiled consciousness. He is eternal. And yet, strangely enough, all are not able to derive either benefit from or shelter in the all-pervading living presence.

Electricity is a powerful force. Not all can benefit from it. It can only be produced by following certain laws. It is a lifeless force. Man can utilize it if he labours hard enough to acquire the knowledge of its laws.

The living force which we call God can similarly be found if we know and follow His law leading to the discovery of Him in us. But it is self-evident that to find out God's law requires far harder labour. The law may, in one word, be termed *brahmacharya*. The straight way to cultivate *brahmacharya* is *Ramanama*. I can say this from experience. Devotees and sages like Tulsidas have shown us this royal path. No one need give undue importance to my own experience. Perhaps I am right in saying that the potency of *Ramanama* was brought vividly home to me in Uruli-Kanchan. It was there that I asserted that the surest remedy for all our ills was *Ramanama*. He who can make full use of it can show powerful results with very little outside effort.

Following this line of thought I can say with conviction that the orthodox aids to *brahmacharya* pale into insignificance before *Ramanama*, when this name is enthroned in the heart. Then and then only do we realize its transcendent beauty and power. In the vigilant search for this matchless and unfailing weapon we find that it is hard to differentiate between ends and means. Thus, the eleven rules of conduct are the means to enable us to reach God. Of the eleven rules Truth is the means

and God called *Rama* is the end. Is it not equally true that *Ramanama* is the means and Truth is the end?

But let me revert to the original point. The accepted meaning of *brahmacharya* is the attainment by man of complete control over the sex organ. The golden means to attain that end is *Ramanama*. For proving the efficacy of *Ramanama* there are undoubted rules. I dwelt on them up to a point some months ago, but it will be worth while to recount them.

(From the original in Gujarati)

New Delhi, 14-6-'47

## "WELCOME, MY SISTER DEATH"

Recently Gandhiji has referred to death on two occasions: on the passing over of Chakravarty and Acharya Kausambi. Those of us who have been with him at the passing into the unknown of his nearest and dearest have felt the power of the faith that sustains him on such occasions and gives him the strength not to weep as ordinary mortals do. Gandhiji has called Death man's friend. The following story of the great saint of Assisi is apposite in this connection.

"When he was lying sick in the palace of the Bishopric of Assisi and the hand of the Lord did seem to be more than of wont heavy upon him, the people of Assisi, fearing lest if he should die by night the frars would bear away his holy body to another city, ordered that every night ward should be diligently kept in the circuit outside the wall of the palace." But the saint himself was unafraid and in order to drown the violence of the pain which afflicted him used to ask for songs in praise of the Lord to be sung to him. When he asked and was told that his infirmity was incurable, he spread his hands out to the Lord with very great devotion and reverence and said with great joy of mind and body: "Welcome, my sister Death." He asked for Brothers Angelo and Leo to sing to him of Sister Death. "And when those two brethren had come to him they sang, with many tears, the 'Song of Brother Sun' and of the other created things of the Lord, which the saint himself had made. And then before the last verse of the canticle he added some verses of Sister Death saying:

Be thou praised, my Lord of our sister Bodily Death  
From whom no man living can escape.

Blessed are they who are found in thy most holy will,  
For the second death shal, not work them ill.

Praise ye and bless my Lord and give Him thanks,  
And serve Him with great humility

New Delhi, 15-6-'47

A. K.

## THE NATION'S VOICE

(Second Edition)

[Being a collection of Gandhiji's speeches in England and Sgt. Mahadev Desai's account of the sojourn - September to December 1931]

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## HOW SHOULD THE INDIAN UNION ACT?

[Gandhi's post-prayer speech on 12-6-47. —S. N.]

Does the readjustment of the geography of India mean two nations? I admit that the division having been agreed upon, unity becomes somewhat difficult. But assuming that the Muslims of India look upon themselves as a nation distinct from the rest, they cannot become so, if the non-Muslims do not respond. The Muslim majority areas may call themselves Pakistan but the rest and the largest part of India need not call itself Hindustan. In contradistinction to Pakistan it will mean the abode of the Hindus. Do the Hindus feel so? Have the Parsis, the Christians and the Jews born in India, and the Anglo-Indians who do not happen to have the white skin, any other home than India? I will omit the Muslims for the time being. I suppose such is the reason why Panditji refuses to call the non-Pakistan areas as Hindustan and loves to call them by the proud name of the Union of Indian Republics from which some Muslim majority areas have seceded. History has shown that possession of proud names does not make the possessors great. Men and groups are known not by what they call themselves but by their deeds. How is this Union to behave? Already the taunt is being levelled against the Union that the much-maligned caste Hindus who, as I have shown in an earlier speech are in a hopeless minority, will ostracize the millions of the Scheduled Classes and (I will add) an equal number of shudras and the so-called aboriginal tribes. And then what of the other insignificant minorities? The so-called caste Hindus are on their trial. Will they recognize and do their obvious duty and give place to the least in the Union by affording them all the facilities to rise to the highest status? And what will they do to the Muslim minorities? Will they be regarded as aliens or will they be made to feel that they cannot be treated as aliens in their own land and that they will have all the opportunity that the tallest in the Union enjoy? Heaven forbid that the caste Hindus so behave as to prove Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's thesis that the Muslims and the Hindus are separate nations. Will they rise to the occasion and by their character, bravery, incorruptibility and toleration prove to the Muslims of Pakistan that in the Union there is no discrimination whatsoever on the ground of religion, caste or colour and that the only test is merit which every industrious citizen of the Union will have ample opportunity to acquire.

I am told that there are people in the Union who have wrongly come to the conclusion that now there is no occasion for Hindustan; —a compatible mixture of Hindi and Urdu. There are many holy shrines of Islam. Will they be honoured equally with the others? Will it be the same with the Muslim seats of learning? On the proper treatment of these and such other questions, depends the real unity of India and I say this irrespective of what is said or done in Pakistan. 'Tit for tat' is the law

of the brute or unregenerate man. Such men have had their day. The world is sick of the application of the law of the jungle. It is thirsting for the brave law of love for hate, truth for untruth, toleration for intolerance. If this law of regenerate man is not to rule the world, it is thrice doomed.

## FOOD AND MORE FOOD

We have time and again pointed out that the real solution of our food shortage lies, not in importing food from abroad, but in organizing our economy so that our food requirements are a first charge on our cultivable lands. At present there are rapid inroads on the available lands by attempts made by mills to get raw materials produced for themselves under the plea that they pay better prices. This is based on a false conception. More money does not feed one. This plea is calculated to mislead the ignorant, short-sighted farmer. In every province no land should be made available for money crops until the food supply is known to be adequate. Government should regulate the growth of crops. The farmers should not follow their whims.

## MILLS

Even the supplies available are depleted by about 10% by the rationing authorities resorting to rice mills etc. Hand processing and parboiling of rice should be advocated.

## FORESTS

During the war for over ten years now, the supply of timber has been cut down. This denuding of forests not only affects the rains and water supply but also erodes the land making it uncultivable. An energetic programme of afforestation is called for. We must aim at at least doubling the area under forests.

## DESERT

The Forest Research Institute draws attention to the fact that the Rajasthan desert is expanding at the rate of 300 sq. miles per year. This is a serious calamity which needs close study to be dealt with. India cannot afford to let its already meagre cultivable lands to be converted into deserts.

To this should be added the danger of an indiscriminate use of artificial fertilizers which will also in the course of a few years, turn cultivable lands into deserts.

We hope the departments concerned will be urged by the Government to do their utmost to solve these formidable problems facing us.

## CATTLE

Lakhs of heads of cattle have been slaughtered to feed the foreign armies and prisoners of war during the last few years. This has produced a serious shortage of milk. The remedy for this is not to import milk powder but set right the supply of milch cattle by an energetic policy of selective cattle breeding. To meet the shortage in the supply of plough cattle our short-sighted governments are going in for tractors. A short term remedy may be availed of to relieve the immediate distress but the long range means are the main steps to meet the problem.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## WEEKLY LETTER

## OUR HERITAGE

The prayer meetings have not been disturbed of late. The religious tolerance and the power to absorb and assimilate the good points of those it came in contact with, have been the special features of Hinduism and Hindu culture from ancient times. A correspondent, reading of Gandhiji's reference to *Allopanishad* in one of his prayer speeches, has sent him a manuscript copy. It consists of seven verses and is part of the *Atharvan* group. He has since received further printed copies. The senders have given the warning that it does not form part of the authorized collections.

Professor Jaichandra Vidyalankar wrote to Gandhiji of Rana Kumbha, who was the grandfather of Rana Sanga, who in his turn was the grandfather of the great Rana Pratap. Rana Kumbha was one of the earliest Hindu princes to rebel against the Muslim domination of India. He defeated the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat and erected a victory pillar in Chittore which is in existence even today. On the victory pillar along with names *Brahma*, *Vishnu* and *Mahesha* is the name *Allah* carved in bold Arabic letters.

The Professor tells of Sultan Jainubiddin of Kashmir, Rana Kumbha's contemporary, who used to accompany his Hindu subjects on pilgrimage. He renovated many Hindu mandirs, some of which are still in existence. Chhatrapati Shivaji and Maharaja Ranjit Singh honoured Islam, while they fought Muslim potentates.

The learned historian attributed the present communal bitterness to the wrong teaching of history in schools and took Gandhiji to task for neglecting this. Gandhiji recognized the force of the argument. He asked the audience including the objectors to take to heart the lesson of the information and not to discredit Hinduism by their misbehaviour.

## RETALIATION NOT TRUE BRAVERY

A correspondent wrote to Gandhiji that India was face to face with a *Devasur-sangram*. Time was over for altruistic flights of spirituality. Should he not follow the *neeti*, *shathe shathyam samacharet* (उडे शास्त्रे समचरेत्), or at least not interfere with or discourage those who believed in the wise maxim? Why should he be shocked by what Babu Purshottamdas Tandon had said in his speech with regard to self-defence?

Gandhiji replied that Babu Purshottamdas Tandon was his friend and co-worker. Differences with him did give him (Gandhiji) a shock. It merely proved that he was a frail human being. If he had become a *sthita pragnya* (steadfast one) he would be above delights or shocks. He was struggling to attain that state.

As for the correspondent's advice to give tit for tat, he had dealt with the question before. A good man was reproved for picking out of water a scorpion which stung him. His gentle but effective answer was that the scorpion had acted according to his nature, even as he, the *Sadhu*, had acted according to his. Man's innate nature was to be

invariably merciful. The advice to be silent about the operation of the law of the jungle was an invitation to be a hypocrite. He certainly had said and he would repeat that retaliation was better than cowardly submission. But he could not help adding that retaliation was no mark of true bravery and it never averted animosity.

## RESIST THE VIVISECTION OF INDIA

A correspondent wrote to Gandhiji that he, who had proclaimed that the vivisection of India would mean a vivisection of himself, had weakened. The writer had also invited him to lead the opposition to the proposed division. He could not plead guilty to the taunt. When he made the statement he was voicing public opinion. But when public opinion was against him, was he to coerce it? The writer had also argued that he had often held that there was to be no compromise with untruth or evil. The assertion was correct. But the application must also be correct. He made bold to say that if only non-Muslim India was with him, he could show the way to undo the proposed partition. But he freely admitted that he had become or was rather considered a back number. We had forgotten the lesson we had learnt for the past thirty years. We had forgotten that untruth was to be conquered by truth and violence by non-violence, impatience by patience and heat by cold. We had begun to fear our own shadows. Many had invited him to head the opposition. But there was nothing in common between them and him except the opposition. The basis of his opposition seemed to be wholly different from that of the inviters. Could love and hate combine?

## WHY DOMINION STATUS?

Some people have criticized the acceptance of Dominion Status during the interim period. They went so far as to say that the drama of independence was finished once for all. The present Viceroy was more dangerous than his predecessors who dangled before them the naked sword. He had tricked the Congress into submission by his persuasive powers. Gandhiji said that the correspondent had paid a high, though unintended, compliment to the Viceroy and at the same time belittled the intellectual capacity of the Congress Ministers. Why could not the writer see the obvious? The country, i. e., the vocal part of it was with them. They were no fools. They disliked dismemberment of India as much as any other. But they were the people's representatives in power. If the writer was in power, things might not have been different. In any case, it was not dignified to swear at the Viceroy if the leaders were ill-chosen or if the people were not true to the country. 'As the king so the people' was less true than 'As the people so the king.'

If the British were to quit by August 15th next instead of by June 1948, they had to hand over power in some way. That was the way of Dominion Status. Indians could discard Dominion Status as soon as they were ready with their own constitution. And if they themselves weakened and wanted to continue the Dominion Status, there was no point in blaming the British. That would be cowardiness.

## UNITED BENGAL

Gandhiji has been receiving angry protests against what he has said about the movement for a united Bengal. He has been asked to disclose the names of his informants and hold a public enquiry. If the informants were wrong, they should be punished. If they were right, those who had accepted bribes should be punished. Gandhiji's reply was that the protests were uncalled for. If the cap did not fit any head, there was nothing to worry about. And who was he, a private individual, to punish anybody? That was the function of the law. The only effective sanction was an enlightened public opinion as Tolstoy used to say. The distinguished soldier and, later on, pacifist held that public opinion was a much more potent instrument than war or strife. The speaker called this non-violence. The great Mr. Churchill had won the war for England. He was a scholar and a fine orator. But public opinion had dethroned him. In India, too, if public opinion was awake and strong, no one could do anything in opposition to it. Creation of effective public opinion depended on the cultivation of true courage born of truthfulness and non-violence.

In the same connection another correspondent rebuked him for giving credit to any statement however false, malicious, stupid and unfounded it might be, if it came from those in whom he had confidence. Gandhiji replied that he had done a good turn to his friends and even those who might consider themselves his enemies by scotching the rumour if it was false, especially when he was himself accused of lending assistance to corrupt practices. He willingly pleaded guilty to the charge of wanting a united Bengal. He would not mind standing alone in defence of such unity, if it could be preserved with dignity, honesty and willingness on both sides. For him it was no political game or bargain. What he wanted was a heart-unity. And although the provincial League had turned down the proposition, he made bold to say that it was possible for the Muslims of Bengal to give an assurance accompanied by tangible action that the Hindus had nothing to fear from the Muslim majority and there would be no partition. Unfortunately the omens appeared to be the contrary.

## TWO NATIONS?

The division of India, said Gandhiji, was now a certainty so far as man could see. He asked them not to grieve over it. He had never believed in Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's two nations theory and never would. Change of religion could never change nationality. He was as much of *Pakistan* as of *Hindustan*. If they acted in like manner, Jinnah Sahab would not be able to prove his theory in spite of the geographical division of India.

Jinnah Sahab had rebuked his followers for calling him *Shahanshah-e-Pakistan* and he had said that in Pakistan the minorities would get a square deal. If he lived up to what he had said, things would go right. Having got what they wanted, they were expected to live in peace with their non-Muslim fellow countrymen. In Pakistan they had to assure religious freedom and equal rights for all.

Why should the Hindus in Sind for instance be unable to live there in peace and security? If a single Hindu left Sind, the Muslims should plead with him and welcome him back. To the Hindus he would say that they should shed all fear. No one could force them to change their religion or status.

To the Hindus in the Hindu majority areas he would say that they should do the right thing irrespective of what the Muslims did. Thus only they would be able to disprove Jinnah Sahab's two nations theory.

## MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN

Gandhiji had a visit from some non-Muslims from severely stricken Rawalpindi. Naturally he enquired of them whether, now that Pakistan was almost a settled fact, there was any difference for the better in the behaviour of the Muslims round them. He was startled to be informed that the difference was undoubtedly there, but for the worse.

How happy he would be if he could be told truly that the information was coloured or that it was wholly wrong and that the fact was that the Muslims were going out of their way to fraternize with the Hindus, the Sikhs and the other non-Muslims!

Some friends from Campbellpore came and wanted to know whether they could live with safety in Campbellpore. Gandhiji hoped that he had no fear of any man, much less of Pakistan, for he feared only God. Therefore, he had no hesitation in saying to them that they should have no fear about their own safety because the area which they occupied was to be part of Pakistan. His assurance, however, could not produce much or any effect on them. They were frightened like most of the other non-Muslims who had to be in Pakistan. In reality, therefore, it was not he but Jinnah Sahab and other Muslim leaders of the League who had to give convincing assurances to all the frightened non-Muslims and dispel their fears.

## N. W. F. P.

Gandhiji suggested that the Qaid-e-Azam should lay all his cards on the table so that the world could see what he meant by Muslim majority rule, otherwise called Pakistan.

There was a talk of referendum in N. W. F. P. He would suggest to Jinnah Sahab that he should meet the Frontier Ministers and Badshah Khan as also his *Khudai Khidmatgars* and tell them why they should be in Pakistan. If the terms were attractive, he would have no hesitation in advising his Frontier friends to be part of Pakistan and thus avoid conflict between Pathan and Pathan and keep their Pathanistan intact in a federation of the majority Muslim States. Surely it was not proper to divide the Pathans by a referendum into two parties.

## SCRAP OF PAPER

It was open to the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs and all the other communities even now to come together and treat the Viceregal document of 3rd June as a scrap of paper in so far as further steps were concerned. It did nothing but register an agreement between the Congress and the League. It was an agreement which neither party liked. The Congress



spokesmen had made it clear that they could not be willing partners in any division of India. Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah did not show enthusiasm about the agreement in as much as Bengal and the Punjab were to be partitioned. In whatever direction he looked, the only way he could see through the surrounding darkness was that all the parties should come together and evolve a concerted plan so as to prevent further friction and further bloodshed.

New Delhi, 15-6-47

S. N.

### A WORLD MENACE?

Every act of ours affects our neighbours either for their welfare or to their detriment. The economic organization of one country affects another and upsets the peace of the world if the equilibrium is not maintained by a proper calculation of the use of natural resources. The more we rely on an economy that is centred round current resources such as animal power, wood materials and other things which are capable of being produced by man or nature in unlimited quantities, the more permanent our economy will be. The more we base our economy on nature's reservoirs such as coal, oil, etc., the more likely are we to come into conflict with our neighbours as and when these resources run short.

England was at one time on a current economy with the horse power as its central motive force. The horse provided transport, and power for raising water and ploughing the land. With the advent of steam machinery coal came into vogue. This brought England into a reservoir-centred economy which moved towards violence as the stock of coal began to be depleted. In the meanwhile the U. S. A. came into the field with its tremendous resources of oil fields. England switched over from coal on to oil as the better method of obtaining its power. With the exhaustion of the oil fields by the demands made on them during the last two global wars, nations are prospecting further reservoirs all the world over. At the present time the peace of the nations of the world is poised on the possibility of obtaining oil from other parts of the world. Russia, Great Britain and the U. S. A. are eager bidders for the oil of Borneo, Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia etc. On their settlement depends the welfare of the world.

India's has been a cow-centred economy and now with the talk of industrialization we are rapidly gravitating to a reservoir-economy based on petrol which is not one of our natural resources. Indian air lines are said to fly every day distances equal to the equator of the world. Last year over sixty million passenger-miles were flown. It is expected to double this in the course of the current year. India has over four hundred air-crafts on her field register and a big construction programme is well in hand. Some of the finest international aerodromes are being constructed at Karachi, Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay and the promoters of air lines hope to operate international air services. When one hears of all this much-vaunted "advance and progress" one

trembles to think of what the consequences will be to the world.

At the Labour Party Conference at Margate, Mr. Bevin the British Foreign Minister, is said to have stated that "the peace of the world for many years to come, will depend to a very large extent on the solution of the Indian problem." And later referring to industrial needs of India he added, "India is dependent upon this oil (Middle East oil resources) as much as we are. As India is going into industrialization, it will become more and more vital that these resources should be maintained."

This indicates the menace that India may easily become to world peace if our present pace and direction towards industrialization is maintained. If India is to contribute to world peace, we have to take care of the methods we adopt. If our methods are such and if our daily life requires the exploitation of our fellow beings, ultimately we shall also follow the example set by Great Britain and America in their efforts to control their natural resources for their own ends. A proper consideration will call for a certain amount of reserve, self-control and discipline. These may have the effect of apparently retarding our "progress". But such control will be exercised in the interest of world peace. Are we prepared to regulate our economic life with this consideration of the welfare of all peoples as the centre around which all countries should organize themselves and if need be make the necessary sacrifices?

J. C. KUMARAPPA

### Blood Money

A news item informs us jubilantly that up to the end of May, India has received as part of her share of reparations eleven German industrial plants valued at about Rs. 1½ crores. This is the result of the Paris Conference.

Will this lead to building up goodwill among the German people or will it assign India a place on the side of the atom-bomb-owning imperialists?

We understand that India has put in a claim for 18 per cent of the total number of items which may become available by way of reparation from Japan and our "technical missions" are going to Japan to "part the garments."

It is a tragedy that our springs of Swarnj should be polluted at the start with such "good neighbourly" acts.

J. C. K.

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## HINDUSTANI

بیمارستان پائی دمار (۱۹۵۳ء)

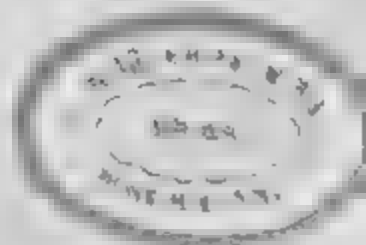
- Current business *n.* حالہ کاروبار | کام چلتا  
Current coin *n.* چلتا سکہ | چلتا سکہ  
Current expenses *n.* روزانہ خرچ | خرچہ  
Current language *n.* عام بولی | عام بولی  
Current month *n.* چلتا مہینہ | چلتا مہینہ  
Current price *n.* حالہ کاروبار | حالہ کاروبار  
Carriage *n.* ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی | ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی  
Curriculum *n.* تالیف یا شہادت کی ضرورت | پڑھائی کی کتاب  
Carrier *n.* پہنچان، پہنچان کرنے والے | پہنچان کرنے والے  
Curry *n.* چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا | چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا  
Curry favour *n.* چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا | چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا  
Currycomb *n.* چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا | چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا  
Curse *n.* لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ | لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ  
Curse *n.* لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ | لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ  
Curse of Scotland *n.* لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ | لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ  
Cursed *adj.* لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ | لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ، لعنہ  
Cursive *adj.* چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا | چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا  
Cursory *adj.* چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا | چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا  
Cursory glance *n.* چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا | چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا  
Curt *adj.* چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا | چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا  
Curtail *n.* چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا | چمچا کرنا، چمچا کرنا  
Curtain *n.* پردہ، پردہ، پردہ، پردہ | پردہ، پردہ، پردہ، پردہ  
Curtain, to draw the *n.* پردہ، پردہ، پردہ، پردہ | پردہ، پردہ، پردہ، پردہ  
Curtain, mosquito *n.* مچھری، مچھری، مچھری، مچھری | مچھری، مچھری، مچھری، مچھری  
Cartilage *n.* ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی | ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی  
Curvature *n.* ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی | ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی  
Curve *n.* ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی | ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی  
Curvet *n.* ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی | ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی  
Cushion *n.* تکیہ، تکیہ، تکیہ، تکیہ | تکیہ، تکیہ، تکیہ، تکیہ  
Cusp *n.* ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی | ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی  
Cuspidor (e) *n.* ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی | ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی  
Custard *n.* ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی | ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی  
Custard apple *n.* ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی | ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی  
Custodian *n.* ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی | ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی  
Custody *n.* ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی | ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی  
Custody, take into *n.* ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی | ہاتھی کے دو پہیوں کی دو پہیوں کی گاڑی





## HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL



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TWO ANNAS

## NON-VIOLENCE

[The following is from Gandhiji's written message for the prayer gathering on 15-6-47.—S. N.]

I would love to attempt an answer to a question which has been addressed to me from more than one quarter of the globe. It is:

How can you account for the growing violence among your people on the part of political parties for the furtherance of political ends? Is this the result of the thirty years of non-violent practice for ending British rule? Does your message of non-violence still hold good for the world? I have condensed the sentiments of my correspondents in my own language.

In answer I must confess my bankruptcy, not that of non-violence. I have already said that the non-violence that was offered during the past thirty years was that of the weak. Whether it is a good enough answer or not is for others to judge. It must be further admitted that such non-violence can have no play in the altered circumstances. India has no experience of the non-violence of the strong. It serves no purpose for me to continue to repeat that the non-violence of the strong is the strongest force in the world. The truth requires constant and extensive demonstration. This I am endeavouring to do to the best of my ability. What if the best of my ability is very little? May I not be living in a fool's paradise? Why should I ask people to follow me in the fruitless search? These are pertinent questions. My answer is quite simple. I ask nobody to follow me. Everyone should follow his or her own inner voice. If he or she has no ears to listen to it, he or she should do the best he or she can. In no case should he or she imitate others sheep-like.

One more question has been and is being asked. If you are sure that India is going the wrong way, why do you associate with the wrong-doers? Why do you not plough your own lonely furrow and have faith that if you are right, your erstwhile friends and followers will seek you out? I regard this as a very fair question. I must not attempt to argue against it. All I can say is that my faith is as strong as ever. It is quite possible that my technique is faulty. There are old and tried precedents to guide one in such a complexity. Only, no one should act mechanically. Hence I can say to all my counsellors that they should have patience with me and even share my belief that there is no hope for the aching world

except through the narrow and straight path of non-violence. Millions like me may fail to prove the truth in their own lives, that would be their failure, never of the eternal law

## NON-VIOLENCE OF THE BRAVE

The Congress President in his concluding speech at the A. I. C. C. had said that Gandhiji had not been able to show the way of combating communal strife in a non-violent manner as he had done in the case of fighting the British. Gandhiji had said that he was groping in the dark and though he said that he was solving the Hindu-Muslim problem for the whole of India by his work in Noakhali and Bihar, he (the President) had not been able to understand how the technique could be applied on a mass scale. That was why he was not standing with Gandhiji that day and had agreed to the partition of India.

Gandhiji's reply was that his groping in the dark referred to the fact that he did not know how to make the people see his view-point. He had no doubt that non-violence was as effective a weapon against communal strife as it had proved in their struggle against the British. The people had followed him then, because they knew they could not face the might of British arms in any other way. It was the non-violence of the weak. That won't serve the purpose in communal strife. For that was required pure non-violence of the brave.

Speaking in the prayer meeting Gandhiji said that while he admitted his impotency regarding the spread of the *ahimsa* of the brave and the strong as distinguished from that of the weak, the admission was not meant to imply that he did not know how that inestimable virtue was to be cultivated. Consciousness of the living presence of God within one was undoubtedly the first requisite. Acquisition of this consciousness did not require or mean temple-going. The daily recitation, however, carried with it certain well-defined implications. Assuming that the millions of India daily recited at a given time the name of God as Rama, Allah, Khuda, Ahura Mazda and Jehovah but the recitation was not free from drunkenness, debauchery, gambling on the market or in gambling dens, black-marketing etc., the *Ramadhan* was a vain and inglorious effort. One with a wicked heart could never be conscious of the all-purifying presence of God. Therefore it was truer (if it was a fact) to

say that India was not ready for the lesson of the *ahimsa* of the strong then that no programme had been devised for the teaching. It would be perfectly just to say that the programme just mentioned for the *ahimsa* of the strong was not as attractive as that devised for the non-violence of the weak had proved to be. He hoped that at least his hearers who daily attended the prayer meetings would lead the way in expressing in their lives the *ahimsa* of the strong.

New Delhi, 22-6-'47

S. N.

## A PROHIBITION ANTHOLOGY

(Continued from Vol. XI, No. 14, Page 199)

[20 and 21 are by Dr. R. F. Rattray (*Alcohol-drinking*) published by the Cambridge United Temperance Council. V. G. D.]

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Motoring has made the old standards of sobriety entirely out of date. The motor vehicle is highly lethal. Would you license public-houses along our railway lines for the use of engine-drivers? If an engine-driver is known to drink before driving he is punished. If he is known to do it twice, he is severely punished. Yet the difference between the risks on the railways and on the roads is simply overwhelming. The railway train is limited to rails and controlled by signals: the motor vehicle can move in any direction and is controlled by signals only at busy crossings. Motorists kill more people in one year than all the railways in Great Britain and Ireland have killed since railways were started. The bearing of alcohol on the problem has been publicly acknowledged in the Highway Code and in the report of the committee appointed by the British Medical Association. Professor Widmark, of the University of Lund in Sweden, pointed out that the only scientific test of intoxication is the blood test . . . The degree of intoxication is directly proportionate to the amount of alcohol a person had absorbed into his blood. Professor Widmark found that the amount of alcohol in the blood that constitutes a person a danger to the public while driving a motor vehicle is .1%. Notice the small quantity of alcohol that is necessary to make a motorist a danger—one thousandth part of the blood content. Professor Widmark's test has been accepted in law courts in Sweden, Norway, Germany, Switzerland, the United States of America and in London. In Norway no one is allowed to drive a motor vehicle within eight hours of his having taken any alcohol at all.

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The main answer to the contention that alcohol-drinking confers benefit by its paying large sums in taxation is, that when people are turned out of public-houses, the public has to pay for the consequences of their alcohol-drinking—in lowered efficiency, in accidents, hospitals, cost of public assistance to the poor, loss of working time, the influence on illness and diseases (think of the incurring of venereal disease) cost in law courts, prisons, mental hospitals.

## PATting OURSELVES ON THE BACK

In a preface to a brochure on the work of the Congress Ministries, Acharya Jagal Kishore, the General Secretary of the Congress, states that "a careful perusal of the pages of this brochure will, I hope, convince the unprejudiced reader, that the achievements of the Congress Ministries within such a short period of less than one year, have not been inconsiderable." It will depend upon what we look for as the goal and the fulfilment of a popular ministry. The Congress manifesto made all manner of promises to alleviate the distress of the masses. It is not possible at this stage to go into a detailed examination of items on the programme of the various Congress Ministries. But even one who runs may read that there is evident a lack of coordinated policies. Various Governments are following their own whims and fancies.

The Central Government is pursuing the scheme of a fertilizer factory at Sindhri. But they have not taken the trouble to organize a soil inspecting squad all over the country to enable chemical fertilizers to be applied scientifically and according to prescription. Merely placing tons of fertilizers in the hands of farmers, who have not been accustomed to the use of such materials, and who have no means of analyzing the soil and ascertaining their requirements, will be like giving sugar-coated quinine pills in the hands of a little child, and it will have an equally tragic result. These fertilizer factories will prove a bane to the farmers if their use is not scientifically controlled and regulated. If the Government were really interested in the farmers and had a policy to regulate the use of this product, they should first of all form their service squad to help the proper utilization of fertilizers. Instead, they are concentrating purely on the production, ownership and management of huge producing units and spending public money on these enterprises.

While the Government of Bombay is seriously considering taking legislative action to ban the production of *vanaspathi*, the sister province of Madras is planning to have nine more factories from next year, four in Andhra Desh, four in Tamil Nad and one in Malabar. Of these the Government hopes to run at least one.

If the country is to be led by responsible Governments, it is essential that the responsible Governments themselves should be clear in their minds as to what things are not good for the people. It cannot mean that a Congress Ministry in one province holds *vanaspathi* to be bad enough to be banned, another Congress Ministry considers it *amrit*-like to be promoted by themselves. We cannot look forward to any progress as long as such a policy of drift holds the field. We need a properly coordinated policy for the whole country. Is it too late for the Constructive Programme Committee to assert itself and declare the policy that should be followed for the benefit of the whole country?

J. C. KUMARAPPA



## STORY HOUR

(Continued from Vol. XI, No. 18, Page 173)

[The following is from *Tajrid-ul-Bukhari* translated into Urdu by Alama Husain bin Mubarak, which I was able to look into, thanks to the kindness of my friend, Dr. M. Hafiz Syed of Allahabad University. — V. G. D.]

## XVII

When he died, the Prophet left behind him neither corn, nor slave, nor anything else except his white mule and his weapons and a piece of land which he had given away in charity.

## XVIII

Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, was once disgusted with having to grind corn like any other poor woman. Therefore, when she heard that some prisoners of war had been handed over to the Prophet, she went to her father in the hope that he would let her have one of these as her domestic slave, but found that he was not at home. So she told her step-mother Ayisha why she had come, and returned to her house. When the Prophet came home, Ayisha told him how Fatima had come to ask for a slave. Thereupon the Prophet went to Fatima and said, "I have come to give you some good advice which is more precious than any number of slave girls, and it is this. When you retire at night, say *Allah-u-Akbar* (God is great) 34 times, *Subhan-Allah* 33 times and *al-hamd-ul-Allah* 33 times."

## XIX

The Prophet once went to his daughter's house but came back without seeing Fatima who told her husband Ali about this unexpected incident. When Ali went to the Prophet and asked him, he replied, "I saw a silk curtain hanging on her door and so came away." When Fatima was told the reason for the Prophet's displeasure, she asked him what he then expected her to do. "Send the curtain away," he said, "to So-and-so who is in need."

## XX

The Prophet said, "That man incurs God's greatest displeasure who is extremely quarrelsome."

## XXI

The Prophet said, "God appoints somebody to rule over a number of subjects. Then if he does not protect them and promote their welfare, he will not be able to enjoy the fragrance of paradise."

## XXII

The Prophet said, "God likes men to be gentle on every occasion."

## XXIII

A man once asked the Prophet for religious instruction. He replied, "Do not give way to anger." The man repeated his question several times; and each time the Prophet said, "Do not give way to anger."

## XXIV

The Prophet said, "It is incumbent on one who believes in Allah and in the Day of Judgment, that he should not injure his neighbour."

## XXV

A woman of bad character was pardoned by God only on account of one meritorious deed on her part. By the side of a well she once found a dog who was licking dust and was on the point of dying of thirst. She managed to draw some water from the well by improvising a rope out of her clothing gave it to the dog and thus saved its life.

## SWADESHI

[The following is from Gandhi's post-prayer speech on 20-6-'47. —S. N.]

I am told that with the advent of *swadeshi* *rai* in the shape of *swaraj*, the spirit of *swadeshi* is fast disappearing from the land. The stock of *khadi* is perhaps at its lowest. It is no unusual sight to see what are called Gandhi *topies* worn by men who are otherwise clad in *paradeshi*. If that is true on any large scale, the dearly loved liberty, in my opinion, would be short-lived. Goodbye then to the hope of India becoming the Light of Asia, as by right it should be. *Paradeshi* goes side by side with luxury which a correspondent says is rampant everywhere. I fondly hope that whilst the tragic picture might be true of the cities of India, it is not so of the villages, if only because they were famishing.

Immediately after my return to India in 1915 I discovered that the centre of *swadeshi* lay in *khadi*. If *khadi* goes, I contended even then, there is no *swadeshi*. I have shown that the manufactures in Indian mills do not constitute *swadeshi*. To that belief I cling even today.

Think of the bonfire of foreign cloth we had during our first national struggle. Shri Sarojini Naidu and Pandit Motilal Nehru threw their fineries in it. Pandit Motilal Nehru later wrote from jail that he had found true happiness in the simplicity and purity of *khadi*. It is sad that that spirit does not exist today. The *charkha* is the centre of our tricolour flag. It is the symbol of unity and the non-violent strength of the millions. The yarn spun by the *charkha*, I consider to be the cementing force which can bind those whom the three colours of the flag represent. That is why I have said that the whole fabric of *Swaraj* hangs on a thread of the handspun yarn and have called the *charkha* our mightiest weapon. Where is that wheel today?

I have already reminded you that if you have the *swadeshi* spirit in you, you will refuse to look to the West for the supply of your major wants. I have no quarrel in this time of extreme scarcity, if India imports foodstuffs and cloth from outside, provided it is proved that India is wholly unable to supply the two wants from within India. This is in no way proved. I have not hesitated to say and I would repeat that India is fully able to manufacture her own *khadi* and grow her own foodstuffs in her numerous villages. But alas! the people have become too lazy to look inward and insist on supplying these two wants from within India's borders. I will go even so far as to say that I will face starvation and nakedness rather than look to the West to supply the two needs. Without grim determination it is not possible to do the right thing.

## HARIJAN

June 29

1947

## TOWARDS REALIZATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

What is the mark of him who has Rama enthroned in his heart? If we do not know this, there is danger of *Ramanama* being much misinterpreted. Some misinterpretation is already in existence. Many sport rosaries and put the sacred mark on the forehead and vainly babble His name. It may well be asked whether I am not adding to the current hypocrisy by continued insistence on *Ramanama*. I must not be deterred by such forebodings. Silence thus brought about is harmful. The living voice of silence needs to be backed by prolonged heartfelt practice. In the absence of such natural silence, we must try to know the marks of him who has Rama in his heart.

A devotee of Rama may be said to be the same as the steadfast one (*sthitapragva*) of the *Gita*. If one goes a little deeper it will be seen that a true devotee of God faithfully obeys the five elemental forces of nature. If he so obeys, he will not fall ill. If perchance he does, he will cure himself with the aid of the elementals. It is not for the dweller in the body to get the body cured anyhow—he who believes that he is nothing but body will naturally wander to the ends of the earth in order to cure the body of its ills. But he who realizes that the soul is something apart from, though in the body, that it is imperishable in contrast to the perishable body, will not be perturbed nor mourn if the elementals fail. On the contrary he will welcome death as a friend. He will become his own healer instead of seeking for medical men. He will live in the consciousness of the soul within and look to the care, first and last, of the indweller.

Such a man will take God's name with every breath. His Rama will be awake even whilst the body is asleep. Rama will always be with him in whatever he does. The real death for such a devoted man will be the loss of this sacred companionship.

As an aid to keeping his Rama with him, he will take what the five elementals have to give him. That is to say he will employ the simplest and easiest way of deriving all the benefit he can from earth, air, water, sunlight and ether. This aid is not complementary to *Ramanama*. It is but a means of its realization. *Ramanama* does not in fact require any aid. But to claim belief in *Ramanama* and at the same time to run to doctors do not go hand in hand.

A friend versed in religious lore who read my remarks on *Ramanama* sometime ago wrote to say that *Ramanama* is an alchemy such as can transform the body. The conservation of the vital energy has been likened to accumulated wealth, but it is in the power of *Ramanama* alone to make it a

running stream of ever-increasing spiritual strength ultimately making a fall impossible.

Just as the body cannot exist without blood, so the soul needs the matchless and pure strength of faith. This strength can renovate the weakness of all man's physical organs. That is why it is said that when *Ramanama* is enshrined in the heart, it means the rebirth of man. This law applies to the young, the old, man and woman alike.

This belief is to be found in the West too. Christian sciences give a glimpse of it. In this issue of the *Harijan* Rajkumari has given apt illustrations culled from a book written by Seventh Day Adventists.

India needs no outside support for a belief which has been handed down to her people from time immemorial.

Haradwar, 21-6-'47

(From the original in Gujarati)

## FROM AMERICA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Richard Gregg writes from U.S.A.:

"Today's New York newspaper carries a dispatch from New Delhi stating that you have given up hope of living for 125 years and that there is no place for you in India because of the deluge of violence. If this report is substantially correct, I beg you, please reconsider your attitude. As I see the matter there is far more at stake than present violence in India, even if this should last for fifteen years.

"India is the source of the deepest and strongest spiritual insight and culture in the world. It is also the most enduring. Despite the grave harm that has been done to Hindu culture by the modern loss of religion and contact with the West which so fully embodies that secularism, Hindu culture still stands supreme. Most of the world will soon be ruined by violence and greed and godlessness, but I have hoped that there would be a remnant, no matter how small, in India which would keep its spiritual anchorage and be an island of hope and spiritual insight which may once more be the source of life and sanity for the stricken world.

"More than anyone else, you represent that Hindu culture, and the continuance of your life is of great importance to all the world. Even though for a time the number of those who agree with you and truly follow the road of *ahimsa* may shrink to only a handful, the very smallness makes possible an enhancement of quality and spiritual power. Then when mankind have learned better out of their suffering, (it seems to be the only way most of them can learn), they will turn again to the spiritual sources. We may not tell God that if violence (the folly of men) does not stop within a certain time that fits our hopes, we will stop doing our utmost including living as long as we can in order to do our utmost. I only dare say this to you because I want you so much to stay with us.

"Let me speak in a little more detail. Very careful economic studies over a long period of time

have shown that there are several waves or cycles or rhythm of economic activity of various kinds. There is a 54-year rhythm of wholesale prices, an 18-year cycle of real-estate activity, a 9-year wave of another sort, and a still other variety of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years. All the great depressions have been governed by these. All these cycles reach their lowest point in 1951-52. We are now entering what will probably be the severest economic depression that industrial nations have ever experienced. It will engulf the United States as well as all other nations. With the present dependence of Great Britain on economic aid from the U. S., the inevitable recession of that aid will, I believe, put an end to British interference in India. If another war such as now seems likely between the United States and Russia, occurs, there will be the end of the present Western civilization and the dominance of the White man over the world. I think that Hindu India can then lead the world out of the holocaust. That is my hope. I beg of you, please try to live out all those 125 years so that you as God's servant may play your part in that supremely important time. India and the world will need you then even more than now. Because this is a moral world governed by God's laws, mankind must suffer by its continued violation for centuries of these laws, especially by the governments of the nations. The sufferings are terrible to contemplate, but if they did not come, it would indicate that this is not a moral universe after all. So, the very suffering is a proof of our optimism, our belief that God's laws prevail and can no more be successfully violated than man can violate the force of gravitation.

"God bless you and keep you. Please, please, reconsider your discouragement and keep on living for the rest of the world as well as India. As I wrote to you in my last letter, there is always violence during and soon after the transfer of political power between nations and groups. When the thirteen American colonies broke away from Britain in 1776, we had our riots and fighting too. It was called Shay's rebellion. All history shows similar phenomena throughout the West, and enough of India has been infected by the Western ideas that it follows. But I hope the infection will end when the next war comes and Indians see beyond any doubt where irreligious Western culture leads."

The dispatch from which Mr. Gregg quotes is substantially correct. The loss of hope arises from my knowledge that I have not attained sufficient detachment and control over my temper and emotions which entitle one to entertain the hope. One day I found to my cost that I had not attained the required detachment. No one has the right to live at all unless it is a life of service. And a man without detachment in terms of the *Gita* cannot render full service.

A faithful confession of one's failings is good for the soul. It enables one the better to get rid of those failings. Let the readers of the *Harijan* know that I am making every effort to get out of them so that I can regain the lost hope. In this

connection I should also repeat that the hope is open to every one who dedicates himself to the service of his fellowmen. Nor need it be laughed out as an idle dream. That it may not be realized in me and many fellow aspirants should be no proof of its futility.

The statement that I find no place for myself in a society that bases itself on violence has nothing to do with the reported loss of hope. I deliberately use the adjective 'reported' for I do not want to harbour the thought of hopelessness. What was true when the report was made, need not be and, is not true in an equal measure today.

It must be clear that there can be no place for a man of peace in a society full of strife. Yet he may live the full span of 125 years and may hope by ceaseless striving to make a place for himself. That is exactly the meaning of my second statement and no more. I am in that society, though not of it. The statement registers my protest.

Has the non-violent effort of the past 30 years come to naught? I have already argued out the position in my speeches reported in these columns. It is to be hoped that the violence has not penetrated India's villages. Be that as it may, I wholly endorse Mr. Gregg's warning that "we may not tell God that if violence (the folly of men) does not stop within a certain time that fits our hopes, we will stop doing our utmost including living as long as we can." I very much fear that the dispatch in question tore the sentences out of their context and evoked the doubts expressed by Mr. Gregg. I hope I am incapable of judging God.

New Delhi, 22-6-'47

### AMIDST THE REFUGEES AT HARADWAR

Several refugees from the Frontier Province and some from the Punjab had seen Gandhiji at the Bhangi Colony and told him their tale of woe. They pressed him to visit the camps at Haradwar. Consequently he motored to Haradwar on the 21st instant with Pandit Jawaharlalji. He took me with him for medical inspection. The refugees at Haradwar are distributed in five or six camps. Their number was 32,000 on the day Gandhiji visited the place. I went to all the camps. With the exception of the camps run by the Marwari Relief Society and the Birla Brothers which are catering for small numbers, the conditions were not satisfactory. Men, women and children lay huddled together in the midst of dirt. Flies swarmed all over the place. Sanitation and medical facilities were poor. It was said that there were 400 to 500 pregnant women among the 32,000. So far as I could see there were no arrangements for their care.

There should be arrangements for regular D. D. T. spraying of the camps as a safeguard against cholera and better sweeper service should be ensured. The refugees should organize sanitation squads from among themselves. There is no reason why the refugees should not be organized to give all the necessary labour for the camps.

New Delhi, 22-6-'47

S. N.

## WEEKLY LETTER

## PUBLIC FASTS

A young Maharashtrian couple wrote to Gandhiji that their inner voice had directed them to fight against the division of India and, therefore, they wanted to go on a fast which they would break only if Pakistan was undone. They wanted to fast in Gandhiji's camp and asked for some place to stay. Gandhiji told them that he was not staying in his own house and he could not offer them hospitality in a place where he himself was a guest. So the couple went on a fast in front of the Bhangi Colony. Addressing them in the prayer gathering Gandhiji said that the parties did not know the science of public fasts. So far as he knew it, the fast would be wholly unjustified and wrong. It could produce no effect on him, much less on others. He could only dissuade the couple from the false step. He advised them to follow the course he had suggested, namely not to divide themselves from their Muslim brethren and sisters but regard themselves as one, and if their example was followed by all the inhabitants of the Union, Pakistan would be wholly inoperative. If the hearts of the non-Muslims were sound, the physical partition could produce no ill effect. He, therefore, invited the couple to devote their energy in the constructive channel he had indicated. He admitted that time seemed to be running against them but that only meant that their faith was on its trial.

The couple wrote back to say that they could not go against the dictates of their conscience and break their fast. Addressing them again on the second day Gandhiji said that all possessed a conscience but it was not fully awakened in all. Could a thief claim to be following his conscience when he committed theft, or could the maddened Hindu and Muslim mob claim to be acting according to the dictates of their conscience when they killed each other and butchered innocent children?

He claimed to know more about the science of fasting in India than any one else, and practically all those who went on a fast followed his advice. The latest instance was that of Kausambi who gave up his fast unto death at the speaker's behest. In his opinion the couple were wrong in persisting with the fast and he requested them to give it up. They were young and inexperienced. He appealed to them to listen to the advice of one grown old in the knowledge and technique of fasting. He suggested that their conscience was asleep. It was no use learning scriptures by heart parrot-like. Man could only live according to them if he had digested what he had read. Only then would his conscience be really awakened.

The advice had the desired effect and the couple took some milk and fruits in our camp at night. They wrote to Gandhiji that henceforth they would devote themselves to the constructive effort prescribed by him.

## PARTITION IN A BROTHERLY SPIRIT

A note appeared in the Press that the Muslim League and the Congress members of the Partition

Committee had agreed before the Viceroy that the partition would be effected in a brotherly spirit. It was a good thing that H. E. the Viceroy had been able to achieve. But he knew that sweet words buttered no parsnips. He would dance with joy when he found a series of acts following the words. The world was tired of eloquent speeches and writings. Both the things were overdone. Hunger was appeased by even a dry crust of bread without butter but never by honied promises.

## TRAVANCORE AGAIN

Travancore delegates to the A. I. C. C. saw Gandhiji on his silence day. They told him that there had been no exaggeration in what he had said about the suppression of the State Congress in Travancore. Meetings were held, lathi charges made and 35 persons arrested on the previous day. Free expression of opinion was being gagged. Be that as it may, he was convinced that a declaration of independence was of no consequence in an independent India. Such a declaration was tantamount to a declaration of war against the free millions of India. Such a thing was inconceivable especially when the particular prince had no backing of the people of his State. The audacity of such a declaration was amazing. It was possible when the actions of the Princes had the backing of the British power. "If I am not mistaken things have changed," he said. Who was to become independent? The Princes or the people? His advice to Sir C. P. and all other Dewans was that if they were loyal to their Princes they should advise them to join the Constituent Assembly.

## DOCTRINE OF TIT FOR TAT

Babu Purshottamdas Tandan visited Gandhiji on his silence day. He said that he did believe in training in arms for the people, but it did not mean that he believed in the doctrine of tit for tat. He regarded it a vicious doctrine. Gandhiji was pleased to have the emphatic repudiation and invited Tandanji to state his views for the public on the doctrine of tit for tat and the limitations he conceived to be possible on the use of arms.

Referring to the same subject he told some refugees, "Muslims are your brothers. If anyone sinks to the level of the beast, it does not follow that all should do likewise. The Muslims cannot go on killing you. No one can live on killing. If a Muslim kills me, what will he gain so long as I remain without any hatred in my heart? Love alone can win over hatred."

## NATIONALIST MUSLIMS

Khwaja Saheb Abdul Majid came to see Gandhiji during the week and expressed a hope that the Nationalist Muslims won't be neglected by the Congress. Like Gandhiji, who claimed to be a good Hindu and therefore a good Muslim, Parsi etc., Khwaja Saheb claimed to be a good Muslim and therefore a good Hindu and a good Parsi, Christian etc. "This means," said Gandhiji, "that for God-fearing men all religions are good and equal, only the followers of different religions quarrel against one another and thereby deny their respective religions. I hope those in the

Union of India would be worthy of their faiths and would be proud to call themselves sons and daughters of the same soil, claiming perfect equality in the eyes of the law. Religion is no test of nationality but a personal matter between man and his God. In the sense of nationality they are Indians first and Indians last, no matter what religion they profess."

Answering another correspondent, who had expressed fear with regard to the fate of the Nationalist Muslims in the Union of India, he said that the Union of India had to show by its action that no matter what was done in the so-called Pakistan Provinces, the Union Provinces would be strictly just and fair in their treatment of their Muslim brethren. Pakistan should make no difference in their regard for the Muslims as well as the other minorities. This had no reference to the apples of discord which the foreign power had thrown in their midst such as separate electorates.

#### POTENCY OF PRAYER

On the 18th instant Gandhiji and Badshah Khan met Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah at the Viceroy's House and in accordance with the arrangement at the meeting Badshah Khan later met the Qaid-e-Azam at the latter's house. Badshah Khan was straining every nerve to find some means of avoiding bloodshed in the N. W. F. P. Gandhiji asked the audience to pray with him for the success of Badshah Khan's mission. But he warned them against disappointment, if their prayers were not answered in the way they might have expected. If they were inclined to judge God that way, they were much mistaken. God answered prayer in His own way, not theirs. His ways were different from the ways of mortals. Hence they were inscrutable. Prayer presupposed faith. No prayer went in vain. Prayer was like any other action. It bore fruit whether we saw it or not and the fruit of heart prayer was far more potent than action so-called.

#### THE PROBLEM OF N. W. F. P.

Referring to the movement for a free Frontier State called Pathanistan, Gandhiji said that the movement had come to stay for it was a solid movement. If it was an anti-Indian movement, it was a bad and mischievous thing. If it was meant to conserve, as he thought it was, Pathan life and culture, it deserved every encouragement. Geographically it was only a bit of India, numerically too the Pathans were very few compared to the millions of India. But their warlike qualities and their position on the map of India gave them an importance all their own. The Frontier was a Congress Province. It was so when the Congress was in the wilderness. And it was now too when it was in power. It was also represented on the Constituent Assembly. But now it was face to face with a delicate position. There was the referendum immediately to be held. Both the Congress and the League were committed to it. It was not open to any one party to vary the terms. The issue was to be Pakistan or Hindustan. This had a sinister meaning in the context of what had happened in front of them. Were they

to be with the Hindus or with the Muslims? The Congress was not a Hindu organization. It never was and he hoped never would be. But how could the Pathan mind grasp the difference in the midst of confusion becoming worse confounded from day to day. He would advise the Congress to make its position clear and would ask the Muslim League to do likewise. Let both honour the Pathan sentiment and let the Pathans have their own constitution for internal affairs and administration. It would promote Pathan solidarity, avoid internal conflict, retain Pushtu culture and the Pushtu language. If they could do that they would be better able unitedly to federate with Pakistan or the Union of India. And this he would advise whether there was or was not a referendum. Any premature referendum would be a leap in the dark.

S. N.

#### A MAN OF PRAYER

Badshah Khan is a man of few words. There is always a sense of joy in seeing this tall figure, typical of the race to which he belongs, walking with or talking to Gandhiji.

Recently the issue of the referendum has been worrying Badshah Khan immensely "I am a man of peace. I cannot bear the thought of a fight between Pathan and Pathan." This is the sole thought in his mind today, how to avoid bloodshed among those who are his kith and kin and among whom he has been as one that serveth for all these long years.

On saying goodbye to me last evening he said: "Pray for us. We are going to have to face terrible times." Badshah Khan is nothing if not religious and he believes in the efficacy of prayer. It was sad to see him anxious. But withal one could sense also the courage of his race within him and the courage born of faith in his cause—the cause of the solidarity of the Frontier Province. Many criticized him for going to Jinnah Sahab's house. But just as pride and violence go together so humility is the first essential of the non-violent man. What mattered it if by going to Jinnah Sahab's house and having a talk with him the lives of many Pathans and the integrity of the Frontier Province might be saved? It was no confession of defeat of his cause that took him there. Badshah Khan is the uncrowned king in the hearts of thousands of his followers because he is their servant and the crown that service gives cannot be taken away by any outside force.

New Delhi, 22-6-'47

A. K.

#### THE NATION'S VOICE

(Second Edition)

[Being a collection of Gandhiji's speeches in England and Sir Mahadev Desai's account of the sojourn—September to December 1931]

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## EDUCATION IN HEALTH

The other day three Seventh Day Adventist friends came to see Gandhiji and presented a book to him called *The Ministry of Healing*.

There is much in the book that is in keeping with Gandhiji's ideas on nature cure. There may be nothing new in the following gleanings for the readers of the *Harijan*. But they can bear repetition.

"The true physician is an educator . . . he stands as a guardian of both physical and moral health. It is his endeavour not only to teach right methods for the treatment of the sick, but to encourage right habits of living and to spread a knowledge of right principles." In spite of the wonderful progress in the comforts and conveniences of life and the advance in sanitation and the treatment of disease, the writer deplors the alarming decline in physical vigour and power of endurance. "Our artificial civilization is encouraging evils destructive of sound principles. Custom and fashion are at war with nature."

A scathing indictment is made of the wide use of poisonous drugs. The physician should teach the people that restorative power is not in drugs, but in nature. "Pure air, sunlight, abstemiousness, rest, exercise, proper diet, the use of water, trust in divine power, these are the true remedies." Everyone should know how to use nature's remedial agencies. Her process of healing and upbuilding may appear to be slow, the surrender of harmful indulgences requires sacrifice, but in the end nature, it will be found, does her work wisely and well.

Prevention is better than cure and it is therefore "the duty of every person for his own sake, and for the sake of humanity, to inform himself in regard to the laws of life and conscientiously to obey them. . . . Health does not depend on chance. It is a result of obedience to law." That law, the writer affirms, "is the law of God." Its principles are as everlasting and inexorable as God Himself.

The first virtue to be fostered is man's power of self-control. In the wake of that power follow purity and freedom from every depraving appetite and detelling habit. But "no genuine reform can be effected apart from divine power."

The author dilates on the corroding influence on both soul and body that the use of tobacco and drink brings. The book is written for the West but smoking and the drink habit are evils to be guarded against in our land. It is sad to see today boys of tender years picking up cigarette ends from the streets and smoking them and even, sometimes, begging for a cigarette rather than a pice!

Wrong habits of eating, drinking, dressing and working are responsible for much disease. "God has endowed us with a certain amount of vital force. He has also formed us with organs suited to maintain the various functions of life and He designs that these organs shall work together in harmony. If we carefully preserve the life force and keep the delicate mechanism of the body in order, the result

is health, but if the vital force is too rapidly exhausted, the nervous system borrows power for present use from its resources of strength and when one organ is injured, all are affected."

Intemperate eating must be avoided. Fasting for a couple of meals or a fruit diet for a few days or even total abstinence from food for a short period have often brought relief. "The path of self-denial is the path to health."

Rest, freedom from care, and a spare diet are prescribed as remedies for the overworked. "Pure water is one of heaven's choicest blessings." It should be drunk freely; its proper external application is one of the best ways of regulating the circulation of the blood. Cold or cool baths are a tonic. Warm ones open the pores and aid in elimination of impurities. Both soothe the nerves. The writer complains that water treatments are not appreciated as they should be because their skilful application entails work.

The benefits of exercise are second to none. Inactivity is a fruitful cause of disease. It is seldom necessary even for a confirmed invalid to suspend all activity. Even those who have overtaxed their physical powers should not be encouraged to forego manual labour entirely. And of all forms of exercise the writer would give first place to walking inasmuch as it brings all the muscles into play and the lungs are forced into healthy action.

The reaction of the mind on the body is emphasized. "Courage, hope, faith, sympathy, love, promote health and prolong life. A contented mind, a cheerful spirit, is health to the body and strength to the soul."

"The physician, therefore," says the writer, "should educate the people to look from the human to the divine." He should direct his patients instead of relying on doctors to go to Him who can save to the uttermost all who call upon His name. "It is a law of nature that our thoughts and feelings are encouraged and strengthened as we give them utterance. While words express thoughts, it is also true that thoughts follow words."

What else does this signify except the power of healing in *Ramanama* of which Gandhiji has written and spoken so often?

Delhi, 20-6-'47

A. K.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## RIGHTS OR DUTIES?

[The following is from Gandhi's post-prayer speeches on the 28th and 29th June. —S. N.]

"I want to deal with one great evil that is afflicting society today. The capitalist and the zamindar talk of their rights, the labourer on the other hand of his, the prince of his divine right to rule, the ryot of his to resist it. If all simply insist on rights and no duties, there will be utter confusion and chaos.

"If instead of insisting on rights everyone does his duty, there will immediately be the rule of order established among mankind. There is no such thing as the divine right of kings to rule and the humble duty of the ryots to pay respectful obedience to their masters. Whilst it is true that these hereditary inequalities must go as being injurious to the well-being of society, the unabashed assertion of rights of the hitherto down-trodden millions is equally injurious, if not more so to the same well-being. The latter behaviour is probably calculated to injure the millions rather than the few claimants of divine or other rights. They could but die a brave or cowardly death but those few dead would not bring in the orderly life of blissful contentment. It is, therefore, necessary to understand the correlation of rights and duties. I venture to suggest that rights that do not flow directly from duty well performed are not worth having. They will be usurpations sooner discarded the better. A wretched parent who claims obedience from his children without first doing his duty by them excites nothing but contempt. It is distortion of religious precept for a dissolute husband to expect compliance in every respect from his dutiful wife. But the children who flout their parent who is ever ready to do his duty towards them would be considered ungrateful and would harm themselves more than their parent. The same can be said about husband and wife. If you apply this simple and universal rule to employers and labourers, landlords and tenants, the princes and their subjects or the Hindus and the Muslims, you will find that the happiest relations can be established in all walks of life without creating disturbance in and dislocation of life and business which you see in India as in the other parts of the world. What I call the law of satyagraha is to be deduced from an appreciation of duties and rights flowing therefrom."

Taking the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims for his illustration, Gandhi, resuming his remarks on rights and duties, said on the 29th June.

"What is the duty of the Hindu towards his Muslim neighbour? His duty is to befriend him as man, to share his joys and sorrows and help him in distress. He will then have the right to expect similar treatment from his Muslim neighbour and will probably get the expected response. Supposing the Hindus are in a majority in a village with a sprinkling of Muslims in their midst, the duty of the majority towards the few Muslim neighbours is increased manifold, so much so that the few will not feel that their religion makes any difference in the behaviour of the Hindus towards them. The Hindus will then earn the right, not before, that the Muslims will be natural friends with them and in times of danger both the communities will act as one man. But suppose that the few Muslims do not reciprocate the correct behaviour of the many Hindus and show fight in every action, it will be a sign of unmanliness. What is then the duty of the many Hindus? Certainly not to overpower them by the brute strength of the many, that will be usurpation of an unearned right. Their duty will be to check their unmanly behaviour as they would that of their blood brothers. It is unnecessary for me to dilate further upon the illustration. I will close it by saying that the application will be exactly the same if the position is reversed. From what I have said it is easy enough to extend the application with profit to the whole of the present state which has become baffling because people do not apply in practice the doctrine of deriving every right from a prior duty well performed

"The same rule applies to the Princes and the ryots. The former's duty is to act as true servants of the people. They will rule not by right granted by some outside authority, never by the right of the sword. They will rule by right of service, of greater wisdom. They will then have the right to collect taxes voluntarily paid and expect certain services equally voluntarily rendered, not for themselves but for the sake of the people under their care. If they fail to perform this simple and primary duty, the ryots not only owe no return duty but the duty devolves on them of resisting the princely usurpation. It may be otherwise said that the ryots earn the right of resisting the usurpation or misrule. But the resistance will become a crime against man in terms of duty if it takes the form of murder, rapine and plunder. Force that performance of duty naturally generates is the non-violent and invincible force that satyagraha brings into being."



## WEEKLY LETTER

## TREAT THE DISEASE

It was with a heavy heart that the Congress agreed to the vivisection of India. They could not afford to see the country bleed to death. They had never wished to coerce any unit to remain in the Indian Union against its wishes. The public charged them with bending before brute force. They refuted the charge. They had bowed before the force of circumstances and swallowed the bitter pill in the interests of the country. And yet the violence continues. Early this week 100 houses were reported to have been burnt in one day in Lahore. The houses in Lahore are not huts. They are big mansions. News of stabbings and bomb explosions continue to pour in from Lahore, Amritsar and Calcutta. Rumour says that the leaders are unable to check the roused ruffian element of the public. Referring to this on the 24th, Gandhiji said in his prayer meeting that he was told, with what truth he did not know, that the parties were fairly matched and were bent on fighting it out. What the 'it' was he did not know. "Is the suicidal strife to continue, Pakistan or no Pakistan? Why cannot the combatants honestly come together and decide to stop arson and murder? Must we look to the ruling race to suppress the riots? The end of alien rule is imminent. Would to God our people stop this savagery and show mankind the better and the braver way."

On the following day the newspapers reported that the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim leaders of Lahore had issued a joint peace appeal and they were determined to put down violence. A Muslim Leaguer was reported to have said that they could not allow Lahore, the flower of Pakistan, to be reduced to ashes. There had been reports that appeals had been made to the Viceroy to put Lahore under martial law. Poor Punjab! It has not forgotten the horrors of the days of the last martial law in 1919. Was it to be a victim to it again? And that too at the request of the people?

Congratulating the leaders on their humanitarian and national move Gandhiji said that it was any day much superior to martial law. "It is an effective substitute for martial law which deals with the symptoms but not with the disease itself. The parties, if they bring about peace, will be dealing with the disease."

## LESSON OF AFFLICTION

Speaking to a deputation of sixteen representatives of the refugees from the N.W.F.P. and the Punjab at Haradwar, Gandhiji said that it was useless and depressing to recount the story of the horrors they had gone through. "But every affliction has its own rich lesson to teach if we would learn it. I hear many of those who were well-to-do in the past are idling away their time in playing cards and even gambling. Some are reported to be buying property or resorting to other methods of making money. I call it criminal misbehaviour. If I was given the rare opportunity of making

common cause with poor fellow refugees, I would share with them my talents and such riches as I had brought with me. All of you should make a cooperative effort so that wherever you go ultimately you lead a better and corporate life as a result of the life lived in Haradwar. Haradwar is considered to be a holy place. I do not think it is holy, but you can make it so by your correct behaviour."

## PUT YOUR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER

There was a newspaper report that the British Parliament would make two nations of India by passing a bill about the division of India in the Parliament with great pomp and show. It hurt Gandhiji. What was there to gloat over the tragedy? Was this to be a parting shot of the British?

"If the major partner is true to his salt," Gandhiji said in a written message on Monday, "the foreshadowed wisdom can be confounded not in the shape of avoiding partition however distasteful it might be, but by right behaviour on the part of the major partner by always acting as one nation, by refusing to treat the Muslim minorities as aliens in their own home."

"This means a revolutionary reform in the religion of the major partner. Let us not shut our eyes to the plain fact. The untouchables, the scheduled classes are the target because they are the weakest point of Hinduism. One reads reports of Muslim League speakers holding forth that the scheduled classes in Pakistan can have separate electorates. Is that to be a call for joining Islam of the Pakistan type? I do not wish to recall the tales of forcible conversions. But having heard so much from their own mouths, I shudder to contemplate the worst. What is the answer to this fear or threat? Undoubtedly there should be no untouchability whatsoever in Hinduism, no scheduled classes, therefore, in India, no caste divisions whatsoever in the eye of the law. Hindus are all one, no high or low. All the neglected classes such as the scheduled classes, the so-called aboriginal classes should receive special treatment in the matter of education, housing etc. On the electoral role they will be one. This must never mean a worse state than the present but better in every way. Will Hinduism come up to the high level or will it court extinction by hugging infamous superstitions and aping bad manners?"

## IS GANDHIJI PARTIAL?

Of late 95% of the letters in Gandhiji's post are full of abuse. The Muslims look upon him as their arch-enemy and the Hindus accuse him of partiality for the Muslims. His advice to the Hindus to be honourable and just to the Muslims in the Union of India, irrespective of what was done in Pakistan, was also looked upon in that light. He did not plead guilty to the charge. Every person as every institution, above all every religion, was to be judged not by the amount of atrocities or the wrong committed by them but by their right conduct. Who would dare say that what he had

suggested was less than right? That the Hindus of larger Hindustan could not or would not do the right was another question. So much the worse for those who did not do the right no matter whether they were Hindus, Muslims or any other. The law was no respecter of persons. Only for the occasion his remarks were addressed to the Hindus. For, it was they who by their action were to prove or disprove the two nations theory. In this connection he could not help saying that his advice was meant for brave, unselfish and godly people. Persons and people lost by their own mistakes, never by those of others. Their own sad history was filled with illustrations of how through personal greed, selfishness and cowardice they had lost their liberty.

#### STANDING ON ONE'S OWN FEET

A correspondent had asked Gandhiji as to how, having depended on British troops for over a century, India could all of a sudden do without them. Gandhiji's reply was: "Another way of putting the same question would be 'Are you not unfit for Swaraj?'" He answered the question many years ago. He would give the same answer today. He had not the shadow of a doubt that India would, when the British troops were really withdrawn, feel that a great load had been lifted off her back. No doubt they would feel a little awkward for a day in this time of internal strife and mutual distrust, not always ill-based. But they would feel even as a man feels when he is removed from a stuffy room. This he said not merely from the standpoint of non-violence but even from that of violence. They had to get out of helpless dependence and learn even to fight to the finish among themselves. It was a terrible lesson to go through. But it was any day better than the present helplessness. He was quite sure that the present Hindu-Muslim enmity was a base manufacture which was destined to die of inanition. The pity undoubtedly was that the disease had invaded the intelligentsia. It did not become respectable on that account. It made the intelligentsia disresponsible. Some of them would live to see the dawn of sanity when they would laugh at their own folly. He only hoped that the British would, upto the last moment, resist the temptation to stay in India for the sake of giving India peace. He wished he could convince them that they never gave India the blessings of peace. It was, as Lord Halifax when he was Viceroy as Lord Irwin had said on a memorable occasion, "the peace of the grave."

#### FRAGRANCE OF NON-VIOLENCE

Another question was: "Does not your non-violence stink in your nostrils?" Gandhiji made bold to say that the fragrance of non-violence to him was never sweeter than when it was today amidst the stink of violence of the most cowardly type that was being displayed in the cities of India such as Lahore, Amritsar and other places. He was sorry to say that he was ashamed of his countrymen, be they Hindu or Muslim. Neither became his enemy

because either chose to call himself so. He was aware that Quid-e-Azam Jinnah had rendered a disservice to Islam by calling Hindus or better still the Caste Hindus 'our enemies'. He would plead with the so-called Caste Hindus not to wear the cap but unselfishly and bravely prove themselves friends of every Indian because they loved India. There was grave danger of insanity proving infective. Pakistan was there. Why would the Quid-e-Azam not be happy now that he had got it? Or had the poison gone too deep to be brought under control? Was it a variety of, and that worse than, the atom bomb? Let those who had eyes, see the thing and avoid it well before India was caught in the poisonous coil.

#### WORSHIP OF MATTER

Another correspondent asked Gandhiji how India was to deal with the disease that had seized the world viz., the worship of matter in the place of the spirit. He was afraid that India itself was not free from it. The question was put to him because of his vaunted spirituality. Though he admitted India's complicity in the crime of denial of ethical values over the material, he lived in the hope that India would be true to her heritage.

#### FRIENDSHIP WITH BRITAIN

Yet another asked whether he contemplated any kind of friendship or relation with England when India ceased to be a dominion after it had its own constitution.

Gandhiji replied that he contemplated the closest friendship with England. He was, therefore, most anxious that during this pregnant period the Viceroy and his English advisers and the Englishmen in India did nothing that was not strictly right. Most correct dealings with India as a whole would leave no bitter memory behind.

New Delhi, 29-6-'47

S. N

#### Cattle Breeding

Speaking at Coimbatore, Sir Datar Singh made a strong appeal to private individuals to undertake dairy farming. This is all very well, but where are the animals? Sir Datar Singh knows better than anybody else the havoc caused by the military demand in the last few years. If the country is to tackle its food problem by sound agriculture, we must concentrate on producing good animals both for draught and for milk yield. It would be a short range policy to meet the immediate need with crossbred animals. What we want to do is to breed up the local types to supply our requirements. This work of selective breeding calls for a long range Government policy to conduct efficient cattle breeding farms. The policy pursued by the Government has ruined the cattle wealth of the country. We hope our Swaraj Government will give this item a leading place in its development programme.

I. C. K

# HARIJAN

July 6

1947

## A PERPLEXITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I have developed a curious mentality about the relations between men and women. I believe in certain checks upon the e. Yet my condition is very like that of a man suspended in mid-air. I often feel that if these relations were more natural than they are, probably there would be less sinfulness. Yet something within me tells me that every touch, be it ever so superficial, is bound to lead to the eruption of animal passion. When one examines the court cases here even about brother and sister or even father and daughter, the beginning seems to have been quite innocent. In my opinion the glow of mere touch drags down inside of a month, even a week, one who is not endowed with extra purity. A good man may take even ten years but he is sure to go down the incline of vice. There is a constant conflict between the habit which we have inherited and the study of modernist books. The question often arises—can society altogether abjure contact between the sexes? I have not been able to come to a decision. Such in short is my sorry plight."

This is the usual state of many youths and young women. There is only one way for such young people. They have to avoid all contact of the opposite sex. The checks and restraints described in our books were the result of experience gained during those times. They were, no doubt, necessary for the writers and their readers. Today every aspirant has to pick out from them the necessary items and add new ones which experience may make necessary. If we draw a circle round the goal to be reached, we shall find many ways leading to the goal, each one according to his needs.

An aspirant who may not know his own mind will certainly fail if he blindly copies another.

Having said so much by way of caution, I must add that to find the true way to *brahmacharya* through a study of court cases and erotic literature is as fruitless as the effort to find the proverbial flower in the heavens above. The true way is not to be found in English law courts or in the novels. They have their use in their limited field, but they are of no use to the aspirant after *brahmacharya*. English men and women who tread the difficult path are not afflicted by the imaginings of the correspondent quoted above. Those whom I have in mind have their God enthroned in their hearts. They are neither self-deceived nor would they deceive others. To them their sisters and mothers are ever thus and for them all women are in the place of sisters and mothers. It never occurs to them that every contact with them is sinful or that it is fraught with danger. They see in all women the

same God they see in themselves. It will betray lack of humility to say that such specimens do not exist because we have not come across them. Lack of belief in the possibility would also amount to lowering the standard of *brahmacharya*. There is as much error in saying that there is no God because we have not seen Him face to face or because we have not met men who have had that experience, as there is in rejecting the possibilities of *brahmacharya* because our own evidence is to the contrary.

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)  
New Delhi, 29-6-47

## WORTHY HIRE

A long overdue reform is suggested by the Varadachari Pay Commission. As a general proposition they fix a ceiling of Rs. 2,000 and a minima of Rs. 55 for salaries to be paid to public servants.

India is on the threshold of independence and this question of pay of Government servants has always been a sore point. Under the foreign patronage many extraneous considerations went into the making up of the amount. To the foreigner the pay had to compensate for his serving away from "home" and had to take into consideration that his family have to move about and be split up to educate the children. So even with very high amounts offered it was really difficult to secure the best. Besides we had to compete with a high-price-level country where alternative employment could easily outbid a low-price-level country.

In the higher posts the element of public spirit and a desire to serve one's own country may well be expected to keep the level of salary down. But this was absent in the equation with the foreigner. As any differentiation between the foreign and Indian recruits was construed to be invidious our own men also came to draw these huge salaries, totally out of keeping with the income of the tax-payer.

Now all this has to change to fit into an India with its natural cultural background. Ours is not a purely material-centred economy nor are our wants in our country such as to call for a high level of private expenditure. We do not want mercenaries nor do we need to pay "annuity" and compensation type of salaries based on the present value of future interests nor even bribe-proof emoluments.

Our tradition honours men who work for a cause and not for wealth. Under these circumstances, once the foreign example is off the field, it ought not to be difficult to find men and women who will realize their ambition in service. Such men cannot be secured by the offer of pure material advantages.

We must realize that the whole outlook of the service will change with the advent of patriotism. When the day of freedom dawns, we hope this spread and range between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 55 will close up and that public service will attract men and women of ideals imbued with the desire to serve those in need. Such will deem it a form of cannibalism to live on the taxes extracted from the indigent citizen. We trust that day is not far off.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## A THOUGHTFUL SUGGESTION

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's far-sighted decision to stick to the original nomenclature of 'Union of Indian Republics' with a view to emphasizing the Congress stand that there has been no change of outlook as far as they are concerned, may serve as a useful pointer to the *ad hoc* Committee for the National Flag, recently appointed by Dr Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Constituent Assembly. If the Congress ideology has remained unchanged, a flag which has represented that ideology and for which many shed their blood so that the honour of the national flag may be maintained, need not undergo any radical change except on grounds of technical details of flag-making.

Originally, the flag had three horizontal strips of white, green and red in that order, starting from the top, with the figure of the *charkha* superimposed. At later stages, the red strip was replaced by the orange (to recognize the sacrifices of the saffron-clad *desh-sevikas*, as some thought) and the order was changed to orange, white and green, with the *charkha* in the centre.

One of the basic principles of flag-making is that it must be distinct against the background of the sky, and for this reason, a white strip at any extremity has to be ruled out of the question. The original flag with a white strip at the top and flying on the mast of, say, a battleship, would appear against the background of the sky as a flag with only two strips of green and red, the white strip being swallowed up by the sky. The white strip, if it is to remain, and I shall show presently why it should remain, must necessarily be in the centre with two distinct colours coming above and below it.

The second principle is that the colours must be as distinct as possible and must not be capable of running into too many shades. The present orange colour, from this point of view is not an improvement on the old red. Not infrequently we come across flags with orange colours which may be anything from yellow, saffron, and pink to *bhagwa* of the *sadhu's kafni*. The red strip of the original flag was definitely better from this point of view.

Adoption of the original red might also effect a compromise with workers who have a partiality to that colour. A symbol of revolution, the red need not necessarily indicate a bloody revolution, it may very well stand for the non-violent revolution that we have witnessed in India.

If the saffron was introduced to recognize the sacrifices of the *desh-sevikas*, (and I am told, this was not the case), would not 'white', the symbol of purity, better suit Indian womanhood? Would it not also depict them as 'Sisters of Mercy' which in reality they are? Replacement of the orange need not therefore worry the *desh-sevikas*.

A third principle which is equally important if the flag is to have a wide popular appeal is that the details of design must not be too complicated and over-decorative so as to make it almost impossible for a man in the street to design a national flag of his own; 'Tiger's head', for example, would not do.

From this point of view, we should try and see if the present *charkha* cannot be replaced by something that symbolizes the *charkha*. The *charkha* must of course be maintained, but only in a symbol form. The present figure of the *charkha* creates following difficulties of flag-making:

(i) The design is not very easy to draw,

(ii) it is not symmetrical; and

(iii) if the obverse of the flag shows the *charkha* with the wheel towards the mast and the spindle towards the end with its point facing towards one (I am thinking of the position when the flag is flying to the left of the mast), then the reverse must show the same *charkha* but the point of the spindle facing away from one. Few understand this important point and we come across ridiculous figures of the *charkha* with the wheel towards the left and the spindle pointing towards one on the right!

The simple wheel, I submit, could still symbolize the *charkha*, making it easier to draw, symmetrical in design, and without creating confusion with the obverse and the reverse sides of the flag.

The wheel which was the earliest and most vital discovery of human beings has been the substratum of all civilizations, and it would particularly symbolize an agricultural community such as the Indian; it would, therefore, represent the *kisan* and the *kisan* movement too.

At the same time, the wheel may indicate industry and commerce without necessarily implying mechanization or the capitalist system.

The wheel may further symbolize *kranti* by being the wheel of revolution and may be acceptable to parties which prefer to call themselves 'revolutionary'.

And finally, the wheel might also include the Buddhist concept of *dharma-chakra* (adopted by Emperor Ashoka) or the balance-wheel of religion that sustains society. The spiritual basis of Indian civilization might thus be made pronounced in our national symbol which will carry the message of peace and non-violence to the whole world.

To conclude, our flag may have three strips of red, white and green (of the mother earth and her children the tillers) with a wheel with eight spokes superimposed in any suitable colour.

S. D. KALELKAR

[As the originator of the first design, I should say that the three strips were to represent all the communities and the *charkha* was the symbol of non-violence.

— M. K. G.]

New Delhi, 29-6-'47

## THE NATION'S VOICE

(Second Edition)

[Being a collection of Gandhiji's speeches in England and Sjt. Mahadev Dewar's account of the sojourn September to December 1931]

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## SOME VALUABLE HINTS

Sometimes, it is easier to win freedom than to retain it. The Congress has won freedom for India. The next three years will show whether the Congress is able to preserve this dearly won freedom for this country. To preserve this freedom, the Congress will have to change its tactics. So far it was good tactics to issue statements, make speeches and make the biggest noise. The new situation requires silent planning, discipline and the strictest control over speeches, statements and irresponsible loose talk. General impression is that Congressmen in office talk much as before. The late Lord Willingdon used to say that "the successful politician should keep his mouth shut and bowls open." Our politicians, especially those holding office should keep their mouths as also their bowls shut. Behind loose, irresponsible talk, there can be no planning, there are no contacts and there are no consultations with non-Congress experts. It is not too late even now to put the house in order and be prepared to face all eventualities. The energy of non-Congress experts should be harnessed.

Transfer of power was the first objective of the Congress. That objective is being achieved by August 15. The Congress, thereafter, must consolidate its gains, ease up the rapidly deteriorating economic situation in the country and build her defences. The neck-breaking speed of constitution-making must be slowed down.

The Congress should set up a number of committees of experts, one on the defence of India, the second on economic planning, the third on the industrial planning and the fourth on the secretariat planning. All-out efforts should be made to speed up production. Instead of 'Industrialize or Perish' the slogan should be "Produce or Perish." Ever since the present Government has taken office, production in all forms has declined. Then again, immediate efforts should be made to stabilize the wage structure of this country. That alone would bring industrial peace and speed up production. The Departments of Commerce and Finance have planned a new import policy for India. That policy is bound to increase inflation and lead to all the evil consequences following inflation. The Economic planning should carefully formulate the import and export policy for this country.

There is much talk of industrialization. The talkers are deceiving themselves and deceiving the country. Firstly, no capital goods are available in Europe and America to make industrialization possible. Secondly, in this country itself, cement, bricks, iron, steel and timber are in short supplies. Even if there are capital goods available, there is not enough building material to erect factories, plants and machinery. Lastly, movement of goods by railways has steadily gone down. Nothing appears to move.

The Government of India's secretariat has become unwieldy and unsuitable for speedy transaction of work. A thorough reorganization is urgently called

for. The Congress Ministers should have the guts to retrench the superfluous staff.

The nation must falsify Mr. Churchill's vicious prophecy.

"They are making arrangements that the greatest betrayal shall be followed by the greatest ramp. Nepotism, back-scratching, graft and corruption in every form will be the handmaidens of a Brahmin domination."

ANONYMOUS

[The writer is a student of the country's politics. I am not *au fait* with the Congress work. Therefore I have no right to pronounce any opinion on the foregoing hints which should, therefore, be taken for what they are worth. - M. K. G.]

New Delhi, 29-6-'47

## GLEANINGS FROM BUDDHISM

Three issues of a Buddhist quarterly magazine called *Buddhist China* published in Chinese and English have been sent to Gandhiji by the editors. The following are gleanings from these magazines.

Lord Buddha has said

"By ourselves is evil done,  
"By ourselves we pain endure  
"By ourselves we cease from ill,  
"By ourselves become we pure,  
"No one saves us but ourselves,  
"No one can and no one may,  
"We ourselves must walk the path,  
"Buddhas merely teach the way."

The same thought is summed up in one line in the *Gita*

आत्मेव ब्रह्मणो बन्धुरात्मेव विपुलात्मनः ।

Man himself is his own enemy or his own friend

Buddha preached the necessity of balancing of moral faculties such as faith, energy, attentiveness, concentration and intelligence. Explaining this the commentator Ven. Nyanatiloka Maha Tehra says

"A person with strong faith and weak intelligence believes blindly, a person with great intelligence and weak faith inclines to cunning. Where there is equilibrium of both the faculties, however, one has faith only in true things."

"A person with strong concentration and little energy is overpowered by indolence, and a person with great energy and weak concentration tends to restlessness. On the equability of both faculties depends 'attainment of concentration.' Attentiveness, however, should be strong everywhere. Attentiveness was called 'ever wanted' by the Blessed One."

Lord Buddha was a great opponent of blind faith. He taught:

"Do not believe anything on mere hearsay. Do not believe in traditions merely because they are old and have been handed down for many generations and in many places. Do not believe anything on account of rumours or because people talk a great deal about it. Do not believe anything merely because presumption is in its favour."

"Do not accept my doctrine out of reverence but first try it as gold is tried by fire."

The theory of trusteeship and the teaching of the first verse of the *Ishopanishad* are also reflected in the teaching of the Great Master

"It is not wealth or ownership that enslaves man to *tanha* (misery) but the cleaving and attachment to wealth and power. He who does not cleave to wealth and power, but uses them rightly will be a blessing unto his fellow beings."

The four vices described by the Master are killing, stealing, unchastity and falsehood. Commenting on killing Ven. Paravahera V. Tehra says

"The killing of any living creature sets up atmospheric and ethereal reactions which depress the atmosphere and tend to submerge the finer instincts of those whom it surrounds."

How much damage the killing of thousands upon thousands in the senseless war of communal hatred must have done to the soul of India?

The theory of non-violence finds an echo in the following words of Lord Buddha:

"Not he who in the battlefield  
'Defends one hundred thousand men,  
'But he, who conquers his own self,  
'He is the greatest conqueror."

New Delhi, 28-6-'47

S. N.

## AN OPEN CONFESSION

An English sister writes thus to Gandhiji:

"I feel terribly ashamed, sad and distressed, and the more you say that India must look to her own faults and not blame Britain the worse I feel. I think I understand what you mean and why you speak thus and how determined you are to bring India through this crisis with the least bloodshed, the least bitterness and in the finest spirit possible. But I cannot escape the condemnation of my own conscience. We British have done so much to bring India to this spiritual tragedy. It may be that in the situation the present plan is the best that could be produced; it may be that India should never have allowed herself to get into the present conditions, but ultimately, surely the blame should be laid well and truly at our door—for the past policies, the communal electorates, all the divisive influences, the way we have let things drift and have hung on to India till the situation was so overripe that human beings themselves began to go rotten morally and spiritually. Even now I am not satisfied that we are playing straight—at best we are still on the plane of political chess. How can I help being sad and ashamed? There is no sense of atonement whatever over here. The general reaction is that Britain has done a grand job in India and has brought her work to a grand finale. Still the same old blindness to our share in bringing India to a point where her people—or leaders anyhow—seek divisions on a basis of man's different approaches to God. Till the last we have had India, even while that fateful choice was made—acceptance of division rather than continuation of the upheavals and frustrations. Why didn't we hand over to the established government (we had ourselves established it) and go, leaving India really free to make decisions?

What freedom of choice is there when the jailer opens only one door? To reiterate that it would have been better to go out through the other door, when that door—of Hindu-Muslim understanding—has been more firmly barred through the decades is a mockery. You have often said that at least as much damage was done to the jailer as to the prisoner, to the wielder of power as to the one held bound. It is all too true. I used to hope that when the day of India's freedom finally came it would be a glorious day of spiritual victory for both, it may yet be that for India. But there is little sign of it for Britain. It is very hard for the inheritors of Empire to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Shall we ever be shorn of our pride, our superiority and our dominating ways? Shall we ever stop 'talking down' to those who in reality are our superiors, though we are too blind to see it? India suffers, but to some purpose. Britain temporarily manages to escape her share of the suffering, but to what purpose? We've been through a second world war and have suffered in that way it is true. But have we learnt anything worth while? Not very much. We turn again to the old policies that brought so much misery before. And here in India we had our chance—and have missed it. Or so I think. Poor Britain! We may be fairly clever, adept at political expediency, charming and affable, delightful folk when that is our policy. But we seem to be spiritually dead. Yet deep within us are glorious qualities in which you for one have always believed and have tried to draw from us. You are still doing it, aren't you? Applying your non-violence in tremendous generosity of spirit. Why does it not evoke an answering response? The hang-over of our superiority is deep in us—even in our interpretation of Christ's teaching. Would that the 'non-violent' committees could be roused to a sense of urgency for the application of positive non-violence, here and now, to a counterpart of what you are doing over there." The non-violent man must first reduce himself to zero." That's very hard for us Britishers, hard for everyone but particularly for us. We've been top-dogs for so long. People can see the tragedy of India. The tragedy of Britain is hidden—but it is there."

Only the other day Gandhiji said to a young American: "An open confession is good for the soul." The foregoing should provide food for thought for Britons. That they are leaving a divided India as a result to a large extent of the seeds of dissension sown by them over a long period, is surely no cause for rejoicing. For those millions who have dreamed and worked and suffered for a United India the impending secession of some parts of the country from the mother's lap has taken all the gilt off the ginger bread. Nevertheless, as Gandhiji has been saying again and again recently, it is up to the inhabitants of the Indian Union to prove the evil of division by their right action. May they have the moral strength to rise to those heights!

New Delhi, 25-6-'47

A. K.

## THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN

A Muslim friend has written an article on the essential teachings of both Hinduism and Islam in the matter of all men being sons of the same Father in heaven. The extracts taken from some of the Hindu Scriptures and the *Quran Sharif* are worth treasuring in these sad days of communal strife.

In the *Bhagwad Gita* we read the following striking verses:

"He who regards impartially lovers, friends and foes, strangers, neutrals, foreigners and relatives — also the righteous and the unrighteous — he is a Brahmin."

"Having an eye to the welfare of the world also, thou shouldst perform action."

"I, O conqueror of sleep, am the Self, seated in the heart of all beings."

In the *Manu Smriti* we find the following:

"He who befriendeth all creatures, his name is Brahman."

"He who thus seeth the Self in all beings, by his own self, he realises the equality of all, and attaineth to the supreme state of Brahman."

In the *Katha Upanishad* we come across the following:

"Thus one universal inner Self of all beings becometh one separate individual Self for each form."

Again in the *Isha Upanishad*

"He who seeth all beings in the Self and the Self in all beings — he hateth no more."

In the *Shantiparva* of the *Mahabharata* the following verse is most significant:

"He who is the friend of all beings, he who is intent on the welfare of all in act and thought and speech — he only knoweth religion."

And in the *Vishnu Purana*:

"Knowing the Supreme to be in all beings, we wise extend love to all creatures undeviatingly."

Turning to the *Quran Sharif* the Prophet Mohammad said:

"No man is a true believer unless he desireth for his brother that which he desireth for himself."

"He who is not affectionate to God's creatures and to his own children, God will not be affectionate to him."

"Who is the most favoured of God? He from whom the greatest good cometh to His creatures."

"The best of man is he from whom good accrueeth to humanity. All God's creatures are his family and he is the most beloved of God who trieth to do most good to God's creatures."

"Feed the hungry and visit the sick and free the captive if he be unjustly confined. Assist any person oppressed, whether he be Muslim or non-Muslim. God enjoins you to treat women well, for they are your mothers, daughters and aunts."

"Do you love your Creator? Love your fellow men first."

When on his last pilgrimage, he said:

"Remember you are all brothers. All men are equal in the eyes of God. And your lives and your properties are all sacred; in no case should you attack each other's life and property. Today I trample under my feet all distinctions of caste, colour and nationality. All men are sons of Adam, and Adam was of dust."

The great Khalifa Omar renewed his charter in the following word:

"I will make no invidious distinction between the red and the black, between Arabs and non-Arabs and will follow the foot-steps of the Holy Prophet."

Another friend has sent quotations from the Book of Proverbs. They too are apposite at a time when the shedding of blood and loot and arson are rife:

"My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not."

"If they say, 'Come with us, let us lay wait for blood, let us lurk privily for the innocent without cause—'

'Let us swallow them up alive as the grave:

"We shall find all precious substance, we shall fill our houses with spoil: Cast in thy lot among us, let us all have our part."

"My son, walk not thou in the way of them; refrain thy foot from their path."

"For their feet run to evil and make haste to shed blood."

"And they lay wait for their own blood; they lurk privily for their own lives."

"Devise not evil against thy neighbour; seeing he dwelleth securely by thee."

The wise King saw the folly of the madness which must lead in the long run to self-destruction for the evil-doer. He was right too when he said:

"Wisdom is the principal thing: therefore get wisdom: and with all thy getting get understanding."

When will we see the incredible folly of our ways?

New Delhi, 24-6-'47

A. K.

### The Cloth Shortage Problem

The most common argument advanced by the supporters of the textile industry is that the country is experiencing a great shortage in cotton goods and the quickest way of meeting this deficiency is by resorting to mill production. Sir John Greaves, who was detained out to look after the British imports of textile machinery into India, states that the execution of India's existing orders for textile machinery would take seven years more. Even then production can take place only after the installation of the plant and machinery which will take another year or two. In the case of Khadi, production begins when a person picks up the takli. Hence, anyone, not concerned with vested interests, can see that the quickest solution of the cloth problem is to take to khadi production. Will our Provincial Governments understand or are the vested interests blindfolding them?

J. C. K.

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# ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## INSTALMENT—XXIII

## ENGLISH

## HINDUSTANI

- Dancer n. नाचनेवाला, नाचनेवाली । नाचे والا, नाचे والी
- Dancing n. नाच । नाचे
- Dandelion n. भेड़ पीते रंगका फंगली फूल जिसके पत्ते झींटीले होते हैं । भेड़ पीते रंगका फंगली फूल जिसके पत्ते झींटीले होते हैं ।
- Dander n. गुस्सा, कोप, कफरी । कफरी, गुस्सा
- Dandle v. मोदमें या सुदमों पर सुछलना (बच्चेको), काबू करना । मोदमें या सुदमों पर सुछलना (बच्चेको), काबू करना ।
- Dandruff n. सिरकी, सिरकी, पियास । सिरकी, पियास
- Dandy n. बाँफ, पैसा । बाँफ, पैसा
- Dane n. डेनमार्क देशका रहनेवाला । डेनमार्क देशका रहनेवाला
- Danger n. कतरा, जोखिम, कटका, खेदसा, हर, भय । कतरा, जोखिम, कटका, खेदसा, हर, भय
- Dangerous adj. जोखिम वा कतराका, खेदसे वा कटकाका, कतराका । जोखिम वा कतराका, खेदसे वा कटकाका, कतराका
- Dangle v. झटकना, झूलना, झटकना; झूलना; पीछे झूलना । झटकना, झूलना, झटकना; झूलना; पीछे झूलना
- Daniel n. यहूदियोंका भेक नबी; सच्चा मुन्तजिब । यहूदियोंका भेक नबी; सच्चा मुन्तजिब
- Danish n. डेनमार्क देशकी भाषा वा खान । डेनमार्क देशकी भाषा वा खान
- Dank adj. सीमा, तर, नम । सीमा, तर, नम
- Dapper adj. बाटा, साफ सुधरा, तेज, कुतिला । बाटा, साफ सुधरा, तेज, कुतिला
- Dapple v. बितकवरा करना, धब्बे डालना, रंगबिरंगा करना । बितकवरा करना, धब्बे डालना, रंगबिरंगा करना
- Dappled adj. धब्बरा, धब्बरा, रंगबिरंगा । धब्बरा, धब्बरा, रंगबिरंगा
- Darby and Joan दूहे मियोंमीची जो भेक-दुसरेमें जीन हो । दूहे मियोंमीची जो भेक-दुसरेमें जीन हो
- Dare v. हिम्मत करना, जोखिम सुठना, साहस करना; भौंक दिखाना, धमकाना करना, मुकाबला काटना । हिम्मत करना, जोखिम सुठना, साहस करना; भौंक दिखाना, धमकाना करना, मुकाबला काटना
- Date say, I मुसकिल वा सम्मन है, होगा । मुसकिल वा सम्मन है, होगा
- Daredevil n. बेधक, बेध, निर्भय, दिव्दर, जोखनी । बेधक, बेध, निर्भय, दिव्दर, जोखनी
- Dark n. adj. अंधेरा, काला, सोंवला, पहरा, बला, बिना हुआ, पुन; घुटा; उदास । अंधेरा, काला, सोंवला, पहरा, बला, बिना हुआ, पुन; घुटा; उदास
- Dark, to be in the v. अंधेरेमें होना, अज्ञान होना, पता न होना । अंधेरेमें होना, अज्ञान होना, पता न होना
- Dark, to keep v. अंधेरा रखना, पुन वा बिना रखना, भेद न सोचना । अंधेरा रखना, पुन वा बिना रखना, भेद न सोचना
- Dark, to keep in the v. न बताना, पता न देना, अंधेरेमें रखना । न बताना, पता न देना, अंधेरेमें रखना
- Dark ages n. अज्ञानताका काल; अज्ञानका युग । अज्ञानताका काल; अज्ञानका युग
- Dark horse n. बिना इत्तम, जिसके बारेमें कुछ माहसुस न हो । बिना इत्तम, जिसके बारेमें कुछ माहसुस न हो
- Dark lantern n. चोरकी बत्ती । चोरकी बत्ती
- Darkness, prince of n. शैतान, रावण । शैतान, रावण

- Dark continent, the n. अफ्रीका । अफ्रीका
- Dark, a leap in the बिना देवे-साके कूद पड़ना । बिना देवे-साके कूद पड़ना
- Dark counsel n. सुनसे दूधे मामलेमें और सुनसार बातना । सुनसे दूधे मामलेमें और सुनसार बातना
- Dark, pitch adj. अंधेरा पुन । अंधेरा पुन
- Darken v. अंधेरा करना, काला करना, सुदारी डालना । अंधेरा करना, काला करना, सुदारी डालना
- Darken your door, I will not मैं बनी आपके घरमें नहीं आऊंगा । मैं बनी आपके घरमें नहीं आऊंगा
- Darkness n. अंधेरापन, अज्ञान, अज्ञानता । अंधेरापन, अज्ञान, अज्ञानता
- Darksome adj. अंधेरा-सा, सुदारा । अंधेरा-सा, सुदारा
- Darling n. बहुत प्यारा, मादना, भौंछोछा तारा । बहुत प्यारा, मादना, भौंछोछा तारा
- Darn v. रद्द करना, ठीक करना, मरम्मत करना । रद्द करना, ठीक करना, मरम्मत करना
- Darnel n. भेक किसकी बाट जो अनाइके साथ उगती है । भेक किसकी बाट जो अनाइके साथ उगती है
- Dart n. बरसी, भागा, बल्लम, तीर, बाण; लपक; लपट । बरसी, भागा, बल्लम, तीर, बाण; लपक; लपट
- Dart v. तीर, बाण बरीर फेंकना; लपकना, झटटना, लपट बन पड़ना, तेजीसे निकलना । तीर, बाण बरीर फेंकना; लपकना, झटटना, लपट बन पड़ना, तेजीसे निकलना
- Dartmoor n. विस्मयका सुमर कैदियोंका जेलखाना । विस्मयका सुमर कैदियोंका जेलखाना
- Dash n. टक्कर, दौड़, फुरती; धारा; धान; दिखाना; महीर । टक्कर, दौड़, फुरती; धारा; धान; दिखाना; महीर
- Dash v. पटकना, दे मारना, गिरा देना; धारा करना; दौड़ना, लपकना; लपटना; टकराना । पटकना, दे मारना, गिरा देना; धारा करना; दौड़ना, लपकना; लपटना; टकराना
- Dash to pieces v. टुकड़े टुकड़े करना । टुकड़े टुकड़े करना
- Dash of anything, a किसी चीजका थोड़ासा । किसी चीजका थोड़ासा
- Dash-board n. लकड़ी वा चमड़ेका पट्टा जो पानी वा बंदको गाड़ीपर माने से रोक्ता है । लकड़ी वा चमड़ेका पट्टा जो पानी वा बंदको गाड़ीपर माने से रोक्ता है
- Dastard n. कायर वा बरौक । कायर वा बरौक
- Date n. सी हुमी या मानी हुमी वा बानी हुमी बाटें; बाँकड़े । सी हुमी या मानी हुमी वा बानी हुमी बाटें; बाँकड़े
- Dataller or Day-taler n. दिल्के दिनका लकड़ । दिल्के दिनका लकड़
- Date n. तारीख, तिथि; दिन; बाण, सुदारा; काल, कमाना । तारीख, तिथि; दिन; बाण, सुदारा; काल, कमाना
- Date v. तारीख डालना वा देना, शुरू होना, बला माना । तारीख डालना वा देना, शुरू होना, बला माना
- Date, out of पुराना, पुराने बल्लता, पुराने रंगका, निक्कसा । पुराना, पुराने बल्लता, पुराने रंगका, निक्कसा
- Date, up to आमतक, समतक, आमतकका, बाट, बंदसे मना, आज तक । आमतक, समतक, आमतकका, बाट, बंदसे मना, आज तक
- Date-palm लकड़का पेड़ । लकड़का पेड़
- Dative adj. n. उपद्रवका, बहुत, जिसकी दानत लकी । उपद्रवका, बहुत, जिसकी दानत लकी
- Datum n. देको Data, Data का भेकवचन वा बाहिर । देको Data, Data का भेकवचन वा बाहिर

Daub *v.* चेतना, पोतना, जगतीपनसे रंगना, धमका डालना ।  
 لبتاء، پوتا، آزاری پر سے رنگنا، دبا کرنا

Daughter *n.* बेटी, लड़की, पुत्री । لڑکی، پوتی

Daughter-in-law *n.* बहू । بہو

Daughter, adopted *n.* धर्मपुत्री, गोद ली हुई लड़की ।  
 دھرم پوتی، گودل ہوئی لڑکی

Daughter, step *n.* सौतेली लड़की । سوتیلی لڑکی

Daunt *v.* डराना, डंढना, हिम्मत तोड़ना, बेदिल करना ।  
 ڈراننا، ڈانڈنا، ہمت توڑنا، بے دل کرنا

Dauntless *adj.* बेर, निर्भय, साहसी, बेचक ।  
 بے ڈر، لرہے، ساسی، بے ڈرک

Dauphin and Dauphiness *n.* फ्रान्स के बादशाह का बेटा और लड़की ।  
 فرانس کے بادشاہ کا واپٹا اور لڑکی

Davenport *n.* भेक हिस्सकी लिफाफेकी छोटी मेज ।  
 ایک قسم کی لکڑی کی چوڑی میز

David and Jonathan *n.* दिली दोस्त, पने मित्र ।  
 دل دوست، گہرے मित्र

Davit *n.* संगर लुठाने और किल्लेको लुठानेकी कल ।  
 لٹکانا اور کٹنی کو اٹانے کی کل

Davy (Lamp) *n.* कामके अंदर भिस्सामाक करनेवाला लैंप ।  
 کام کے اندر استعمال کرنے کا लैंप

Davy, take one's *v.* कपम करना, प्रतिज्ञा देना ।  
 قسم کھानا، پرتگیا لینا

Davy Jones's Locker *n.* समुन्दरी भोत; समुन्दर ।  
 سمندری भोत، سمندر

Daw *n.* भेक बड़ी हिस्सामाक बीना ।  
 ایک بڑی قسم کا کڑا

Dawdle *v.* बहुत देराना, बीसे चलना या काम करना ।  
 وقت گزानا، دیر سے چلنا یا کام کرنا

Dawn *n.* सुहा, लड़का, सवेरा, शुरू ।  
 اشاء، لڑکا، سورا شروع

Dawn *v.* सौ करना, दिन बढ़ना, सवेरा होना; शुरू होना ।  
 سورا کرنا، दिन बढ़ना، सवेरा होना; शुरू होना

Dawn upon *v.* दिखानी देना, समझमें आना ।  
 دکھानी देना، समझ में आना

Day *n.* दिन, दिवस, रोज; सुबहसे शाम तक; २४ घंटे; बार;  
 तारीख, तिथि; स्थोहार; दिनकी रोशनी, जमाना, युग, वक़्त ।  
 دن، روز، وقت، صبح سے شام تک، ۲۴ گھنٹے، بار، تاریخ، تہہ،  
 یوم، دن کی روشنی، زمانہ، جگہ، وقت

Day long, all दिनभर ।  
 دن بھر

Day and night दिनरात, रातदिन ।  
 دن رات، رات دن

Day by day हररोक ।  
 हर روز

Day, advancing बढ़ता दिन ।  
 بڑھتا دن

Day before yesterday परसों (जो गया) ।  
 परसوں (جو گیا)

Day after tomorrow परसों (जो आनेवाला हो) ।  
 परसوں (جو آنے والا हो)

Day to day, from दिन-दिन, प्रतिदिन, रोज-रोज ।  
 دن-دن، ہر روز، روز بروز

Day dream *n.* कपानी पुनान ।  
 خیال، پلان

Day dreamer *n.* सेकविल्लो ।  
 شیخ بیل

Day scholar *n.* वह विद्यार्थी जो केवल दिनके बख्त, पाठ-  
 शालामें आकर पढ़ता है ।  
 وہ دینی پڑھنے والا ہے، جس کا دن کے وقت پڑھنا ہے

Day spring or day break *n.* सुबह, प्रभात, लड़का ।  
 صبح، پرتگیا، لڑکا

Day time *n.* दिनका समय या वक़्त न रात ।  
 دن کا समय یا وقت، نہ رات

Days, better n. خوشحال سے دن اچھا دن  
Day, at break of دن چڑھنے  
Days, (fallen on) evil بُرے دن  
Day, one ایک دن, سو دن  
Day was far advanced, the دن بڑھ چکا تھا  
Day, declining دھنسا دین, دھنسی دین  
Day after the fair, a سوڑھے بعد, ہیر کرکے, کام ہو  
میلے کے بعد  
Day, some کبھی  
Day or other, some کبھی نہ کبھی  
Days, these آج کل  
Day, the other دوسرے دن  
Day-star n. صبح کا ستارہ  
Day, Creature of a دو روز کا  
Day, end one's مرنے, مر جانا  
Daylight, in broad دینکے وقت, صبح, دن  
Day of Judgment n. حساب کا دن  
Daze n. بے ہوشی, بھڑکا دینا  
Dazzle n. بھڑکاؤ, بھڑکا دینا  
Deacon n. پادری  
Deaconess n. بھڑکائی  
Dead adj. مرنا, مرنا, مرنا, مرنا, مرنا, مرنا, مرنا, مرنا  
Dead alive adj. زندہ مرنا  
Dead as a doornail or as molton مرنا  
Dead against مرنا  
Dead bell n. بھڑکاؤ  
Dead beat adj. بھڑکاؤ  
Dead colour n. بھڑکاؤ  
Dead drunk adj. بھڑکاؤ  
Dead end n. بھڑکاؤ  
Dead head n. بھڑکاؤ  
Dead heat مرنا  
Dead hours n. بھڑکاؤ  
Dead house n. بھڑکاؤ

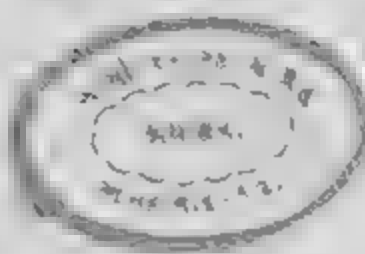
Dead language **n.** बेरिखाज भाषा या कबज, जो बोली जात न हो।  
 Dead letter **n.** जो कानून जात न हो।  
 Dead letter office **n.** डाकघरका वह हिस्सा जहाँसे बेरिखाज लिपि का पत्र होती है।  
 Deadlock **n.** अटक, रोक, रुकने रह जाना।  
 Dead loss **n.** बिना कुछ मुक़्तान।  
 Dead march **n.** अनादिके हाथका बाजा।  
 Dead men tell no tales जो मर गये वे मेरे नहीं बोलते (जो मरे जिसे कोई बुरा काम करते हुये देखा हो उसे बताने)।  
 Dead spit हुनह (बोलबाल या देखनेमें)  
 Dead stock **n.** बेकर हुयी, माल जो बिक न सके।  
 Dead to, to be **v.** दिलबल्ली न देना, किसी चीज़में रस न देना।  
 Dead weight **n.** बाज़-बा मारी, मारी बोझ।  
 Dead of night, at रातके छन्नाटेमें, आधी रातमें।  
 Dead stop, to come to **v.** अटक जाना, रुक जाना, रुक हो जाना।  
 Dead, the **n.** जो मर गये हों, गये मुसदे।  
 Deaden **v.** थोमा करना, मुस्त करना, सुन्न करना, कमजोर करना, ठप्पा करना, बेकर कर देना, मुदा करना।  
 Deadly **adj.** भार देनेवाला, ख़द्रीला, माक, जानलेवा; कड़ा, ख़तर, जानी; मौतका सा; बहुत ख़तरा।  
 Deadly night shade **n.** अनीबसलीव, भूत।  
 Deaf **adj.** बहरा, कानमें सूना सुननेवाला; न सुननेवाला।  
 Deaf and dumb **v.** बहरा गुन्गा।  
 Deaf ear to, to turn **v.** बात न सुनना।  
 Deaf as those who will not hear, none so वे सबसे बहरे हैं जो सुनना चाहते ही नहीं।  
 Deafness **n.** बहरापन।  
 Deafen **v.** बहरा करना, ख़ोर मचाकर सुनने न देना, बेमबास कर देना।  
 Deal **n.** बौट, सोदा, केनदेन; बरताव; चीज़ या ख़ोबरका तज़ा।  
 Deal **v.** बौटना, देना; बरताव करना; केनदेन करना, मेक जोक करना, कारोबार करना, ख़ोपार करना।  
 Deal **v.** देना; बरताव करना; केनदेन करना, मेक जोक करना, कारोबार करना, ख़ोपार करना।

Deal, a great बहुत सा, बड़ा भाग या हिस्सा।  
 Dealing **n.** बरताव, ख़दक; केनदेन, ख़ोपार, बरता।  
 Dealing, double **n.** दुमेखियापन, मक्कारी।  
 Dealing, fair **n.** सरका बरताव, सरका ख़ोपार, भीमानका।  
 Dealer **n.** बौटख़ाना; ख़ोपारी, कारोबारी, ख़ोपार।  
 Dean **n.** बिशपके नीचे वरजेक सेक पादरी; विद्यापीठका सेक बड़ा ओहदेदार।  
 Dear **adj.** प्रिय, प्यारा; महंगा।  
 Dear I dear or Dear me I or Oh dear I माह! अफ़स! क्या बात! क्या बात!  
 Dear life, for जान पर आ बनी।  
 Dearly bought experience ख़ाकर सीखी हुयी बात।  
 Dearly, to sell one's life मारके मरना, रुकके मरना।  
 Dearness **n.** महंगामी।  
 Dearness allowance **n.** महंगामीका भत्ता।  
 Dearth **n.** कमी, तंगी, कम, ख़ोदपन, क़िस्त।  
 Death **n.** मौत, देहान्त, ख़तु, मरना, पूरा हो जाना, गुज़ारना, मृत, दिवाल, मरिब, मरना, मरना, मरना।  
 Death's door, ab ज़माना किनारे, मरनेको ज़मानहार।  
 Death bed **n.** मौतका बिस्तर।  
 Death blow **n.** जान ख़तम करनेवाली थोड़।  
 Death's head ख़ोवड़ी (मौतकी याद दिलानेका लिखान)।  
 Death rattle **n.** मरनेवालेके गलेमें आवाज़।  
 Death of, to be the **v.** मौतका कारण या बामब होना।  
 Death, sick to or tired to बहुत बक जाना, बेइर निरासा होना।  
 Deathless **adj.** अमर, अजिनासी।  
 Death struggle **n.** बौकनी, ख़तुके समयकी पीड़ा।  
 Death warrant **n.** कासी या मौतका हुक्म; सब आशाओं का मर जाना या क़ाया।  
 Death, black **n.** महामारी, तामून।  
 Death, catch one's **v.** मरनेवाली बीमारीका शिकार बनना।  
 Death-like **adj.** मरनेका सा।  
 Death rate **n.** मरने गिनती।  
 Death, civil **n.** बेइजिनासी, बिनामतन।



# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL



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TWO ANNAS

## OUR SHIPPING POLICY

Transport is an important section of the economic life of a country. It may assume the form of a bullock cart on dirt tracks, motor lorries on asphalt roads, railways, sailing vessels on canals and rivers and ocean going steamers. Where, when and how these should operate is a formidable question for every nation to decide

A self-sufficiency programme does not mean withdrawing into our own shell like a tortoise. Self-sufficiency applies to all our primary needs. These being satisfied, the surplus would enter into trade and commerce. Apart from the primary necessities there are also luxuries and other artistic wares which would be in demand not only in our country but also abroad; and therefore self-sufficiency does not debar trade of all kinds but it regulates trade in such a way that we have first of all to satisfy ourselves that all have everything they need and do not barter away their food and clothing for luxury goods from abroad

India has always been a great maritime country. Its trade had reached Mexico on the one side and the furthest parts of Europe on the other side, while written history was still more or less unknown. Foreign trade properly conceived gives a nation the chance for spreading its culture and improving its culture also by contact with other nations and as such our shipping should be regarded as an essential part of our national life. Today, shipping has been commercialized to such an extent that the needs of our nation have been forgotten. Great Britain has usurped all Indian shipping. It is a well-known principle that 50% of the foreign trade of a nation should be carried by national shipping, as well as all its internal and coastal trade. But today in India practically the whole of the foreign trade is in British hands and bulk of the coastal shipping is also in British hands with the result that our control over the movement of goods is practically nil.

With the advent of a national government we ought to see that shipping provides a proper valve to regulate the inflow and outflow of goods. The policy of the government can best be put into action by a proper shipping policy. Only then the economic life of the people will grow in the desired directions. At the present moment our economic activities are controlled by the needs of foreign nations. This is wholly wrong. Hence it is essential at this stage to attend to our shipping policy.

Our method of transport has to be adapted to our economy. As India is situated, when we use coal-burning steamers, we are within the four walls of our economy as we produce coal also, but it is to be seen whether we can limit ourselves to steamers that burn only our coal. But the position is different as regards the oil-burning steamers. The fuel is not under our control and there is a danger of disturbance to international peace when we take to using petrol and crude oil on a large scale. Hence we have to be forewarned as to the limitations within which we function.

If we can build our own ships and can supply all the national steamship lines needed for our trade with Indian coal, we will be fulfilling the demands of self-sufficiency. These lines will have to be co-ordinated with our internal communications and the freight rates etc. should be so adjusted as to put into effect the policy of the government in regard to the country's external trade.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## NOTES

### Hand-made Sugar

Sugar And Sugar Products Control Order, 1943, has been playing havoc with the manufacture of *khandasari* and *deshi chini* especially in the U. P. We are now informed by the Government of India, Food Department, that the Notification No. 20-Sr-(32) 46 does not include hand-made sugar but applies only to sugar manufactured by sugar factories and that no restriction is imposed by the Central Government on the manufacture of hand-made sugar from palm juice. We trust the Provincial Governments will also act accordingly.

### Cotton for Mills or Cereals for the Millions?

The Government of India has decided to allow, for the time being, the free export of cotton. This probably means that a large acreage of our cultivable land is under cotton cultivation. We are to export cotton for mill-owners abroad and we import food grains of doubtful quality for our people. There have been constant complaints about the polished Brazilian rice and Australian wheat. Cotton land can produce *bajra* and *jawar*—the food grains of the poor. Can we not embark on a rational utilization of our land and produce more food and less raw materials for mills?

No country which imports primary necessities, like foodgrains, can be secure in its political independence. Even England with all her mighty

Army, Navy and the Air Force was about to succumb to the German submarine siege. Now we are thinking of Swaraj. Should we not also adjust our economy so as to fit us for real independence?

### Save Us

Amongst the many letters from consumers of *vanaspati* the ones from women carry special weight. Here is one from a leading woman of the South:

"I agree with your views and I do feel that the production of *vanaspati* should be prohibited until conclusive evidence that it is not harmful is available. I know that this opinion is held by many women who have good reasons to believe that the health of some of the members of their families was seriously affected by the use of *Dalda*. On the advice of their family physicians they gave up using *Dalda* and the health of these persons improved steadily and is now normal. There are several companies newly started for the manufacture of *vanaspati* and if and when these factories actually begin to function, the market will have large supplies of *vanaspati* and oil will be scarce. Do you not think that it is imperative that the Food Department of the Central Government should give their earnest and immediate attention to this matter? There is great urgency about it as the newly floated companies are ordering machinery from Europe."

### Profession or Trade?

While opening a private Pathological Laboratory at Madras, Dr. T. S. S. Rajan is reported to have said in favour of the "Western scientific system of medicine" that "it stands unchallenged in its security and method in the world." In many matters and in the approach, we agree that, the Western system has much to teach us. In the practice of it among poor people medical men have not shown the spirit of service that should follow true science. Dr. Rajan will allow us to differ from him when he adds: "As a system it has come to stay. Progressive people know it and pay their homage, in whatever form, as the one remedy that can be made to serve human ills." True test of science is not merely in the laboratory but also in the field. Benefit of the knowledge must reach the people. Only then it can be scientific. Dr. Rajan himself admits that "there may be bad practitioners." Yes, but this seems to be the general rule with those trained in the Western system. They also have become accustomed to Western ideology and mode of life. They have become material-centred. They are really traders in medicine. Many practitioners are, in effect, agents for the patent medicine manufacturers. The charges of even scientific laboratories are so exorbitant as to be beyond the reach of our people. Of course the costs to the practitioners is high. They have to import every bit of equipment for these laboratories from abroad. Even the call bells are so imported! To city folks these laboratories etc. sell their knowledge at a price. Hence it

is that we consider these persons as traders. The professional people should not work for the "haves" only. They should accept whatever the patient can afford to give and not bargain for fixed fees.

In this respect the *ayurvedic* physicians and *hakims* are professionals. Our indigenous systems are accessible to the lowest in the land and the remedies are often found within the reach of the people. What we need is to systematize the available knowledge. The *ayurvedic* practitioners and the *hakims* are of the people and are most often guided by a tradition of service. They still remain professional men. We cannot do without them. Their approach to the patients and to the medicines is more scientific because it is adapted to the needs of the people.

### Erratum

In the *Harijan* of June 22, 1947, on page 199, an article *The Cue Method* is printed. We regret the name of the professor is misspelt and should have been Coue.

J. C. K.

### Commendable

The Government of Baroda have published the following press note.

"H. H. the Maharaja of Baroda has ordered a strict enforcement of the laws to eradicate untouchability in the State. The Director of Public Instruction has been authorized to close such (State) primary schools as refuse admission to Harijan children on grounds that they (the schools) are conducted in private buildings or in religious places. Orders are also being issued to close separate schools for the Harijans as soon as possible, with a view to avoid the tendency of segregation. It has also been sanctioned to appoint a special officer to look after the interests of the Harijans."

The Congress Ministry in Bombay, in 1937, passed similar orders and they thus opened the doors of many a school for Harijan children in Gujarat. The Baroda Government deserve congratulations for falling in line with this procedure. A large number of schools in the Mahesana District in the Baroda State are conducted either in private buildings or in religious places. We hope the doors of all these schools will now be opened for the Harijans. Possibly the orders might take a little time to reach the villages. Meanwhile local residents who have sympathy for the cause and public workers will please look into the matter and solve the problems arising out of the operation of the orders peacefully. The step to appoint a special officer to look after the welfare of the Harijans is also to be welcomed. It now only remains for the Baroda Government to imitate the Governments of Bombay, Madras and of other Native States to appoint a Backward Class Board in order to advise the special officer in his work.

Sabarmati, 6-7-'47

P. L. M.

(From the original in Gujarati)

## TEMPTING RUDRA

Shri C. Rajagopalachari has the credit of having brought into existence a Board of Research in Atomic Energy with Professor H. J. Bhabha as Chairman. In the statement announcing the formation of the Board, Rajaji assures us that "the atomic energy resources of India will not be frittered away or go to waste" and adds that "it would be a mistake to associate atomic research only with destructive activities."

Atomic research has been an expensive luxury of the rich Western nations. They have spent untold millions to harness Rudra, this God of Destruction. What is going to be our budget for it? If such funds were available, should not researches on cattle breeding and food production be a first charge in a starving country where production per acre is amongst the lowest in the world?

Of course, atomic research is not only for destruction. Has anybody used it for anything else? The road to hell is paved with good intentions. May not this Board prove to be a high road?

We agree that the atomic energy may be a two-edged sword but to wield such a weapon calls for a high degree of discipline. Fire is a good thing. It has lit the path of the progress of man since the dawn of civilization. On this reasoning can we hand a torch to a child and expect it to keep the house from burning? At the moment, wherever we turn greed, jealousy and hatred face us in the world. Is such a world fit to handle this weapon? May it not prove a spark in the ammunition magazine? Let us not play with fire.

A more outspoken and less sophisticated report comes from New Zealand. Professor Thomas Leech, Dean of the Faculty of Engineering of Auckland University, has been recently honoured for his researches in finding a substitute for the atom bomb. The research centre was established not at Florida but in New Zealand because of the fear of the danger from spies in America. The message candidly adds: "Few of the researchers know the object of their work and even today only a few people in Britain, United States, Australia and New Zealand are aware of the full implications of this method of warfare" and further adds that scientists are working "under top secret orders."

As far as we can gauge, we must confess that we have not yet found the needed discipline in the management of our public affairs to enable us to have that assurance that we shall not be as the other men are! The Americans were tempted beyond their power by the possession of this Tree of Knowledge. What guarantee can we furnish that we have greater self-control and self-discipline than the original atom bomb users? If the sharing in the loot from Germany and Japan, against which we had already protested in these columns, represent the policy of the Government of which Shri Rajagopalachari is a distinguished member, we fear to notice the direction indicated by the straws in the wind. Rudra may be summoned sooner than we

think! We should know our own limitations and programme our activities accordingly.

While the country is crying for researches in so many fields, does this type of work call for such priority? Can we not utilize our meagre resources in more fruitful ways? J. C. KUMARAPPA

## THE INGLORIOUS GREAT

I

NAMDEV, THE GARDENER

[This is based on a sketch by Maulvi Abdul Haq, published by Pandit Banarasidas Chaturvedi, Tikamgarh. -V. G. D.]

Namdev was a gardener in the garden attached to the tomb of Aurangzeb's wife in Aurangabad. He was a *dhedh* by caste, but goodness and truth are never the monopoly of any caste, creed or colour.

Maulvi Saheb lived in a house situated in the garden, and whenever he looked out of his window, he found Namdev absorbed in his work.

Namdev would remove the dead leaves and other refuse near a shrub, bring water from the tank and pour it gradually into the basin. He would then bend the shrub in a variety of ways and look at it. Not satisfied with this, he would walk several steps away from the shrub, looking at it and smiling all the time.

Namdev had no child of his own, but he looked upon his trees as his children, and cherished them accordingly. He would sit near each plant, caress it and bend lovingly over it as if he were talking to it in silence. If any plant was attacked by insects, he would be very anxious, getting medicine for it and nursing it like a mother all day long.

Living in the garden as he did, he acquainted himself with the medical properties of plants, and learned to treat the diseases of children with skill and competence. People brought their children to him from far and near, and he would treat them with drugs obtained from his own garden. If he was called to another village to see an ailing child, he would go there with pleasure. But he never accepted any fees for his ministrations.

Namdev was cleanly and tidy himself, and so was his garden, like the kitchen of an orthodox Brahmin.

Once it so happened that the rains failed and there was hardly any water left in the wells. It was a real disaster for the garden. Most of the trees and shrubs died without life-giving water. Yet Namdev's part of the garden flourished like the green bay tree. From a very great distance he would bring his well-filled pot poised on his head and water his plants, and for sometime he carried water at night as well as by day. He was offered a special allowance for this work but would not accept it.

Namdev's single-minded devotion cost him his life. A bee-hive having been disturbed, the bees swarmed all over the garden. All the other gardeners fled and hid themselves. But Namdev had no inkling of what had happened. He was engrossed in his work as usual, all unmindful of the fate that was in store for him. The bees attacked him with a vengeance and stung him to death.



# HARIJAN

July 13

1947

## WHO IS A SOCIALIST?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Socialism is a beautiful word and so far as I am aware in socialism all the members of society are equal—none low, none high. In the individual body the head is not high because it is the top of the body, nor are the soles of the feet low because they touch the earth. Even as members of the individual body are equal, so are the members of society. This is socialism.

In it the prince and the peasant, the wealthy and the poor, the employer and the employee are all on the same level. In terms of religion there is no duality in socialism. It is all unity. Looking at society all the world over there is nothing but duality or plurality. Unity is conspicuous by its absence. This man is high, that one is low, that is a Hindu, that a Muslim, third a Christian, fourth a Parsi, fifth a Sikh, sixth a Jew. Even among these there are subdivisions. In the unity of my conception there is perfect unity in the plurality of designs.

In order to reach this state we may not look on things philosophically and say that we need not make a move until all are converted to socialism. Without changing our life we may go on giving addresses, forming parties and hawk-like seize the game when it comes our way. This is no socialism. The more we treat it as game to be seized, the farther it must recede from us.

Socialism begins with the first convert. If there is one such, you can add zeros to the one and the first zero will account for ten and every addition will account for ten times the previous number. If, however, the beginner is a zero, in other words, no one makes the beginning, multiplicity of zeros will also produce zero value. Time and paper occupied in writing zeros will be so much waste.

This socialism is as pure as crystal. It, therefore, requires crystal-like means to achieve it. Impure means result in an impure end. Hence the prince and the peasant will not be equalized by cutting off the prince's head, nor can the process of cutting off equalize the employer and the employed. One cannot reach truth by untruthfulness. Truthful conduct alone can reach truth. Are not non-violence and truth twins? The answer is an emphatic 'no'. Non-violence is embedded in truth and vice versa. Hence has it been said that they are faces of the same coin. Either is inseparable from the other. Read the coin either way. The spelling of words will be different. The value is the same. This blessed state is unattainable without perfect purity. Harbour impurity of mind or body and you have untruth and violence in you.

Therefore, only truthful, non-violent and pure-hearted socialists will be able to establish a socia-

listic society in India and the world. To my knowledge there is no country in the world which is purely socialistic. Without the means described above the existence of such a society is impossible.

New Delhi, 6-7-'47

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

New Delhi, 30-6-'47

### FRONTIER REFERENDUM

The question of the referendum in the Frontier Province just now looms large in the public eye, because it has been and is still officially a Congress Province. Badshah Khan and his co-workers do not relish being asked to choose between Hindustan or Pakistan bearing respectively the unjust meaning 'Hindus or Muslims'. How is the Badshah to get over the difficulty? The Congress has pledged its word that there should be a referendum in consultation with Dr. Khan Sahab but under H. E. the Viceroy's direct supervision. So it is going to take place at the appointed time. The *khudai khidmatgars* will not exercise their votes thus providing a walk-over for the Muslim League and at the same time doing no violence to their conscience. Is there in this procedure any breach of the terms of the referendum? The *khudai khidmatgars* who bravely fought the British are not the men to shrink defeat at the polls. It is an everyday occurrence for parties to go to the polls in spite, sometimes, of the chance of certain defeat. Defeat is no less certain for a boycotting party.

### WHY PATHANISTAN?

The charge of the new cry of Pathanistan is being flung in the Badshah's face. Even before the Congress Ministry came into being, so far as I know, Badshah Khan had on the brain Pathan independence in internal affairs. He does not want to create an additional State. If he can frame his own local constitution, he will gladly make his choice of the one State or the other. It is difficult for me to understand the objection to this yearning after Pathan autonomy unless the object is to humiliate the Pathans and to tame them into subjection.

The more serious charge is that the Badshah is playing into the hands of Afghanistan. I consider him to be incapable of any underhand dealing. He would not allow the Frontier Province to be absorbed by Afghanistan.

As his friend and because I am his friend, I must admit one failing of his. He is highly suspicious especially of British professions and intentions. I would urge on all to overlook this failing which is by no means peculiar to him. Only it does not sit well on a leader of his eminence. I contend that though I have called it a failing and which it is in one way, in another it is to be regarded as a virtue in that he cannot, even if he tries, conceal his thoughts. He is too honest to hide them.

### TEMPLE ENTRY

From the Frontier Province I would like to take you to Rameshwaram, from where Rama is said to have improvised a floating bridge of pebbles to enable his army to cross over to Lanka which

be conquered but did not keep. Has it not been said that he made it over to Ravana's brother? That very famous temple has been thrown open to the Harijans today, thus completing the list of all the famous temples in the South except those in Cochin. Here is the list of the most known supplied to me by Rajaji: Madura, Tinnevely, Chidambaram, Srirangam, Palni, Trichy, Tirupathi, Kanchi and Guruvayur. This does not exhaust the list. The Harijan Speaker of the Madras Assembly has been going round most of these temples leading the Harijan and other worshippers. Highly educated Harijans and others may belittle this belated reform. But its significance should not be lost upon us, because the reform has been brought about bloodlessly. Let us hope that Cochin will soon follow in the wake of Travancore, Tamil Nad and British Kerala and throw open its temples to the Harijans. Temple entry reform will be incomplete until temples become really holy by the necessary internal reform.

New Delhi, 1-7-47

#### MEANING OF A BHAJAN

Gandhiji referred to the *bhajan* sung at the prayer meeting. The *bhajan*, he said, was composed by Tukdojee Maharaj of C. P. It was written in simple Hindustani and could be easily understood by all. Its significance was that it pointed the thorny way to attain God. It required the devotee to be brave in the face of personal calamities like the destruction of one's hearth and home, insults and serious illnesses. He was the blessed man who in the face of the triple affliction remembered God and felt inner happiness in spite of it.

#### UNION OF HEARTS

His speeches were interpreted to mean that he was hankering after a geographical reunion. This was supposed to be a vain hope calculated to irritate the Muslims. He was, therefore, advised to plead for co-operation and collaboration between the two parts. He was not guilty of entertaining the vain hope, though he would ever welcome a reunion based on an appreciation of mutual interest. He had never any intention of unnecessarily hurting the feelings of anyone, much less of his Muslim brethren. What, however, he had pleaded for was more than co-operation. He was pleading for correct behaviour in every case on the part of the major community. He warned them against the danger, in a spirit of vengeance, of falling into the trap of the two-nations theory. To become or not to become a separate nation was for the major party to determine. They would never succeed in coming to a right decision, if they falsely prided themselves on their superior numbers. To say that there was danger in numbers was as true as to say that there was safety in numbers. It was time to discard pride and folly in exchange for humility and wisdom. Thus, he added, he had received a telegram from a Muslim League Secretary complaining of ill-treatment by Hindus in large numbers of a few Muslim passengers. He did not know what truth there was in the complaint. He

was sorry that he received many such messages which, on investigation, were found to be devoid of truth or highly exaggerated, but by way of illustration the telegram was enough for him. He would be glad to find that there was no truth in the message, but if there was, it was proof of the arrogance and the ignorance of the Hindus, which would discredit anybody.

#### THE SIKHS

He then referred to the visit he had from Sikh friends and a letter from a Sikh youth who complained that he was neglecting those whom he claimed as his friends. He was proud to claim friendship with the Sikhs. It was when the tragedy of Nankana Sahib took place that the Sikhs had undertaken to follow his teaching of non-violence and truth, whereby they had lost nothing. He personally did not see any difference between Sikhism and Hinduism. They were varieties of the same faith. When he read the *Granth Sahib* written in Devanagari characters, he had not much difficulty in following the language. The thought in the various *bhajans* of Nanak Sahib and other Gurus was derived from the *Vedas* and the *Puranas*. But he did not mind the Sikhs regarding themselves as distinct from the Hindus. Thus regarded, he admitted that theirs was a desolate condition. The remedy, he had no doubt, was in their own hands. They had to come up to the infinitely higher bravery that non-violence would give them as compared to the bravery of the sword. They were industrious. They were to be found in Canada. They were responsible largely for building the railway to Nairobi and several other things he could mention. He adjured them to shed the drink habit and the enervation brought about by the luxurious habits in which Sikh women, he had heard, were indulging. It would not do to remind him that others were no better. The Sikhs, if they were to keep up their renown, the fewness of number could only be made up for by their being unequalled in courage and correct thinking born of simple life. The sword was a rusty weapon. Its very effective substitute was the force of the spirit which cost nothing and which was indestructible.

#### THE VICEROY'S HOUSE

They were naturally anxious to know what took him to the Viceroy's House that day. He had not gone to see His Excellency. He had gone to be with Pandit Nehru and other friends. He could not satisfy their curiosity beyond the fact that they had met. In this connection he would ask the newspapers not to anticipate events. In times of stress or delicacy, anticipation of events was positively harmful to the country.

#### DUTY OF TRUSTING

Lastly he referred to the letter that was received by him the day before at the close of the meeting in which the writer had wrongly abused Englishmen as unworthy of credence and incapable of voluntarily doing the right thing and had accused him (Gandhiji) of corruption etc. in that he had dared to believe the word of the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government. He wanted to repeat the golden rule not to distrust a man till he was proved

to be untrustworthy. And when he was proved to be so, his unworthiness would be quite enough to drag him down and his credit. The same rule applied to him, the speaker. If he was guilty of corruption and the like, he would forfeit the right to live.

New Delhi, 2-7-'47

#### FORLORN CAUSES—HINDUSTANI

He was being rebuked for championing forlorn causes and thus wasting his life. He should, especially in the winter of his life, retire or use his popularity for handling popular causes. He gladly admitted the charge of championing forlorn causes but could not subscribe to the charge that he was thereby wasting his life. He was told by way of illustration that he was trying to twist a rope of sand in trying to popularize Hindustani with the two scripts Nagari and Urdu, especially when Pakistan had become an established fact. He strongly dissented from the view. He held that he had the wisdom not to subscribe to the doctrine that Pakistan was supposed to enunciate. The present for him was the moment when he should diligently study both the scripts and speak in a language which was a proper mixture of the two. It should also be remembered that there were a very large number of Hindus in the North who knew only Urdu written in the Urdu script. Were these Hindus to forget the Urdu script and the language and take up the learning of Hindi written in the Nagari script? He submitted that there was method in his madness so-called. The real test for measuring the quality of a particular step was whether if nobody else followed it, it would be useless for the pioneer, as would be an attempt to make a rope out of sand. Applying the test to his Hindustani idea, if he were the only one in India to know the two scripts and equally at ease with Hindi and Urdu, he would pass as a distinguished scholar much wanted both in Pakistan and the Indian Union. Unfortunately for him he was no scholar and his Hindustani was not musical enough to capture the imagination. Incidentally he should also mention that it was a vicious suggestion that in the evening of life one should lend weight only to popular causes. Popular causes needed no further weight and often popular causes like popular superstitions had to be resisted with all one's might however feeble that might was. He, therefore, invited his audience to resist the mad wave that was sweeping across the land. No cause that was intrinsically just could ever be described as forlorn.

New Delhi, 3-7-'47

#### VILLAGES UNTOUCHED

Gandhiji referred to the *bhajan* of the evening whose first line meant that people would laugh at the fish which being in water so behaved as to feel thirsty. The condition of men living on God's earth and yet not knowing Him was very like the condition of the imaginary fish. How it was to be wished that men knew their state, in which case they would not live in the state of degradation which was their lot today. Happily for India the savagery was confined to the cities and the villages round the cities. These villages could not be counted by thousands

in a country 1900 miles long and 1500 miles broad. It was as yet a matter of good luck that thousands of other villages remained unaffected by the madness raging round the cities and the neighbouring villages.

#### BRAHMIN MINORITY

Proceeding to the topic which he had intended to deal with, he referred to a letter he had received complaining that the hopelessly insignificant minority of the Brahmins was faring badly in that the admission of Brahmin boys and girls to colleges and services was becoming increasingly difficult because of the anti-Brahmin movement. He could sympathize with the complainant because hitherto being more receptive, more industrious and more eager to gain knowledge the Brahmins seemed to have a monopoly, not because of any brute force they exercised but because of their superior qualities. But though he sympathized with the Brahmins in their lot, he did not share their grief or disappointment. In the first instance, he could not appreciate their considering themselves as a minority. If we were one nation, there could be no question of minority and majority. He might as well complain of being a minority and then imagine himself to be hurt that he could not enjoy all the privileges he might wish for. He would, therefore, advise his Brahmin friends to forget that they were a class or group apart from the ocean of India's humanity. Considering them even as Hindus rather than Indians, sons of the same soil, there was to be no high and low in the ocean of Hinduism. If they ceased to consider themselves as a minority, they would be proud to share the majesty of the ocean of Indian or Hindu humanity, and could feel with a drop in the ocean, if it was not isolated from the latter, the greatness of the ocean, which carried on its broad bosom thousands of mighty steamships. After all what were the colleges and services in terms of the millions of villagers living in the seven lakhs of India's villages? He suggested that the Brahmin friends should feel happy that they were no longer exposed to the temptation of having to go to colleges or to services under the Government. Such persons could only be few and far between. Those who refused to take part in the unseemly struggle for entrance to colleges or to services were the real servants of India. Knowledge was not confined within the four walls of a school or a college. It was open for every industrious boy or girl to gather real knowledge outside schools and colleges. And in this connection he would commend to them the *Nai Tam* and all it meant. He further reminded them of what he had said about the validity only of those rights which were directly derived from duty well performed. They would then immediately realize that there was no such inherent right for anyone to be admitted to Government colleges. But if there was such a right belonging to any boy or girl, it was his or hers who had hitherto been criminally neglected.

A Brahmin's duty was to know God and to enable others to do likewise. And the right that was derived from the duty would be to be fed and clothed decently and honourably by the community which he served.

New Delhi, 4-7-'47

#### KINGDOM OF GOD AND NON-VIOLENCE

The natural question that was being put to him was, did he ever think that the Swaraj of his dreams was going to be born out of the present regime which was to culminate in full Dominion Status on the 15th of August at the latest? Was he not ashamed of the non-violence of the past thirty years which had resulted in the violence that had been stalking the land? He was sorry to have to confess that he saw no sign of the Kingdom of God being born out of the coming Dominion Status. He hoped that the Dominion Status was offered in order to anticipate the final date of the withdrawal of British rule. Without it they felt unable to devise a scheme whereby the *Quit India* date of 30th June next could be put earlier. Be that as it may, it was open to both the new States as soon as they framed their constitutions to declare complete independence of the exclusive family of British Dominions and aim at a family of independent World States which necessarily ruled out all internal armies. He could not visualize a dog-in-the-manger-policy for India whereby it would become a menace to world peace, another Japan or Germany calling itself falsely a democracy. Democracy and the military spirit he held to be a contradiction in terms. A democrat relied upon the force not of the arms his State could flaunt in the face of the world but on the moral force his State could put at the disposal of the world. If by India's effort such a world federation of free and independent States was brought into being, the hope of the Kingdom of God, otherwise called *Ramarajya*, might legitimately be entertained. Before that happy event, however, took place, the two new States which today were enemies of each other would have to become friends and associates. He was sorry to confess that the signs pointed the contrary way.

The second taunt really was the corollary of the first and *vice versa*. He had every reason to be ashamed of the result of over thirty years of non-violence so-called. He had already admitted that our non-violence was of the weak. But the weak of heart could not claim to represent any non-violence at all. The proper term was passive resistance. Passive resistance was a preparation for the active resistance of arms. Had it been the non-violence of the strong, the practice of a generation would have made the recent orgies of destruction of life and property impossible. Then there would have been no need for the rationing of cloth and food. If people knew the working of the law of truth and non-violence, they would themselves regulate the matter of shortage. He had never subscribed to the belief that the shortage could not be locally made good. Such a big country like India should disdain to share the world's production of food and cloth when the world was suffering from shortage due to the insensate destruction wrought by the terrible war. All that was needed in India was solid, steady and hard work put in by the millions of India wisely and intelligently directed. There was no dearth of wisdom and skill in the

country. Lastly, if there was true grasp of non-violence and truth, they would not look to the Civil Service which, he thought, was described by the late Mr. Montagu as a wooden machine. These gentlemen were experts of a kind. They were never employed for the benefit of the nation. They had to keep the foreign rule going somehow or other. And they were too few to handle successfully the present work of reviving the drooping spirits of a nation of starving and naked millions. The businessmen, the producers and the scientists should be impressed into willing service for the nation in dire need. Will the servicemen rise to the occasion, will the members of the Government go out of the red-tape rut and woo the public to help themselves? How or why could all this happen if there was no non-violence, no truth in us?

New Delhi, 5-7-'47

#### THE VICEREINE'S VISIT

The audience would like him to refer to the Vicereine's visit to the Colony. He tried to wean her from the visit. He was not made for ceremonies. He expected no return visit. All his visits to H. E. the Viceroy were business visits which called for no return visits. But Her Excellency would pay the return call. She was quite informal as she always was and wanted to learn all about things. She paid a visit to the *busti* opposite. He purposely refrained from accompanying her for fear of attracting crowds. She had gone to the Harijan Nivas in Kingsway, Old Delhi, where Harijan lads were being trained under the auspices of the Harijan Sevak Sangh.

#### THE SIKHS

He referred to a letter that was received by him on behalf of the Sikhs in which he was asked whether they could rely upon his and the Congress' help if the worst happened to them in Pakistan. Replying to that letter Gandhi said that he would not expect such a question from the brave people that the Sikhs were. They should rely upon God's help rather than on men's. But he also asked them not to suspect that they would have less than justice in the new State of Pakistan and he would show why they should not, in the course of his remarks on the Bill that had just been published.

#### THE INDEPENDENCE BILL

He had intended to continue the thought of the last prayer meeting but the publication of the Bill called the Indian Independence Bill compelled postponement of every other topic to another occasion. He did not propose to examine in detail the twenty sections of the elaborate Bill. He was ill-disposed with many critics to read a sinister meaning in it. The fact that there were two Indias instead of one was bad enough in itself. Both had the same status. Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah and the Muslim League were entitled to claim full credit for bringing about a state of things which seemed to be impossible only as it were yesterday. They had undone the solemn declaration of the Cabinet Mission. They had succeeded in compelling consent from the Congress and the Sikhs to the division. The thing that was in itself bad did not become good because the parties concerned had accepted

it, no matter that the causes dictating acceptance were different in each case. It was hardly any comfort that the Qaid-e-Azam did not get all that he wanted. The difference was not at all in kind. He wanted a sovereign State. That he had in the fullest measure. Pakistan had the same status as India.

As he read and re-read the Bill he saw that the three parties had subjected themselves consciously or unconsciously to public judgment in terms of the Bill. It was true that the British were divesting themselves of all power. But they had become party to the division and had two new members in the family of the Commonwealth possessing conflicting ideals and interests. So long as they two had any connection with Great Britain, the latter would be judged by the action following the Bill rather than by its language, however generous and just it might read. He admitted that it would be a superhuman task to reconcile conflicting interests and treat them equally. What would happen if one declared complete independence when the Constitution Act was passed by its Constituent Assembly?

The relation of the Princes remained in a most unsatisfactory condition. He had no hesitation in saying that the British Government had lacked the courage since the inception of the Cabinet Mission effort to do the right thing, no matter what the cost was. Here again British honour was at stake. The British would certainly be blamed if any mishap occurred. The dangerous situation had not been cleared by the Bill. Both the new Dominions had an unenviable legacy, if they had the interests of the people of the States at heart, if, that is, the people were the real masters and the Princes their trustees, not merely euphemistically but in law and in fact.

The Qaid-e-Azam and the Muslim League had by their act of secession and severance invited the world to judge them by their behaviour towards the Muslims as also towards the non-Muslims. Surely there were many sects, chief among whom were the Sunnis and the Shias, politically the Nationalists and the Leaguers, the Baluchis, the Sindhis, the Pathans, the Punabis, the Bengalis, the Muslims of the Indian Union. He was daily besieged by the large Hindu and Sikh minorities and not as often by Christians and Parsis. He was asked whether there was ground for the fear that there would be an attempt to estrange the Scheduled Classes from their Hindu brethren. Was Pakistan a means of converting non-Muslims to a special brand of Islam? True religion was a universal belief in the one and only God. The world was fast growing out of dogmas and creeds which had so sickened it that it had become confused and had begun to deny the very existence of the Maker. Happily that stage of negation was quickly passing and enlightened faith in the Supreme Maker of the Universe was taking its place. Was the Islam of Pakistan going to be in the vanguard of that movement for restoration of universal faith? Or was it to pass through darkness and denial of God in the name of God? He hoped that the doubts he had mentioned would be quickly dissolved.

#### HINDUISM ON TRIAL

The Qaid-e-Azam had unwittingly placed Hinduism also on its trial. The Hindus had the rare opportunity of refining it of all dross and showing by strict justness that the brand of Hinduism of the

Indian Union was the same as universal religion. He had said only the day before that those who believed in India as a nation could have no minority and majority question. All were entitled to equal privileges and equal treatment. Thus viewed the Indian Independence Bill could be taken as the final examination of all the parties involved in the Bill. It was possible to turn Pakistan which he had declared an evil into unadulterated good, if all the forebodings were dispelled and enmities were turned into friendship and mutual distrust gave place to trust.

New Delhi, 6-7-'47

At the outset Gandhiji hoped that the referendum in the Frontier was to be without violence. Badshah Khan and the *khulai khimmatgars* were pledged to non-violence. They were to show that they lived up to their beliefs. And why should he not expect the same from the Leaguers when it was at least a question of Muslim against Muslim?

#### DENIAL OF THE PAST

There was something wrong in the fact that they missed the enthusiasm that should accompany such a great event as the imminent advent of full freedom. The reason for the lack of enthusiasm was no doubt to be found in the division of the country into two States which were to be turned into two armed camps. For, there was to be no common defence force. The army was to be divided, preparations were being made apace to that end. They used to talk glibly during the glorious and strenuous days of opposition to British rule of having no army for the suppression of internecine quarrels which would be non-existent and they wanted no defence force against a foreign enemy. Now, alas! their military expenditure was maintained at a very high level without any near prospect of substantial reduction. Indeed, he visualized a definite increase in the military expenditure, all for fighting among themselves. They were to be engaged in a ludicrous race for the increase of armaments, no nation-building expenditure, not for education and the like. It was to be all for mutual slaughter. He could discover in this no reason for gratification or glorification. The outlook was dismal. Was India's freedom a preparation for the abandonment of all they had learnt to prize as dear to them? Instead of self-glorification, it was a time for deep self-inspection, self-examination and self-castigation. As the chief actor in the fight for freedom during the past thirty years, he was certainly full of searching questions within himself. Was the fight acclaimed as noble to result in this the approaching inglorious end?

He cried with the Vedic Seer:

O Lord! Lead us from darkness unto light.

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## HARIJAN

12 Pages

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TWO ANNAS

## WHY ARMIES?

An English friend, deeply interested in education and a hater from the bottom of his heart of war, said to me the other day: "I am dreadfully sad about the partition but I suppose it could not be avoided. What, however, I can never understand is why any country needs armies. We talk glibly of human rights and world peace but how can there be peace so long as armies, whether of the land, air or sea exist in any country? Why cannot an adequate police force be enough for any country to maintain law and order and why cannot all armies be disbanded? In the initial stages an international police force may be necessary. I had hoped India would, under your chief's guidance, give the world this lead. But I realize that the communal strife has, I hope only for the time being, obscured what I have always believed was India's own goal. If you are forced to spend an enormous amount of money on armaments, what about education? It will be the same old cry and there will be no money for your primary needs."

Perhaps nothing, next to the partition itself, has filled Gandhiji's heart with such utter dismay as the division of the army. In agony of heart he has painted to his prayer audiences the awesome picture of, perhaps, a Hindu and a Muslim army facing each other with intent to kill and destroy utterly almost as if the continuing orgies of violence were not or had not been enough to turn men's minds for ever from arson, loot, murder and rape!

The English friend's fears are justified. A poor country like India, if forced to maintain a strong army, will never be able to spend liberally on nation-building activities and its last state will be worse than the first.

Two Indonesian friends, who dropped in to see Gandhiji, asked how it was possible for them to resist European aggression except by aggression. Europe had always believed in force and the Indonesian friends did not see how any country could meet it except by force.

Gandhiji gently remonstrated by saying that such a question betrayed complete ignorance of non-violence. "Let me put you a counter-question," he said. "Supposing the armed and combined might of Britain, America and Russia wished to enslave you, what amount of violence would you need to counter it? I suggest that you could not violently stand up to it unless, perhaps, you had the backing of the whole of Asia and even then you might lose if the European weapons of war were better. But you

could not put them alone with non-violence. You must be affiliated to a man but no one could be. Gandhiji went on to tell them what he has been saying on more than one occasion recently that the Indian struggle for independence had been mere passive resistance which is a weapon of the weak and often a stepping stone to active armed resistance. If the Congress had really adopted non-violence, the present communal strife just could not have come into being. The bravery of the heart was far greater than the bravery of the body. A non-violent Indonesia could lead the East, a position Gandhiji would have liked India to hold. But today a mighty flood of violence was sweeping over India which they had not, to their hurt, learnt how to resist non-violently. "Unless," he ended, "we cultivate this strength, India will not fulfil the high hopes I have cherished for her in my heart all these many many years."

New Delhi, 10-7-'47

A. K.

## NOTES

## The Problem of Europe

The Dutch Ambassador Mr. Winkleman visited Gandhiji the other day. He said that he was a philosopher rather than a diplomat. He was soon to leave for Singapore and another would take his place. He was sorry to leave India, when India was passing through eventful times. He wished Gandhiji a long life. There was a lot to be done yet. "Do you expect a lot of trouble still?" he asked Gandhiji.

Gandhiji: "If I can forecast the future, I feel there is some more trouble in store for us before we settle down."

"You are a believer in God," said the visitor. "Your mind must be at rest if you feel that India is going in the right direction. Europe is not. The troubles of Europe are due to the fact that Europe has left Christianity."

"Yes, I have believed that for a long time," replied Gandhiji.

"What do you think of the situation in Europe?" asked the visitor.

Gandhiji: "I think nothing. It is beyond me. It is a complicated affair."

"Yes it is complicated," agreed the visitor. He had met Dr. Malan in 1939 in Europe. He was asked several questions about Europe. He said that there was no hope for Europe. Asked why, he had replied, "Europe has lost its religion. The philosophy of materialism has come to stay. They think they can do everything without God. They will be making so many mistakes that another upheaval will come before long." "And it did," added the

visitor. "People think that they can separate religion from business and lead two lives. It cannot be done."

"I have held that opinion for a long time," replied Gandhiji.

#### Darkest Hour before Dawn

Another European friend dropped in later. He had first come to India during Gandhiji's Hindu-Muslim Unity Fast of 21 days at Delhi. "The fast does not look like a success so far," he said, "but there must be some result. Today people seem to have lost sight of the basic fact that the real thing is a mutual understanding and friendship. Everyone seems to be concentrating on boundaries. They do not matter at all."

Gandhiji agreed. He was doing what he could, but he was like a spent bullet, he said.

The visitor did not agree. "You are the biggest force, you are the centre still. Tell us what can be done," he asked.

"Pray," was Gandhiji's simple and brief reply.

"There is a growing feeling of retaliation in people's minds," he said. "It is bad."

"I do not think this feeling will stay," replied Gandhiji. "If it does, it will mean goodbye to freedom. India will commit suicide."

"Many Hindus feel that the area ceded to Pakistan has got to be taken back. It irritates the Muslims," said the visitor.

"Personally I feel Pakistan has come to stay," said Gandhiji.

"On that basis," said the visitor, "friendship is possible."

"Pakistan has come," said Gandhiji, "but how friendship can be achieved, I do not know."

"Things have got to get worse before they get better," said the visitor. "It is darkest before dawn."

#### Noakhali

Gandhiji's mind has been constantly turning to Noakhali. Some of Gandhiji's party have left the place mostly on account of illness. The climatic conditions, the diet, the dismal sights one sees and the gruesome tales one hears are most trying. Among those who are still there are Shri Pyarelalji and Sati Kanu Gandhi. They have been doing good work. Bibi Amtul Salam who preceded Gandhiji to Noakhali is also still there and has refused to come away in spite of very poor health. Then there are the stalwarts from the Khadi Pratishthan under Satish Babu and Hemaprabha Devi. Lastly, the one Sikh in the person of Sardar Jiwan Singhji of the I. N. A. has stuck to his post.

News coming from Noakhali is far from reassuring. Referring to it Gandhiji said in the prayer meeting:

"The Hindus in Noakhali are nervous lest they may not get the compensation promised or might find at liberty those who are locked up pending trial for murder etc. I hope all such fear is unjustified."

In a letter to Sati Kanu Gandhi he wrote: "My body is here, but my heart is in Noakhali. He is restless in the Capital of India. He feels that his place is in Bihar and Noakhali. But he does not so far as possible wish to go against the wishes of his friends. "I have promised to do or die in Noakhali. The picture is gloomy. It looks as if I will have to die there," he remarked in the course of a conversation. A friend reminded him that when he had sent the members of his party to different villages, he had said, they won't have to be away for more than 5 or 6 months at the most. "Yes", said Gandhiji, "I did say that, but then I went to South Africa for one year and was there for twenty and I went to Champaran for three days and stayed there for one year. Such is life with its uncertainties."

New Delhi, 10-7-47

#### LET US LEARN

Dr. Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the British Exchequer speaking in the House of Commons a few days ago laid down certain principles on which he is working to meet the shortage of food in Great Britain and also dealt with the maintenance of the economic machinery by properly regulated exports. The economy of Great Britain differs widely from that of ours. Bulk of food materials in Great Britain comes from abroad while she exports great many manufactured articles to pay for it. However that may be, the policy followed is capable of being applied to our own country. The underlying motive in Dr. Dalton's policy is to provide the people with sufficient food and everybody to be dealt with equally. India can supply her own needs if she has a definite policy to govern her economic organization. This, we are afraid, is now lacking. Therefore, it would be well for us to study the way the statesmen are handling the situation in Great Britain.

Dr. Dalton said: "The guiding principle adopted in framing this policy is to sustain the productive power of Britain and, therefore, to safeguard in the first place those imports which are essential to the health and strength of our people, to the employment and to the efficient equipment of our industry." To do this it is imperative that we should have a scale of values on which to see which articles should be given priority. As Dr. Dalton put it: "We must achieve economies of the less essential imports." He proposes to do this by a substantial reduction of the imports of tobacco, petrol and newsprint. We know that these three articles have in Great Britain an inelastic demand—that is, the people would buy them at any price. British smoking habit, their dependence on petrol-driven vehicles and their interest in public affairs make these three items almost necessities and yet their statesmen have the foresight and courage to cut out these when food is in danger. Furthermore, he has also said that he will have to arrange for exports of textiles to enable imports of food. This means



that Dr. Dalton has the courage to meet not only the consumers but also the vested interests in the textile industry. These measures, they call, "austerity cuts".

In Great Britain, in addition to the above articles, they are imposing a duty on films. These again have now assumed the role of necessities in countries like Great Britain.

In contrast to this determined attack on food shortage, we find here in India that the Government is allowing cotton to be exported. This means that we are growing more cotton than food. India is an agricultural country. The first charge on the land must be for food-crops and no money-crop should be grown when there is a shortage of food. There are extensive lands under cultivation of tobacco and also long staple cotton for mills. Are we then to follow the good example set by Great Britain and act with grim determination?

Not only should we produce more food but we must conserve the food already grown. We have time and again mentioned in these columns that production of white sugar decreases the food value of our agricultural product. Similarly, milling of rice and polishing of it reduce the food value found in paddy. Therefore, if we are courageous enough to meet the situation today, we should be banning all rice mills and reducing our sugar product.

Unfortunately our Governments are slack where the interests of the masses are concerned. News comes from Bihar that five new sugar factories are to be constructed in different parts of the province and the Government is about to issue licences in a few weeks. Some of the sugar factories, we hear, have the audacity to launch on legal proceedings to recover damages from the Government. They seem to hold that the fixing of sugar prices have led them to losses. It would, therefore, be wiser on the part of the Government, instead of dabbling and controlling of these prices, to cut out the erring limbs altogether by banning sugar mills and rice mills as an anti-social device for destruction of food.

We hope that in a Swaraj Government where the ministries will have the popular support, their hands will be strengthened to fight the vested interests at every turn.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## THE NATION'S VOICE

(Second Edition)

[Being a collection of Gandhiji's speeches in England and Sjt. Mahadev Desai's account of the sojourn -September to December 1931]

Edited by

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and

J. C. Kumarappa

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## THE RELOADING

With reference to the article *Jettisoning the Ballast*, the Director of Information and Publicity Madras, supplies us with the following information to give a complete picture, correct any misapprehensions and allay fears:

In the four Circars districts the Producer-cum-Consumer Societies started by the late Ministry and entrusted with procurement work were found to be unsuitable for the purpose for which they were constituted. Procurement in these districts failed to make headway, the principal reason being that the Societies had insufficient time and were unable to perfect their procurement machinery by the season when procurement operations should have been in full swing, and the rationing system in the deficit districts of the province was in serious danger of a complete breakdown owing to deficient procurement by the Societies in the surplus districts mentioned. Confronted with this threat of shortage of food in the deficit districts, the Government had to make a choice between continuing procurement work through the Societies and making more effective arrangements which would ensure speedier results. They decided on the latter course as a matter of pure necessity. While announcing their intention to take away procurement for the present *kharrif* season from the Producer-cum-Consumer Societies, they emphasized that the "Government are anxious to prevent the frittering away of the large share capital collected by these societies and to put the societies to the best use possible they have appointed a special agency without delay to examine and devise suitable means of stabilizing the societies for the benefit of the community." Arrangements have been made to bring into existence the investigating agency referred to. The societies in Malabar which have been doing good work are being continued.

"In the case of Estate Land Revenue Bill, the present Government have taken a more drastic step in the line of reform. While the Prakasam Bill sought to perpetuate the permanent settlement on a new basis, the present Government are introducing a Bill for the abolition of Zamindaris; the present Zamindari ryot will become a ryotwari ryot with all the rights to the soil etc., now enjoyed by the latter. The new Bill is almost ready and will surely be introduced in the next session. The present Bill also includes whole *inam* villages sought to be excluded by the previous Bill, and this has the approval of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee and all ryot associations.

"The Government are also considering the question of reorganizing the Co-operative Movement so as to transform it into an effective instrument for the economic amelioration of the people and means of rehabilitating agricultural and rural economy.

"What has been stated should clearly indicate that far from throwing overboard the programmes of the previous Ministry in certain matters, the present Ministry in Madras are only trying to reshape some of those programmes and to infuse them with

new life and new meaning. If some modifications and alterations have been made or are proposed to be made in the details of the scheme initiated by the previous Ministry, it is only to bring them into stricter conformity with the needs and requirements of the existing situation and to make them better instruments for the promotion of the good of the masses."

We are extremely glad to know that the present Ministry is eager to infuse new life into their programme.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## HARIJAN

July 20

" 47

### SOCIALISM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

#### II

Truth and *ahimsa* must incarnate in socialism in order that they can, the votary must have a living faith in God. Mere mechanical adherence to truth and *ahimsa* is likely to break down at the critical moment. Hence have I said that truth is God. This God is a living Force. Our life is of that Force. That Force resides in, but is not the body. He who denies the existence of that great Force, denies to himself the use of that inexhaustible Power and thus remains impotent. He is like a rudderless ship which, tossed about here and there, perishes without making any headway. The socialism of such takes them nowhere, what to say of the society in which they live.

It such be the case, does it mean that no socialist believes in God? If there be any, why have they not made any visible progress? Then again, many godly persons have lived before now; why have they not succeeded in founding a socialistic state?

It is difficult completely to silence these two doubts. Nevertheless, it is possible to say that it has perhaps never occurred to a believing socialist that there is any connection between his socialism and belief in God. It is equally safe to say that godly men as a rule never commended socialism to the masses.

Superstitions have flourished in the world in spite of godly men and women. In Hinduism itself untouchability has, till of late, held undoubted sway.

The fact is that it has always been a matter of strenuous research to know this great Force and its hidden possibilities.

My claim is that in the pursuit of that search lies the discovery of *satyagraha*. It is not, however claimed that all the laws of *satyagraha* have been laid down or found. This I do say, fearlessly and firmly, that every worthy object can be achieved by the use of *satyagraha*. It is the highest and infallible means, the greatest force. Socialism will not be reached by any other means. *Satyagraha* can rid society of all evils, political, economic and moral.

New Delhi, 13-7-'47

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

## THE CONFLICT

On the 25th of June Gandhiji said in his post-prayer speech that he was torn between several conflicts. He felt that Bihar was calling him, so was Noakhali where he had commenced work among the riot-affected refugees and tried to specialize in the work. When a month ago he left Patna, he was under the impression that he would return to Bihar inside of a week. But events had taken place during the month in such quick succession that perhaps a generation had been packed into a month. So he was vegetating in New Delhi hoping that thereby he was serving both Bihar and Noakhali. Then he fancied that the Punjab was also calling him. He saw no guiding star unmistakably telling him which way to take. He, therefore, went by the saying that had gripped him years ago - "When in doubt stay where you are."

At one stage he thought of going to Uttarkashi before going anywhere else. The late Shri Malaviyaji had given him a glowing account of the holy place and of the holy men one came across in that place. He had insisted that he would take Gandhiji to Uttarkashi some day. The day never came during Malaviyaji's lifetime, but it would certainly please his soul, wherever he was today, to see Gandhiji perform the pilgrimage. Sheth G. D. Birla on hearing of Gandhiji's wish undertook to make all arrangements to enable him to perform the pilgrimage practically on foot. This was an added inducement for Gandhiji. Surti Mirabehn who had gone to Uttarkashi in quest of peace and inspiration from the Himalayas wrote to say that the climate at Uttarkashi won't be suitable till September. So the trip was dropped for the present.

The public on hearing of his proposed visit to Uttarkashi began to speculate that he was thinking of retiring to the Himalayas because of his differences with the leaders. He has his differences with them. The dream of his *Ramaraj* does not seem to be materializing. But he has developed the quality of detachment to a large extent. He is doing what he has done all along, show the right path, proclaim the truth from house tops irrespective of whether anyone listens or not. The leaders have to do their duty by the public. That is the law of democracy. They cannot force on the people what they do not want. So the picture of a free India as it is emerging today is far different from what anyone had imagined. It distresses Gandhiji more than anyone else. He often wonders whether he had led the country astray during the last thirty years. He has already confessed that the non-violence of our people was not the non-violence of the brave, else they would not have discarded it in favour of violence to settle their domestic troubles. The air is full of violence. In spite of all his efforts there seems to be no sign of the growing bitterness giving way to goodwill and friendship. So he has now begun to say that our struggle was but passive resistance which is a precursor of armed resistance.

Would it not have been better if the country had trained itself along violent lines from the beginning, he wonders. The answer is 'no'. The experiment has shown what even non-violence of the weak can achieve. He has to give a demonstration of the non-violence of the brave. It was with this view that he vowed to do or die in Noakhali. He must keep his promise. Speaking at the prayer meeting on the 12th instant, he referred to the *bhajan* sung wherein the poet wondered why man forgot God and Truth and clung to his six bitterest enemies like anger, greed etc. He then reminded the audience of his promise to do or die in Noakhali. He had said that he would not leave Noakhali till the Hindus and the Muslims assured him that he could go without feeling the slightest anxiety about the honour, life and property of the Hindus there. Who was he to achieve such a result? He was but a servant of God. If God wished it, He would make him the instrument of such service. If He did not do so, he would be content to do or die in Noakhali. He would just live in the midst of the people of Noakhali rendering such service as he could. His friends told him that he was crazy to attach so much importance to Noakhali. What was Noakhali as compared to the whole of India? they argued. Why should he not use his talents for the service of India as a whole instead of confining himself to Noakhali? If things were alright in India, they would be alright in Noakhali. He was made differently. His mother, an illiterate village woman had taught him *वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्*. The atom reflected the universe. She had explained to him that he should take care that he did the right thing. His universe was his immediate surroundings. If he served them the universe would take care of itself.

A friend from Noakhali had written to him that if he did not return there by the 15th of August, he might have to repent. 15th August was the dead line for the division of India and the transfer of power from British to Indian hands. As a matter of fact the division was a settled plan already. But God could upset the plans of men. An earthquake could destroy the whole of India before the appointed day. A foreign invasion might upset man's pretty and petty plans.

But humanly speaking Pakistan would be a legally established fact on the 15th of August. He had left Noakhali to go to Bihar. He had done a lot for the Muslim brethren there. The number of deaths in Bihar far exceeded that in Noakhali. It was nearly 10,000, whereas in Noakhali it was under 500. When the call came from Bihar he went there. He was, therefore, bound to take Bihar on his way to Noakhali. He was anxious to reach there as early as possible. He felt out of place in Delhi. It was not so in Bihar and Noakhali. He wanted them to pray that God might enable him to return to Noakhali early and fulfil his promise.

S. N.

New Delhi, 12-7-47

## FROM GANDHIJI'S SPEECHES

[ Selected and condensed where necessary.— S. N. ]

### THE WAY OUT

Last evening I showed why the coming freedom seemed to create no enthusiasm. This evening I propose to show how we can, if we will, turn the calamity into a blessing. It will profit us nothing to brood over the past or to blame this party or that. Technically freedom is yet to come a few days hence. In fact the parties having jointly accepted the situation, there is no turning back. Only the inscrutable Providence can undo what men have agreed to do.

One easy and ready way out is for the Congress and the League to come together and arrive at a mutual understanding without the intervention of the Viceroy. The League has to make the first move. I do not at all suggest the undoing of Pakistan. Let that be treated as an established fact beyond dispute or discussion. But they can sit together in a mud hut large enough to accommodate not more than ten representatives and undertake not to part till they have reached an agreement. I dare swear that if such an event occurs, it will be infinitely better than the Bill recognizing the Independence of India cut up into two States enjoying equal status.

Neither the Hindus nor the Muslims are happy over what is happening before their helpless selves. This is first-hand evidence unless the Hindus and the Muslims who daily see me or correspond with me are deceiving me. But—it is a big *but*—I seem to be aiming at the impossible. Now that British intervention has done the trick, how can the League be expected to come down to their adversaries and produce an agreed settlement as between brothers and friends?

There is an alternative which is also, almost if not quite, as difficult. This creation of two opposing armies out of one, hitherto with one and a common goal, whatever it was, must frighten every lover of India. Will the two armies be created, not in order to "face and fight a common danger but to destroy one another and demonstrate to a gaping world that they were unfit for any other purpose but to fight one another unto death?"

I have put the prospect in its awful nakedness so that everyone may see and shun it. The alternative escape is undoubtedly attractive. Will the vast mass of the Hindus and those who had joined them in the struggle for Independence realize the danger in its proper perspective and rise to the occasion and swear even now that they do not wish to have any army at all or at least refuse ever to use it against their Muslim brethren whether in the Union or outside it in Pakistan? This proposal is tantamount to asking the Hindus and their associates to turn thirty years' weakness into strength of great beauty. Perhaps to state the problem thus is to demonstrate its absurdity—may be God has been known before now to turn man's folly into wisdom. The effort is worth making for the sake of all the parties who have subscribed to

the dangerous division of the army into two self-destroying warring camps.

#### NEVER WRONG

Gandhiji referred to a countryman from the South who had asked several questions which the latter invited him to answer as had become his wont of late, in his post-prayer speeches.

As the writer did not know the national language and as he rightly thought that he (the speaker) would not read Tamil with facility, if at all, the question was thus put in English:

"George Bernard Shaw has remarked that 'an Englishman is never in the wrong. He does everything on principle. He fights you on patriotic principles; he robs you on business principles; he enslaves you on imperial principles. He supports his King on loyal principles and cuts off his King's head on republican principles.' I am eager to know from Gandhiji under which of these principles the Englishman is now quitting India. Is the Englishman glad over the present economic and political condition of our beloved country? Does he feel satisfied in the secession of Travancore and Hyderabad States from the Indian Union? Has he any axe to grind in scrapping the 'May '46 Paper' and bringing forward in its place the recent 'Partition Plan'? Does he feel for the horrible happenings in Noakhali, Bihar and the Punjab — which happenings have forced the Congress to accept that Plan? What can be the reason or the idea behind Mr Churchill and his company endorsing the Plan? Gandhiji has often said that he knows the mind of an Englishman better than any other Indian, and has repeatedly been advising us in his post-prayer speeches to trust the faith, sincerity and good intentions of the Englishmen in transferring power to our hands. I, therefore, believe that he should be in a position to make matters clear. He alone can dispel our doubts in a convincing manner."

He (Gandhiji) could only paraphrase the idea in his speech. Bernard Shaw's banter was by no means exhaustive nor were Englishman's resources. He had no doubt that he was quitting India on principle. Man had the supreme knack of deceiving himself. The Englishman was supremest among men. He was quitting because he had discovered that it was wrong on economic and political grounds to hold India in bondage. Herein he was quite sincere. It would not be denied, however, that sincerity was quite consistent with self-deception. He was self-deceived in that he believed that he could not leave India to possible anarchy if such was to be India's lot. He was quite content to leave India as a cockpit between two organized armies. Before quitting, he was setting the seal of approval on the policy of playing off the community against another. And he lacked the courage to do the right so far as the States were concerned. Gandhiji hoped that before he finally left on the 15th of August, he would bring the two parties together, now that one had got all it wanted. He could do so, if he willed it. Travancore and Hyderabad had not yet become

independent States. He, the speaker, admitted freely that if the Englishman left India in an uncertain condition and left the possibility of several warring States, all independent of England and, therefore, of one another, he could not conceive a greater reflection on the British name than this would be. Dominion Status would then sink in the nostrils. But he had not given up hope that British statesmanship would not have declared utter bankruptcy before August 15th. Till then he preferred to defer judgment in spite of the correspondent's profound distrust of British declarations however high-minded they might be to read. Let their acts be the real judge of their words. He would believe a man's word unless he had good reason to doubt it. That 'Mr. Churchill & Co.' were disposed to bless the Bill for Indian Independence proved that they had realized the economic and political necessity of the step. He, however, had no hesitation in admitting that recent signs were portentous enough to rouse suspicions. He did not, however, believe in dying before his death.

#### CONVERT POISON INTO NECTAR

Gandhiji referred to another extract from the letter dealt with on the previous evening. It was as follows:

"I believe that it was in the year 1940 that Gandhiji wrote in the columns of his paper that he smelt violence in the air he breathed. What has he to say of the 'living present'? The whole body politic is in chaos, corruption in its worst and most virulent form is having its unprecedented sway everywhere; money is demanded shamelessly, and money is given stealthily. People don't seem to care for the means; moneyed people get all they want by every heinous means possible. The air is moistened with all forms of evil: violence, hatred, bitterness, mistrust, enmity, uncertainty etc. On the top of all this from June 3, 1947 onwards, 'Division is in the air'. One never opens a day's newspaper without reading reports of strike, theft, loot, arson, murder and stabbing, in various parts of India. Where is the brave law of 'love' for hate, truth for untruth and toleration for intolerance, which Gandhiji has been daily hammering in the ears of the people? Who is responsible for this sorry state of affairs in the history of our country? Were the untold miseries, sufferings and sacrifices of Congressmen and women from the top rank leaders down to the *bhangis* during the past three decades or so designed for this end? Is the *amrit* viz. 'Poorna Swaraj', required to be preceded by the *poison* in the name of all the above-stated evils which have resulted in the division of India into two political entities? Gandhiji alone in all India is capable of killing that poison, and thus enabling us to reap the benefits of 'Complete Independence'."

There was no doubt, Gandhiji said, that murder, arson, loot etc. were never so rampant as at present. He had admitted his share of responsibility for the sorry state of things by saying that what was done during the past thirty years under his leadership

was no better than passive resistance. It was good enough to induce the British power to quit India. Passive resistance, unlike non-violence, had no power to change men's hearts. The consequences they knew but too well. They need not engage further attention. The Swaraj of their dreams was far off. What was to be done to convert the poison into nectar? Was the process possible? He knew that it was and he thought he knew the way too. But whereas the Indian mind was ready to respond to the effort at passive resistance, it was not receptive enough to imbibe the lesson of non-violence which, and perhaps which alone, was capable of turning the poison into nectar. Many admitted that it was the way but they had not the heart to adopt the golden path. He could proclaim from the house top that non-violence had not, had never, failed. The people failed to rise to it. He did not mind being told that he did not know the technique of propagating non-violence. His critics even went so far as to suggest that he had no non-violence in himself. God alone knew men's hearts. He could say with confidence that if the world was to have peace, non-violence was the means to that end and no other.

#### NO APPEASEMENT

Seeing that India was cut into two, they had to consider their conduct accordingly. Unfortunately it had become the fashion nowadays to act as if they were enemies one of the other. Gandhi could not subscribe to any such belief, nor did he approve of the method of appeasement - a word that had come to have a bad odour. If he did not believe in appeasement, why, he was asked, did he dance attendance on Jinnah Sahib for 18 days in 1944? A friendly approach was not one of appeasement. Appeasement was possible between enemies. This was supposed to have happened about the late Hitler. England and Germany were opposing Powers. The late Mr Chamberlain was supposed to have been guilty of the policy of appeasement. Gandhi owned no enemies. He, undoubtedly, made an offer to the Qaid-e-Azam of which he was proud. If Jinnah Sahib had accepted the offer, he could have been master in what might have been called the Pakistan area but there would have been common subjects as between friends. They would then have had one India before the whole world and free of all domination by a third power. All the bloodshed, loot and arson would have been avoided. Now they were snarling at one another. He refused to scent independence in this barbarous state. He could not be enthusiastic over the independence that was coming until the look of things was changed during the next thirty-five days. He wanted us to develop bravery of the highest type that would surrender nothing to violence and much to genuine friendliness, not friendliness that was euphemism for hypocrisy.

#### INDIA IS HOME FOR ALL INDIANS

What then were they to do, the Hindus and the Sikhs and the other non-Muslims in Pakistan? They would not anticipate evil and leave their homes for fear of evil overtaking them. He would give the Muslim fellow countrymen credit for common honesty and human behaviour. There were

*mandirs* and *gurudwaras* in the Pakistan areas. Were they to be demolished? Was admission to them to be forbidden to the Hindus, the Sikhs and the others? He could not bring himself to entertain any such fear. Taking the contrary example, one of the finest Juma Masjids in the world was in the Indian Union, the Taj was there, the Aligarh University was there. Did the partition make the slightest difference in the Muslims approaching these great places and many others he could name? He thought not.

Then there was the question of the Hindus who could not stay in their own homes in Pakistan through fear, vague or real. They could not, if their trade or movements were restricted and they were treated as aliens in their own province. It was, undoubtedly, the duty of the provinces in the Union to receive such refugees with open arms and give them all reasonable facilities. They should be able to feel that they had not come to a strange land. The whole of India was the home of every Indian who considered himself and behaved as such, no matter to what faith he belonged. The condition for the new comer was, as he had said in Haridwar, that he must be as sugar was to milk. He must aim at adding sweetness and richness to the life around him.

#### CHOICE OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

Gandhi referred to the criticism that had reached his ears in regard to the fact that while the Qaid-e-Azam had been appointed the Governor-General of Pakistan, the Congress leaders had agreed to keep Lord Mountbatten on as the Governor-General of India. It had been hinted that the leaders had weakened and, by asking Lord Mountbatten to stay on, had shown that they were still dependent on England. Gandhi wished to ask such critics to rid their minds of such suspicion. Could they imagine men like Panditji and the Sardar, a born fighter, ever bowing the knee or bootlicking anyone? He wanted them to know that after August 15th it was within their power to ask anyone to become their Governor-General. If it had been his choice he might even have chosen a Harjan girl. But he had no wish to deceive them in refusing to suspect Lord Mountbatten's appointment. After all they could always fight him if he proved false to them. It was now known through the newspapers that in the first instance both India and Pakistan had agreed to have Lord Mountbatten as their common Governor-General. But at the last moment Jinnah Sahib had changed his mind and nominated himself. The Congress leaders could have then done likewise but they did not like to go back on their pledged word. He sensed nothing wrong in this. Lord Mountbatten would be on trial in his new job in spite of the fact that he would be the constitutional head of the Government. Gandhi hoped that he would come through the test with flying colours by being their servant which is what the appointment stood for. They would be foolish to imagine that no Englishman could ever be a friend of India and loyal to her or that Lord Mountbatten would not be a servant of



## ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## INSTALMENT—XXIV

ENGLISH	HINDUSTANI
Deciduous <i>adj.</i>	कड़वेवाला (जैसे पत्त या पत्र); धोड़े दिनकर, बलता हुआ। <i>کڑوے والا (جیسے پتے یا پتر)؛ دھوڈے دینکار، بالتا ہوا۔</i>
Decimal	दशका, दशक, कासहरिया। <i>دشکا، دشاک، کاسहरیا۔</i>
Decimate	घ. हर दसमेंसे एकको मारना; बड़े हिस्सेको मार डालना। <i>هر دس میں سے ایک کو مارنا؛ بڑے حصے کو مار ڈालنا۔</i>
Decipher	घ. पढ़ना, पढ़ देना, कोर-बिहाली पढ़ना, कोर निकालना। <i>پڑھنا، پڑھ देना، कोर-बिहाली पढ़ना، कोर निकालना۔</i>
Decision	न. फैसला, निपटारा; पक्की राय। <i>فیصلہ، نیپٹارہ؛ پکی رائے۔</i>
Decisive <i>adj.</i>	घो दृढ़, संतक, कावरी फैसल। <i>دو ٹوک الد کا، آخری فیصلہ۔</i>
Deck	न. बहालका फरक या पटल। <i>جہاز کا فرش یا پٹر۔</i>
Deck chair	न. बहालकी आरामकुर्सी। <i>جہاز کی آرام کرسی۔</i>
Deck	घ. सजाना, सजाना; हांकना। <i>سجانا، سजوانا؛ हांकना۔</i>
Declaim	घ. लखीर करना, भाषण देना, कोस-भरी लखीर करना; लम्बी बोली हांकना; भाषण देनेकी कसरत करना। <i>تقریر کرنا، جانن دینا، حوصلہ پوری تقریر کرنا؛ لسی تقریر مانکना؛ جانن دینے کی کसरत کرنا۔</i>
Declamation	न. कोसमरा भाषण या लखीर। <i>हوصلہ پुरा जानन या تقریر۔</i>
Declaration	न. बयान, बयान, बयान, बोधना। <i>بیان، بیان، بयान، बोधना۔</i>
Declare	घ. बताना, बताना, दिखाना, बयान या बोधना करना, साफ साफ कह देना, कार देकर बताना। <i>بات देना، बताना، दिखाना، बयान या बोधना करना، साफ साफ कह देना، कार देकर बताना।</i>
Declare for	घ. किसीके हक या पक्षमें करना। <i>किसी के حق या पक्ष में करना।</i>
Declare against	घ. किसीके खिलाफ या विरुद्ध करना। <i>किसी के خلاف या विरुद्ध करना।</i>
Declare innings closed	बिना बोलें बारी छोड़ देना (क्रिकेटमें)। <i>बा कबिले बारी छोड़ देना (क्रिकेट में)।</i>
Declare oneself	घ. अपना झिझा बताना, अपना हाल साफ बताना। <i>अपना हाल बताना, अपना हाल साफ बताना।</i>
Declare I, well I	हेरानी, छेदेद या गुस्सा प्रकट करनेके लिये। <i>हिरानी, छेदेद या गुस्सा प्रकट करनेके लिये।</i>
Declension	न. हल, सुतार; विभक्ति, रूपरत्न। <i>हल, सुतार; विभक्ति, रूपरत्न।</i>
Declination	न. नीचेकी ओर झुकाव। <i>नीचे की ओर झुकाव।</i>
Declination of the compass	सुमीच मोड़। <i>सुमीच मोड़।</i>
Decline	न. सुतार, पतन; घटती; हल; तपेदिक, क्षय। <i>सुतार, पतन; घटती; हल; तपेदिक, क्षय।</i>
Decline	घ. झुकना, बजना, सुतारना, कम होना, सुतार पर होना, बीया पढ़ना, या करना, जस्वीकार या झिन्कार करना। <i>झुकना, बजना, सुतारना, कम होना, सुतार पर होना, बीया पढ़ना, या करना, जस्वीकार या झिन्कार करना।</i>
Decline, fall into a	घ. तपेदिक या क्षय हो जाना। <i>तपेदिक या क्षय हो जाना।</i>
Declivity	न. सुतार, हल। <i>सुतार, हल।</i>
Decoct	न. अर्क निकालना (उबालकर)। <i>अर्क निकालना (उबालकर)।</i>
Decoction	न. काढ़ा, ओछादा। <i>काढ़ा, ओछादा।</i>

Decode	घ. कोर-बिहालीका पढ़ना। <i>कोर-बिहालीका पढ़ना।</i>
Decompose	घ. बकना-भलना करना (घुस या मूलको); बकना, पकना, सड़ना, भलना। <i>बकना-भलना करना (घुस या मूलको); बकना, पकना, सड़ना, भलना।</i>
Decorate	घ. सजाना, सजाना, सजाना बरीरा देना। <i>सजाना, सजाना, सजाना बरीरा देना।</i>
Decoration	न. सजावट, सजाना, सजाना (सजाना)। <i>सजावट, सजाना, सजाना (सजाना)।</i>
Decorator	न. बरकी सजावट, रंग बरीरा करनेवाला। <i>बरकी सजावट, रंग बरीरा करनेवाला।</i>
Decorous	<i>adj.</i> सुचित, सुवासित। <i>सुचित, सुवासित।</i>
Decorum	न. सभ्यता, शिष्टता, समीक, सतीका। <i>सभ्यता, शिष्टता, समीक, सतीका।</i>
Decoy	घ. फुसलाना; बालमें फँसना, लुभाना; धोखेसे पकड़ना। <i>फुसलाना; बालमें फँसना, लुभाना; धोखेसे पकड़ना।</i>
Decoy-duck	न. कोर का ठगना साधी। <i>कोर का ठगना साधी।</i>
Decrease	न. कमी, घटती, सुतार। <i>कमी, घटती, सुतार।</i>
Decrease	घ. कम होना, घटना, कम करना, घटाना, बीया पढ़ना। <i>कम होना, घटना, कम करना, घटाना, बीया पढ़ना।</i>
Decree	न. विमरी; फरमान, आज्ञा; फैसला। <i>विमरी; फरमान, आज्ञा; फैसला।</i>
Decree	घ. विमरी होना या देना, हुक्म या आज्ञा देना, फरमान निकालना; फैसला देना। <i>विमरी होना या देना, हुक्म या आज्ञा देना, फरमान निकालना; फैसला देना।</i>
Decree, execute a	घ. विमरी जारी करना। <i>विमरी जारी करना।</i>
Decree, divine	न. आज्ञा, लखीर, कर्मदेव। <i>आज्ञा, लखीर, कर्मदेव।</i>
Decrement	न. कमी, घटती, घटा। <i>कमी, घटती, घटा।</i>
Decrepit	<i>adj.</i> कोकरा; फरक; दवा-कुरा; कमबोरा बुढ़ा। <i>कोकरा; फरक; दवा-कुरा; कमबोरा बुढ़ा।</i>
Decrescendo	न. जलानका कम होना (बाजे या संगीतमें)। <i>जलानका कम होना (बाजे या संगीतमें)।</i>
Decrescent	<i>adj.</i> घटता हुआ (मखर बोलके लिये)। <i>घटता हुआ (मखर बोलके लिये)।</i>
Decretal or Decretals	न. पापका फरमान; पोपके फरमानोंकी फिदा। <i>पापका फरमान; पोपके फरमानोंकी फिदा।</i>
Decretal	<i>adj.</i> विमरीका। <i>विमरीका।</i>
Decry	घ. बुरागी करना, भेव या बोध बगाना, निन्दा करना, नाम बुरा करना, बीया पढ़ना, लकाना, लडा करना, लम लकना। <i>बुरागी करना, भेव या बोध बगाना, निन्दा करना, नाम बुरा करना, बीया पढ़ना, लकाना, लडा करना, लम लकना।</i>
Dedicate	घ. मकर या अर्पण करना, दे शकना; (किसीके) नामपर कर देना। <i>मकर या अर्पण करना, दे शकना; (किसीके) नामपर कर देना।</i>
Dedication	न. मकर, बदावा, भेद। <i>मकर, बदावा, भेद।</i>
Deduce	घ. मतीना निकालना, अनुमान करना। <i>मतीना निकालना, अनुमान करना।</i>
Deduct	घ. घटाना, कम करना, काटना। <i>घटाना, कम करना, काटना।</i>
Deduction	न. कमी; मतीना; अनुमान। <i>कमी; मतीना; अनुमान।</i>
Deed	न. काम, जमल, कर्म; दस्तावेज, पत्र, इन्डीकट, जलन, बदाकाम। <i>काम, जमल, कर्म; दस्तावेज, पत्र, इन्डीकट, जलन, बदाकाम।</i>
Deem	घ. समझना, बयान करना, बिचारना, मानना। <i>समझना, बयान करना, बिचारना, मानना।</i>
Deem it one's duty	घ. करना कर्म या बर्तन समझना। <i>करना कर्म या बर्तन समझना।</i>



Deem highly of *v.* बहुत मर्यादा रखना ।

بہت اعلیٰ رائے رکھنا

Deep *adj.* गहरा, गहरी, अगह्रा; गहरा; गहरा; गहरा; गहरा ।

گہرا، گہری، گہرا، گہرا، گہرا، گہرا

Deep *n.* समुन्द्र ।

Deep draught *n.* बढ़ावा घेत ।

Deep distress, in बहुत दु:खमें ।

Deep despair, in बहुत निराश ।

Deep mourning, in पूरे मातममें काढ़े पहने हुये ।

پورے ماتم کے کاڑے پہنے ہوئے

Deep sleep, in गहरी नींदमें ।

Deep silence सुनसान ।

Deep waters, in सख्त तकलीफ या दु:ख या मुश्किलमें ।

مخمس تکالیف یا دُکھ یا مشکل میں

Deep person, a *n.* जो रहस्यमय न बाप, गुप्त, गहरा ।

جو پہچانا نہ جائے، گہرا، گہرا

Deep, still waters run गहरा पानी चुरचाप बहता है; दिल्ली कात सुर-सुराही नहीं होती ।

گہرا پانی چپ چاپ بہا ہے اقل کی بات اور اور کی بات

Deep *adj.* भीचेतक, बहुतक; गहरी गहरा, सोव-विचारके साथ ।

بہتے تک، بڑے گہری نظر سے، سوچ وچار کے ساتھ

Deep rooted or deep laid or deep seated or deep drawn अन्तर्गत, अन्तर्गत, दित्त, गहरा, अद्ग

तर्गत, اندر سے, دل سے, گہرا, گہرا

Deepen *v.* गहराना, गहरा करना, गहरा होना ।

گہرا, گہرا, گہرا, گہرا

Deeply *adj.* दित्त, दल से ।

Deer *n.* हिरन, मृग ।

Deer forest *n.* जंगल, जिसमें शिकारके लिये हिरन पाले जाते हैं ।

जंगल جس میں شکار کے لئے ہرن پالے جاتے ہیں

Deer hound *n.* बड़ा शिकारी कुत्ता (कात हिरनके शिकारके लिये) ।

بڑا شکاری کتا (خاص ہرن کے شکار کے لئے)

Deer lick *n.* गहरी (नमकानी), अद्ग हिरन नमक चाटनेके लिये आता है ।

تراتی (لک والے), جہاں ہرن نمک چاٹنے کے لئے آتے ہیں

Deer neck *n.* घाँटेकी पंकी गादन ।

Deer's foot *n.* ایک قسم کی گھاس ।

Deerskin *n.* मृगछाल, हिरनकी त्वचा ।

Deerstalker *n.* हिरनका शिकारी; एक किसमकी डोरी (आगे ओर पीछे लुकी हुमी) ।

ہرن کا شکاری; ایک قسم کی لڑی (آگے اور پیچھے سے)

Deface *n.* चकम या सूरत बिगड़ना; बदनाम करना; दिखाना (लिये हुमेको), मिस तरह बिगाड़ना कि पढ़ा न जाय ।

شکل یا صورت بگاڑنا، بدنام کرنا، دکھانا (لکھنے کے لئے) اس طرح بگاڑنا کہ پڑھا نہ جائے

De facto *n.* हकीकतमें, असलमें, अवस्था ।

حقیقت میں، اصل میں، -ہو

Defalcate *v.* हथका या जाना ।

Defame *v.* बदनाम करना, कलंक लगाना, निन्दा करना ।

بدنام کرنا، کلंक لگانا، لکنا

Defamation *n.* निन्दा, बदनामी ।

Default *n.* चूक, भूल, एकात्म; पैदाशिर ।

چوک، بھول، عداوت، غیر حاضر

Default *v.* चूकना; पूरा न करना, न चुकना, पैदाशिर होना (अवस्थामें) ।

چوکنا، پورا نہ کرنا، نہ چکانا، غیر حاضر ہونا (عدالت میں)

Defaulter *n.* कर्तव्य, जो कलंक या कलंक पूरा न करे, दिवाखोर, बाकीदार ।

کسرودار، جو فرض یا کرتب پورا نہ کرے، حساب چرو، اقسادی

Default, let a case go by हाजिर न होनेके कारण केस तरफकी निर्णय मुकदमा ठोड़ना ।

حاصل نہ ہونے کے کاروں ایک طرف کی ڈگری پر مقدمہ چلنا

Defeasance *n.* रद्द करना, नाबाव करना ।

Defeasible *adj.* जो रद्द या काटिर हो सके, जो रद्द हो सके ।

جو رद्द یا خارج ہو سکے، جو حتم ہو سکے

Defeat *n.* हार, मात, विटाही ।

Defeat *v.* हारना, भगाना, बेकार करना, नाश करना, निराश या नाशुन्नीद करना ।

ہارنا، چکانا، بے کار کرنا، اسی کرنا، زانی یا تائب کرنا

Defeatism *n.* हार मान लेनेवाली तबियत या स्वभाव, निराशा, नाशुमेही, हथ जाला, हथपन ।

ہار مان لینے والی طبیعت یا سوجھ بوجھ، لاش، ناامیدی، دہ جلا، دیرین

Defect *n.* कमी, दोष, मुद्द; कट; चूक, कलंक ।

کمی، دوپہ، نقص، کٹ، صورت، عیب، کلک

Defection *n.* मुँह मोड़ना, छोड़ देना, अलग होना, बेवफाई, गहरी ।

منہ موڑنا، چھوڑ دینا، الگ ہونا، بے وفائی، غداری

Defective *adj.* कमा, अपूर्ण, भेरी, कमजोर, कमीशाल, जमावपूर्ण ।

کما، اندر، کمی، کم عقل، کمی والا، اجازت، جमावपूर्ण

Defence *n.* बचाव, रक्षा, आद; मार्ग, रोक, रक्षा, बचाव, बचाव, सफाही ।

بچاؤ، رکھا، آڑ، روک، پناہ، شرف، جواب، صفائی

Defence, in self- अपनी जान बचानेमें, अपनी रक्षामें ।

اپنی جان بچانے میں، اپنی رکھا میں

Defenceless *adj.* निरक्षा; बेपनाह, असहित, बिना बचावका ।

نیراک، بے پناہ، لڑکھٹ، بے بچاؤ کا

Defend *v.* बचाना, बचाव करना, रक्षा करना; हथका रोकना; सहायता या मदद देना, सफाही देना, मुकदमा लड़ना (किसीके लिये) ।

بچانا، بچاؤ کرنا، رکھا کرنا، سہا یا مدد دینا، سفاہی دینا، مقدمہ لڑنا (کسی کے لئے)

Defendant *n.* मुद्देमें, प्रतिवादी ।

Defender *n.* रक्षक, बचानवाला, रक्षक ।

رکھک، بچانے والا، رکھال

Defensible *adj.* बचानेके योग्य या लायक ।

بچانے کے योगیہ یا لائق

Defensive *adj.* बचानेके लिये; बचानेवाला, हथका रोकनेवाला, बचावका ।

بچانے کے لئے، بچانے والا، سہ روکے والا، بچاؤ کا

Defer *v.* लुटा रसना; सदा रसना; छंद रखना, दलमठाल करना, देर करना, तारीख दानना, मान लेना, मानना ।

لٹا رکھنا، کھانا رکھنا، سدا رکھنا، لال مٹول کرنا، دیر کرنا

Defiant *adj.* कटनेवर लुटा हुआ; बेवफा, मुँहबोर; कटन व माननेवाला ।

لٹنے پر اڑا ہوا، کٹنے والا، بے وفاء، منہ بھر، کٹن و ماننے والا

Deficiency *n.* कमी, कमी, दोष, कसर, बाधा ।

कमी, कमी, कमी, कमी

Deficiency, make good a दोष भरना, कमी पूरी करना ।

दोष भरना, कमी पूरी करना

Deficient *adj.* कम, अधूरा; कमजोर ।

Deficit *n.* बाधा, दोष, कमी, कमी ।

Defile *n.* संग बादी, संग रास्ता, पहाड़ों के बीच का रास्ता ।

संग बादी, संग रास्ता, पहाड़ों के बीच का रास्ता

Defile *v.* मैथिल या गन्दा करना, अशुद्ध या गन्दा करना, क्लेश देना ।

मैथिल या गन्दा करना, अशुद्ध या गन्दा करना, क्लेश देना

Define *v.* इव या सीमा बंधना, ठीक ठीक या साफ साफ बताना, ठीक माने बताना ।

इव या सीमा बंधना, ठीक ठीक या साफ साफ बताना, ठीक माने बताना

Definite *adj.* ठीक ठीक, तय, निश्चित, पक्का, साफ, साव, इव बँधी हुआ ।

ठीक ठीक, तय, निश्चित, पक्का, साफ, साव, इव बँधी हुआ

Definitely *adv.* पक्की तोर पर, कसूर, निश्चय, बिल्कुल ।

पक्की तोर पर, कसूर, निश्चय, बिल्कुल

Definition *n.* तारीफ, बयान, बखाना, साफ माने ।

तारीफ, बयान, बखाना, साफ माने

Definitive *adj.* तय, निश्चित, साबित, अन्तिम, बिना चर्चे ।

तय, निश्चित, साबित, अन्तिम, बिना चर्चे

Deflagrate *v.* जलना; फूटना; जल लुटना, जल जाना (बली में) ।

जलना; फूटना; जल लुटना, जल जाना (बली में)

Deflate *v.* फूँक या हवा निकलना; पिचकाना; बाइल सिकका कम कर देना; माव गिराना ।

फूँक या हवा निकलना; पिचकाना; बाइल सिकका कम कर देना; माव गिराना

Deflect *v.* टेढ़ी राह जाना, मोड़ना, केरना, सीधा रास्ता मोड़ना ।

टेढ़ी राह जाना, मोड़ना, केरना, सीधा रास्ता मोड़ना

Deflection *n.* मोड़, केर; मुझाव ।

मोड़, केर; मुझाव

Deflower *v.* करार करना, बिगाड़ना (भोरत में), लुटना, लुझाड़ना, फूल तोड़ डालना ।

करार करना, बिगाड़ना (भोरत में), लुटना, लुझाड़ना, फूल तोड़ डालना

Deforest *v.* जंगल कटा डालना, बन कटा डालना ।

जंगल कटा डालना, बन कटा डालना

Deform *v.* शक्ल बिगाड़ना, बेगना करना, बेरोस करना, कुल्ल करना ।

शक्ल बिगाड़ना, बेगना करना, बेरोस करना, कुल्ल करना

Deformity *n.* बदहली, कुल्लता, बेरोसी, बेरोस, दोष ।

बदहली, कुल्लता, बेरोसी, बेरोस, दोष

Defraud *v.* हथ मारना या हवा रखना; धाका देना, छलना, छल मारना या धाका देना, धाका देना ।

हथ मारना या हवा रखना; धाका देना, छलना, छल मारना या धाका देना, धाका देना

Defray *v.* चुकाना; खर्च करना, निवटाना ।

चुकाना; खर्च करना, निवटाना

Defy *adj.* बदूर, निपुण ।

बदूर, निपुण

Defunct *adj.* मरु, मरु, मरु, मरु ।

मरु, मरु, मरु, मरु

Defy *v.* चुनकारना, सामना करना, परवाह न करना, बैंगना दिखाना, टक्कर देना ।

चुनकारना, सामना करना, परवाह न करना, बैंगना दिखाना, टक्कर देना

Degenerate *adj.*, *n.* गिरा हुआ, मालायक, कुल्ल, बदबन ।

गिरा हुआ, मालायक, कुल्ल, बदबन

Degenerate *v.* बिगाड़ना, गिरना, करार होना ।

बिगाड़ना, गिरना, करार होना

Degeneration *n.* बिगाड़, परत ।

बिगाड़, परत

Deglutition *n.* निगलना ।

निगलना

Degrade *v.* पद या दर्जे से लुप्त करना, नीचा दिखाना, करार करना या होना ।

पद या दर्जे से लुप्त करना, नीचा दिखाना, करार करना या होना

Degradation *n.* लुप्त, बिगाड़, पतन ।

लुप्त, बिगाड़, पतन

Degrading *adj.* कुल्ल, करार, बिगाड़ने वाला, नीचा करने वाला, गिराने वाला ।

कुल्ल, करार, बिगाड़ने वाला, नीचा करने वाला, गिराने वाला

Degree *n.* पद, दर्जा, सीढ़ी; हिस्सा, खण्ड, लुप्त; इव; माव; मान; हिस्सा, तराह ।

पद, दर्जा, सीढ़ी; हिस्सा, खण्ड, लुप्त; इव; माव; मान; हिस्सा, तराह

Degrees, by रस्ता-रस्ता, सीढ़ी-सीढ़ी, होके-होके ।

रस्ता-रस्ता, सीढ़ी-सीढ़ी, होके-होके

Degree, in some कुछमें, थोड़ा-थोड़ा ।

कुछमें, थोड़ा-थोड़ा

Degree, to a अथवा इव तक ।

अथवा इव तक

Degree, to such a { यहाँ तक कि ।

यहाँ तक कि

Degree, to this { यहाँ तक कि ।

यहाँ तक कि

Degrees, prohibited वह रस्ता-रस्ता जिससे चारों तरफ से आना-जाना हो ।

वह रस्ता-रस्ता जिससे चारों तरफ से आना-जाना हो

Dehydrate *v.* किसी वस्तु या चीज से लुप्त पानी निकाल देना ।

किसी वस्तु या चीज से लुप्त पानी निकाल देना

Deiform *adj.* लुप्त या बेगना, लुप्त या बेगना ।

लुप्त या बेगना, लुप्त या बेगना

Deification *n.* लुप्त या बेगना दर्जा देना ।

लुप्त या बेगना दर्जा देना

Deify *n.* लुप्त या बेगना बनाना, बेगना ठहराना, पूजना ।

लुप्त या बेगना बनाना, बेगना ठहराना, पूजना

Deign *v.* मिनमत करना, कुरा करना, लुप्त, लुप्त या लुप्त ।

मिनमत करना, कुरा करना, लुप्त, लुप्त या लुप्त

Dei gratia *v.* लुप्त के फलसे, भगवान् की कृपासे ।

लुप्त के फलसे, भगवान् की कृपासे

Deintegro *adv.* फिर से ।

फिर से

Deist *n.* बीसवीं सदी, लुप्त को मानने वाला (डेकिन वही या अति प्रभावशाली) ।

बीसवीं सदी, लुप्त को मानने वाला (डेकिन वही या अति प्रभावशाली)

Deity *n.* लुप्त, बेगना ।

लुप्त, बेगना

Deject *v.* लुप्त करना, मन या जी तोड़ना ।

लुप्त करना, मन या जी तोड़ना

Dejection *n.* लुप्त, निपुण ।

लुप्त, निपुण

Dejeuner *n.* नाश्ता, हार्ड, रोपरना भोजन ।

नाश्ता, हार्ड, रोपरना भोजन

De jure *adv.* कानूनी, इच्छा, कानून ।

कानूनी, इच्छा, कानून

Delaune *n.* अति प्रकारका वारिक मूनी कानून ।

अति प्रकारका वारिक मूनी कानून

Delate *v.* दोष देना, कसूर बताना, दोषी करार देना ।

दोष देना, कसूर बताना, दोषी करार देना

Delay *n.* देर, देर, देर, देर ।

देर, देर, देर, देर

Delay *v.* देर करना या लगेना, टालना, रोकना, रोक देना, लुप्त करना, दिक्कत करना, अटका रहना ।

देर करना या लगेना, टालना, रोकना, रोक देना, लुप्त करना, दिक्कत करना, अटका रहना

Delectable *adj.* मन्मथ, सुहाबना, दिक्कत ।

मन्मथ, सुहाबना, दिक्कत

Delegate *n.* नुमायिन्दा, प्रतिनिधि ।

नुमायिन्दा, प्रतिनिधि

Delegate *v.* नुमायिन्दा या प्रतिनिधि बनाना, भेजना, भिजाना, भेजना, भेजना ।

नुमायिन्दा या प्रतिनिधि बनाना, भेजना, भिजाना, भेजना, भेजना



# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## A DIFFICULT QUESTION

Gandhiji has been trying to impress upon Indians the importance of maintaining their balance in spite of all provocation. Whatever might be the policy of Pakistan, India was and should remain equally the home of the Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Parsis, the Christians and the others. All those who regarded India as their motherland were Indians with equal rights of citizenship. He could never approve of the doctrine of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, much less that of a hundred eyes for one eye. His insistence on this point annoys many Hindus. Some indulge in abuse. Others gently request him to retire to the Himalayas. But there are a good number who believe in what he says and wish to act up to it. One such friend came to him the other day and placed his difficulties before him. The Congress governments were being warned not to trust the Muslims. The latter might act as saboteurs and fifth columnists. Jinnah Sahib had congratulated the Muslims of the non-Pakistan areas for their labours and sacrifices which had made Pakistan a reality. Some members of the Muslim League were openly saying that they would not be content with the truncated Pakistan that had been secured. Their eyes were on Delhi, Agra, Ajmer, Aligarh. Some even dreamt of dominating the whole of India. It was a vain dream; yet what guarantee was there that the Muslims in the Union of India would not use their energies and influence towards the realization of that dream? Was it right on the part of the Congress governments to take the risk of trusting them?

Gandhiji's reply was clear and decisive. The Congress governments could not discriminate against anyone on grounds of religion. "My eldest son has often come to me saying, 'I will be good in future I will not touch wine.' I tell him, 'Though I do not trust you, I shall give you a chance.' He has not been able to keep to his word so far. Yet if he comes again, I will not turn him out and I shall hope that he will be as good as his word, until I know that he has come back only to deceive me. We must trust the Muslims in the same way and, at the same time, be vigilant."

"But if we have suspicion in our minds, will it not be reflected in our actions?" asked the friend.

"No," said Gandhiji. "You must not act on suspicion. Look at the British. How much harm they have done to India! I confess that I am not yet wholly free from suspicion. I wonder if they

can really change completely I trust Lord Mountbatten. The world cannot go on without trust. The minorities must realize that they have to be loyal to the State under which they live. If they prove unworthy, the State can take necessary action. But you must not prejudice them. Why die before death?"

"We must, however, be prepared to fight the danger," persisted another friend.

"Yes," said Gandhiji. "The real preparation lies in purging ourselves of our inherent weaknesses selfishness and disunity."

New Delhi, 18-7-'47

S. N.

## THE REAL DANGER

Every student of history knows that India lost its independence because of disunity. Selfishness and ambition clouded the vision. The result was that India passed under foreign domination. Now that foreign domination is about to end, the old trait is again coming to the surface. The Congress itself has been weakened by all sorts of self-seekers having crept in it. Those who have been to jail feel that it is their right to occupy the highest posts in the land. They feel irritated if anyone who has not been to jail is appointed a minister. Criticizing this mentality Gandhiji said that if it was not checked, it would prove the undoing of the Congress. The Congress would lose its prestige as an organization primarily for the service of the masses. Was it imagined that they had conferred a favour on India by going to jail? They were completely wrong if they thought that Sardar Patel, Pandit Nehru and others were holding high offices today because they had been to jail. They were there because of their intrinsic worth. They were men who had spurned wealth and honours for the sake of the service of the country. They would be happier out of office. But they were bearing the burden as a matter of duty. Merit alone should be the criterion for holding office. If India was to be free in the real sense of the term, single-eyed devotion to service without any desire for reward or lust for power should be their keynote. They must think of their country rather than of themselves.

A friend told Gandhiji that he had produced many fighters but no administrators. Gandhiji pleaded guilty to the charge. That was why he was insisting that the services of able administrators whether Congressmen or not, should be inspanned to establish a stable and good government which could ameliorate the sufferings of the masses.

New Delhi, 18-7-'47

S. N.

## STORY HOUR

(Continued from Vol. XI, No. 22, p. 211)

This too is from Bukhari — V. G. D.

## XXVI

The Prophet said, "Whom God intends to favour, He tries by placing difficulties in his way."

## XXVII

The Prophet said, "If a person does not give up lying and committing other sins, it counts for nothing with God that he fasts and gives up food and drink."

## XXVIII

The Prophet said, "Always fear to oppress people and give them ground for complaint; for nothing can stand between God and such complaint; it straightaway reaches the Great White Throne."

## XXIX

The Prophet said, "It is better that a man should maintain himself by cutting wood in the forest, bringing it to the village upon his own back and selling it than that he should beg."

## XXX

Some one asked Hazrat Ayisha, "At what time in the morning did the Prophet rise from bed?" She replied, "He awoke when he heard the cock crowing and offered prayers."

## XXXI

Omar found a costly robe offered for sale at the entrance to the mosque and suggested that the Prophet should buy it and use it when he received the agents of foreign powers. The Prophet said, "Only such a man will wear this robe as has no share at all in the rewards which God will distribute on the Day of Judgment."

## XXXII

In one of his *ghazats* the Prophet found that a woman had been killed, thereupon he prohibited the killing of women and children.

## XXXIII

The Prophet said, "God reserves His mercy for such of his worshippers as have pity upon their fellowmen."

## Errata

In *Harijan* of July 13, 1947, on page 231, in paragraph 5, line 2 of 'Namdev, the Gardener' for *medical* read *medicinal* and in paragraph 6 for *Brahmun* read *Brahman*.

## FOR AGENTS

Agents are requested to take note of the following:

1. Please remember that agents have to deposit with us an amount covering the price of their demand for two months. A month's deposit will be treated as fixed and the other as current. Every week the cost of the copies sent to them would be deducted from the current deposit.

2. The amounts for the deposits are usually sent by the agents by cheques. Please note that we do not accept cheques. The amount should be remitted either by M. O., Postal Order or by a bank draft.

MANAGER

## FROM GANDHIJI'S SPEECHES

New Delhi, 13-7-'47

## JINNAH SAHEB'S ASSURANCES

Gandhiji said that he had read a brief report of Jinnah Saheb's Press Conference in the course of which it had gladdened his heart to learn that Jinnah Saheb had assured complete freedom of faith and religious worship and full security of life and property to all the minorities living in Pakistan. But while any leader may say a thing and say it sincerely, it does not follow that the advice is straightaway acted upon. It was sad that in spite of the achievement of division, news of stabbings, murders, loot and arson came from everywhere. He had many Sindhi Hindu friends who were leaving their home because they felt they could not live there any longer. Now Karachi was going to be the capital of Pakistan. He would like to ask Jinnah Saheb whether he was going to wait till August 15th to offer protection to the Hindus in Sind. If he were in Jinnah Saheb's place, he would be sad beyond measure if any Hindu deserted his home in Pakistan through fear of injustice. While the Qaid-e-Azam was going to be the Governor-General of Pakistan it was true that he could do nothing without the advice of his ministers yet that did not mean that he was going to lose his hold over the League. On the other hand his political power would be even greater. Therefore, it was his duty to forbid such happenings as are reported from Sind and elsewhere in the Dominion of which he was to be the Governor-General. A man or the government of a country could only be judged by its actions and this applied equally to India. Some Muslims of the U. P. had fears whether they could live there any more. It was the duty of the government there to give them every assurance that the U. P. would always be their home where they could as hitherto live without fear. The British had carried on their rule through the policy of divide and rule but their power was over and so should be the favouritism. What mattered it if a minority got a little more than its share of the spoils of service or office anywhere? Minorities were entitled to the fullest justice. Efficiency and merit alone should count and the spoils of office given to the minorities over a long period by the British to serve their own ends should no longer lure them. They must realize that all these were in the nature of bribes. After all the British could not remove untouchability. It was the Hindus themselves who had opened all the ancient temples in South India—a fact that gladdened his heart for it was by removing the stain of untouchability that Hinduism could live. No privileges should be given to anyone in the new India. It was the poor and neglected and down-trodden and weak that should be their special care and attention. A Brahmin should not grudge it if more money was spent on the uplift of the Harijans. At the same time a Brahmin may not be done down simply because he was a Brahmin. In fact the Brahmins were a very small minority. There

must be pure and undefiled justice for everyone in both Pakistan and Hindustan.

#### DIVISION OF THE ARMY

Gandhiji referred again with intense feeling to the division of the army. He could not understand why they could not remain united for the object of facing foreign aggression. The present mode of division might even lead to internal warfare between the two armies who might even look upon themselves as rivals. That would be a tragedy too deep for tears. As a matter of fact division of the army was a factor which would weaken the defence forces. It was up to them to ponder deeply over this. He hoped that even if they had not learnt the lesson of *ahimsa* during the last 30 years, they had at any rate learnt not to live as slaves of anyone—not only of the British. If they had, what need of armies anywhere? This was the lesson he was trying to teach the Hindus in Noakhali and the Muslims in Bihar. If they had the personal courage he would not mind if they resisted oppression even violently. Naturally, he would always plead for non-violent resistance because the latter meant that God was their sole Protector. Violent resistance invariably meant the aid of the sword which was at best a poor weapon of defence.

New Delhi, 14-7-'47

#### THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE

It is said that my speeches nowadays are depressing. Some even suggest that I should not speak at all. This multitude of advisers reminds me of a painter who had exposed his painting in a shop window without glass inviting critics to mark the parts they did not like. The result was a daub. The painter had simply tried to show that it was impossible to please all parties. He was, therefore, satisfied that he had painted a 'good' picture. His business was to produce a work which satisfied his artistic taste. Mine is a similar case. I hope I never speak for the sake of speaking. I speak because I feel that I have something to say to the people. It is true that I do not agree with what many of my closest friends have done or are doing. Whilst I am in Delhi and I have an opinion about some current events, I cannot help giving that opinion. And what are the differences that matter? If you analyse them you would find only one fundamental difference to which all the others could be traced. Non-violence is my creed. It never was of the Congress. With the Congress it has always been a policy. A policy takes the shape of a creed whilst it lasts, no longer. The Congress had every right to change it when it found it necessary. A creed can never admit of any change. Now though according to the Congress constitution the policy abides, the practice has undoubtedly altered the policy. Technicians may quarrel with the fact. You and I cannot, must not. Why should not the makers of the present Congress change their policy in fact? The law will take care of itself. It should also be noted that in the constitution the word *peaceful* is used, not *non-violent*.

In Bombay when the Congress met in 1934 I tried hard to have the word *peaceful* replaced by *non-violent* and I failed. Therefore, it is open to give the word *peaceful* a meaning probably less than that of *non-violent*. I see none. But my opinion is irrelevant. It is for the *savants* to determine the difference, if any. All that you and I need to realize is that the Congress practice is not non-violent today in the accepted sense of the term. If the Congress was pledged to the policy of non-violence, there would be no army supported by it. But she sports an army which may eat up the civilians and establish military rule in India unless the people listen to me. Am I to give up all hope of their ever listening to me? I cannot do it whilst there is breath left in me. And if the people do not wish to listen to my non-violent *d.rge*, there is no reason for critics to dissuade me from speaking to the public.

Let me make one thing clear. I have frankly and fully admitted that what we practised during the past thirty years was not non-violent resistance but passive resistance which only the weak offer because they are unable, not unwilling, to offer armed resistance. If we knew the use of non-violent resistance which only those with hearts of oak can offer we would present to the world a totally different picture of free India instead of an India cut in twain, one part highly suspicious of the other and the two too much engaged in mutual strife to be able to think cogently of the food and clothing of the hungry and naked millions who know no religion but that of the one and only God who appears to them in the guise of the necessities of life. Not for them the sanguinary strife or the cinema pictures showing them how efficiently to cut one another's throats.

New Delhi, 15-7-'47

#### THE PROBLEM OF BENGAL

Gandhiji referred to some questions that had been put to him by Bengali friends. He was told that the Hindus in Eastern Bengal feared that now that the province was divided into two, the Hindus of Western Bengal would forget them and that the Hindus of East Bengal would be weakened. Gandhiji said that he could never understand such fears. All were Indians first and last, wherever they lived and to whatever creed or class or province they belonged. Religion was entirely a personal matter. Each one could approach his Creator as he liked. But the poison of separatism had gone deep into the soil. When he was in Noakhali he was just as much at home there as elsewhere. And were the Muslims of East Bengal and the Hindus of Bihar, for example, always going to behave as mad men? He was never going to subscribe to such a fear. He wanted to reiterate that while he did not like division, it was at the moment a *fact accompli* and they had to face up to it. But it was always possible by correct conduct to lessen an evil and eventually even to bring good out of evil. In spite of the division, the people of Eastern and Western Bengal

(Continued on p. 254)

# HARIJAN

July 27

## IN DEFENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The correspondent from whose letter I had quoted the other day writes:

"I entirely agree with the opinion you have expressed on the views set forth in a letter I wrote eleven years ago. Nevertheless, I lacked the courage to set up to them. I often say to myself, 'Why enter the black hole at all?' In spite of your presenting society with the ideal man of your imagination for its own good, it seems to me that that good would be better served by keeping intact the restraints handed down by men of experience. It is true that sex-consciousness should be removed. It is also true that the feeling of ownership of women should likewise go. But in propagating these fundamental rules persons have been known to have damaged our society to a great extent. It seems to me to be dangerous. X objects even to sitting on the same mat with women. He may be an example of faith in our old wisdom. Nevertheless, the idea is not to be lightly set aside. The sage advice of the *Gita* that whatever the great in a society do, common people will follow, is unforgettable. Therefore it seems to me that it is wisdom for those who have reached a higher state to act in accordance with the capacity of those many who belong to a lower state and thus they will do in order to avoid the risk of the lower state people resorting to thoughtless imitation. I admit, however, one apt argument in defence of your position, viz., that if there was nobody to demonstrate the feasibility of the higher state, society would never develop faith in that state. Therefore, someone has got to demonstrate the feasibility of reaching the high state. I seem to reach the conclusion that every great person has got to model his behaviour after due appreciation of the *pro and cons*."

I like the above criticism. Everyone should learn how to measure his own weakness. He who, knowing his own weakness, imitates the strong, is bound to fail. Hence have I contended that everyone should construct his own restraints.

I do not think that X goes so far as to object to squatting on the same mat as women. I should be surprised if your statement proved true. I could not appreciate such prohibition. I have never known him to defend it.

I can only detect ignorance in likening woman to the black hole. The very thought is insulting to both man and woman. May not her son sit side by side with his mother or the man share the same bench in a train with his sister? He who suffers excitement through such juxtaposition is surely worthy of pity.

Although I believe that for the sake of social good one should abandon many things, I feel that there is room for wise discretion even in the observance of such restraints. In Europe there is a society

of men which advocates stark nakedness. I was asked to join that society and I refused to do so. My objection was that the proposition was intolerable and that unless a measure of self-control had become an established fact, the exhibition of nakedness was not desirable. This I said although I believe that theoretically speaking there is nothing harmful in both the sexes going about in utter nakedness. It is said that in their state of innocence Adam and Eve had not even a fig leaf to cover their nakedness. But immediately they became aware of their nakedness, they began to cover themselves and were hurled from Paradise. Are we not in that inherited fallen state? If we were to forget that, we would surely harm ourselves. I consider this an instance of observing prohibition for the sake of social good.

Contrarywise, for the very sake of society it was just and proper to give up untouchability although it was fashionable among people of accepted merit. Marriage of nine-year-old girls used to be defended on the ground of social good. So was prohibition against crossing the seas. Such instances can be multiplied. Every custom has to be examined on its own merits.

Restraints must not be such as to perpetuate sex-consciousness. In most of our daily transactions such consciousness is absent. Such occasion, so far as I am aware, is only one. If the consciousness afflicted us the whole day long, we should be considered to have a corrupt mind and such a mind is not conducive to social welfare. If the villagers were continuously sex-conscious, they would be useless for advancement of self and society.

New Delhi, 20-7-'47

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

## Universal Military Training

A friend put forth a suggestion that compulsory military training for the youth of India would go far to inculcate the virtues of discipline and unity. Gandhiji agreed that discipline and unity were absolutely necessary if India was to stand on its own legs. The distinctions of high and low must disappear. But was it so in the ranks of the military? He did not know that military training was responsible for social virtue.

The friend cited the example of the I. N. A. Had not they solved the communal problem satisfactorily whilst they were fighting under Netaji? They were all Indians first and last. "Whatever they did then was under stress," said Gandhiji. "But have they been able to live up to that ideal after their return to India? In the British military system the Gurkhas, the Pathans, the Rajputs, the Sikhs, and the others had been kept aloof from each other. If all that the militarists claimed were true, there would not have been the ugly wars that we have witnessed. The less said about military training the better." Discipline was common to both. The victories of peace were any day superior to those of war.

New Delhi, 18-7-'47

S. N.



## THE ROOT CAUSE OF PARTITION

Many people come to Gandhiji and express their dissatisfaction over the partition of India. They know that Gandhiji has always been opposed to it. Why does he not give tangible form to his opposition? they ask. It is wrong for him to say that he is a spent bullet or that the country is not behind him. "Give us the lead and you will see for yourself whether the country is behind you or not." Gandhiji is sometimes amused by such talk. Against whom is he to give the lead? It was not the British who had partitioned the country. It had been done with the consent of the Congress howsoever reluctantly. There was only one way to avoid the calamity and that was by the non-violence of the brave. But how could the people develop it overnight? Talking to some friends on this subject he said that the leaders had agreed to the partition as the last resort. They did not feel that they had made a mistake. Rather than let the whole country go to the dogs, they agreed to the partition, hoping to give the country a much-needed rest. He felt differently. He had said that he would rather let the whole country be reduced to ashes than yield an inch to violence. But non-violence was his creed. It was not so with the Congress. The Congress had accepted non-violence as a policy. Badshah Khan was the only leader who believed in non-violence as a creed. Even he had not imbibed the doctrine through and through.

"I have admitted my mistake," he continued. "I thought our struggle was based on non-violence, whereas in reality it was no more than passive resistance which essentially is a weapon of the weak. It leads naturally to armed resistance whenever possible." In South Africa the English Chairman of his meeting, the late Mr. Hosken had said that he (Gandhiji) was fighting for the cause of the weak. Therefore he was resorting to passive resistance. Gandhiji had contradicted the statement. He had said that they were not weak in the sense the Chairman meant. The struggle in the Transvaal was not passive resistance. It was based on non-violence. The source of their strength was soul force, not physical force.

Intoxicated with his success in South Africa, he came to India. Here too the struggle bore fruit. But he now realized that it was not based on non-violence. If he had known so then, he would not have launched the struggle. But God wanted to take that work from him. So He blurred his vision. It was because their struggle was not non-violent that they today witnessed loot, arson and murder.

A friend interposed that Gandhiji had always maintained that our struggle was based on non-violence, though of the weak.

Gandhiji said that his was a mistaken statement. There was no such thing as non-violence of the weak. Non-violence and weakness was a contradiction in terms. He had never experienced the dark

despair that was today within him. He was a born fighter who did not know failure. But he was groping today.

"But why should you feel despondent?" persisted the friend. "I see clearly," replied Gandhiji, "that if the country cannot be turned to non-violence it will be bad for it and the world. It will mean goodbye to freedom. It might even mean a military dictatorship. I am day and night thinking how non-violence of the brave can be cultivated."

"I said at the Asiatic Conference that I hoped the fragrance of the non-violence of India would permeate the whole world. I often wonder if that hope will materialize."

New Delhi, 18-7-'47

S. N.

## NOTES

### Nationalist Muslims

The plight of the Nationalist Muslims is sad. They have believed in the unity of India. They considered themselves Indians first and last though they were no less proud of Islam. There was no conflict between the two states—nationalism and religion. Nevertheless they have come under the shadow of suspicion. Only those who are true will come out scatheless.

### A Plea for Tolerance

A mad man disturbed the prayer meeting last week. He was gently led away from the prayer ground. Quoting an Italian doctor Lambroso, Gandhiji said that he (the doctor) was right when he said that the whole world was a mad house in which some were less or more mad than others. He (Gandhiji) appealed to all to be tolerant of each other's shortcomings. If they befriended the weak-minded they would find that love would soothe them and make the insane much less insane. Anger and rough handling only exaggerated the failing.

New Delhi, 18-7-'47

S. N.

### ASHRAM BHAJANAWALI

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## FROM GANDHIJI'S SPEECHES

(Continued from p. 251)

were going to be Bengalis and speak the same language. The Hindus of Western Bengal must live as friends with the Muslims there. If they did, the Muslims of Eastern Bengal would certainly reciprocate the friendship with their Hindu brothers. None must look upon the other as his enemy. Only such action could drive out fear. He added too that Western Bengal was better able to help the Hindus in East Bengal because the government of West Bengal was in their hands.

He had been asked whether the B. P. C. C. should now be split up into two. His answer was a firm negative. The Congress Committee there must never look upon Bengal as divided. The B. P. C. C. would act as before though there would be sub-committees in the two halves working under the parent body. The Congress was national. Its doors were open to every Indian who chose to enter its portals.

He was also asked why Profulla Babu and Suresh Babu who were of Eastern Bengal were serving as ministers in Western Bengal, thus deserting their brothers of East Bengal. He saw no reason whatsoever why they should not serve in the West. It did not mean that they were deserting their homes. In fact they would serve as links and strengthen the bonds between the two Provinces.

Gandhiji asked them not to see evil everywhere. All Muslims were not bad just as all Hindus were not bad. It is generally the impure who see impurity in others. It was their duty to see the best and have no fear.

New Delhi, 16-7-47

Gandhiji commenced his prayer discourse by a reference to the *bhajan* of the evening. He first came across it as a schoolboy. Whilst the opening line rang true, namely, that there was nothing in the body or the world's goods to gloat over, for the body would be reduced to ashes and worm-eaten, the last line did not appeal to him. Why had Kabir, the author of the song said that the world perished with one's body? They knew that the world would survive the destruction of millions of bodies. The truth was that men should leave the world the richer for their having lived in it. Was it not richer for Kabir having lived in it? The world lived because men died. The world would die of suffocation, if men could refuse to die.

## DRAVIDISTAN?

Gandhiji then referred to the movement for Dravidistan—Southern India comprising the population speaking the four Dravidian languages—Telugu, Tamil, Maavalam and Kanarese. Why should this portion of India speaking the four languages be separated from the rest? Had not these languages, rich as they were, drawn largely upon Sanskrit for their richness? He had travelled through the four provinces and he found no difference between them and the rest of the provinces. It was a myth to consider that those living in the south of the

Vindhya Range were non-Aryans and in the north Aryans. Whatever they might have been at one time, they were so intermixed that they were one people from Kashmir to Cape Comorin, notwithstanding that India was cut into two. It would be folly to make further divisions. If they did not stop at that division, there would be no end to independent sovereign States which would be useless for India and the world. Let it not be said of them that they were fit for one political system only under bondage and as free men, savage-like they would split up into as many groups as they liked, each group going its own way. Or would they be held in bondage by one despotic State possessing an army large enough to bring them under subjection? He adjured them and especially the people of the South to give up the thralldom of the English language which was good as a language of international commerce and diplomacy. It could never become the language of the millions of India. The century or more of British rule had failed to make English spoken by more than a few millions in this ocean of Indian humanity. If they looked at the census they would discover that more millions spoke Hindustani, a mixture of Hindi and Urdu, written in the Nagari or Urdu scripts. Sanskritized Hindi or Persianized Urdu was confined to far fewer. He was asked whether they could learn it in their own provincial script. He had no objection. As a matter of fact the Hindustani Prachar Sabha allowed the boys of the South to learn Hindustani in their provincial script. They later on learnt the two scripts, so that they could become easily acquainted with the literature in the North. Patriotism demanded that much from them. There was a grave danger of their becoming pettily provincial-minded. If it became petty, where would be the India of their love? He freely admitted that if it was, as it was, wrong for the Southerners not to learn Hindustani, it was equally wrong for the Northerners not to learn one or more of the Southern languages which had very rich literature. He appealed to members from the South to resolve never to ask for English speech in an Indian audience. They would then soon pick up Hindustani. Let them remember that India free could cohere as one, only if it accepted moral government. Congress as a fighting machine against bondage was held together by its moral force. Should it be different when it had almost attained political freedom?

New Delhi, 17-7-47

## INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Referring to the newspaper report that the latest campaign against Indians in South Africa had taken the form of boycott of the Indian traders by the European community, accompanied by threats of violence, Gandhiji said that he was deeply interested in the problem of Indians in South Africa, having spent 20 years of his life in that country. He would be pained and surprised if the Boers with whom Indians did not compete, were in any way associated with violence to the Indians. He recalled with pride how when he was marching through the Transvaal with probably two thousand humble

Indians, the Boers were uniformly kind to them who were completely non-violent. He suspected that there were mischief-makers at the back of this proposed violence. He hoped that the news was highly exaggerated. Field-Marshal Smuts and the South African Whites knew that now India was as independent as they and they were for the time being members of the same Commonwealth as they. Were their partners to be singled out for invidious treatment? Was Mrs. Pandit to be balked of the victory her deputation to the U. N. O. had attained? If Field-Marshal Smuts could not control the unruly element in the community it was his duty to resign. He called upon Pandit Nehru and Jinnah Saheb to send a joint telegram to General Smuts that now that India had come into her own, it was the duty of the Union Government to accord equal rights and protection to the Indians in South Africa.

The speeches in the House of Commons reported in the papers said Dominion Status meant Independence plus something more. The proof of the pudding lay in the eating. Did Dominion Status really mean that all those who became members of the Commonwealth would become equals? The spoken word to be true had to be supported by corresponding action throughout the Commonwealth.

Lord Mountbatten was still the Viceroy. He was a great admiral and belonged to the Royal House. He should use his great personal influence to secure justice for the Indians of South Africa. He also warned the Indian compatriots to cohere together. Let there be no divisions among them. The rich should not neglect the poor.

#### TEMPLE ENTRY AND UNTOUCHABILITY

Referring next to the question of untouchability Gandhiji said that South India except Cochin had made big strides in that matter. He complimented Sir C. P. for the good work he had done in advising the Maharaja to throw open to the Harijans all the temples in Travancore. Now Andhra, British Kerala and Tamil Nad had followed suit. This was a cheering news. But what about Kasli Vishwanath, the temple in Haradwar and other temples throughout India? He knew that many Harijans wanted economic betterment and educational facilities. This they were entitled to. But for their own sakes the Hindus could not be satisfied unless temple entry was complete. In his opinion Hindu temples were not pure till every Hindu without any distinction whatsoever was freely entitled to offer worship precisely in the same way as the tallest among them. Pure Hinduism had no inequality. All were equal in the eye of God. All the religions in the world were on their trial today. He wanted Hinduism to come out of the test with full marks.

New Delhi, 18-7-'47

#### OUR HELP IN DIFFICULTY

Drawing attention to the *bhajan* of the evening Gandhiji said that he did not know whether it was

Mira's *bhajan* or not. The tune was different from Mirabai's ordinary tune. The sentiment was undoubtedly hers. It said that God alone could extricate man from difficulties. Today India was passing through great difficulty. Were they to look to man or God to deliver their country? If they believed in the *bhajan* they were to look to God and none else and they would be perfectly safe. Independence of India Bill would be proclaimed the day after. (19th July). According to it the Governors-General would be appointed by them, the people of India and not imposed on India as hitherto. Therefore, Lord Mountbatten would be the Governor-General of India by their appointment precisely as a *chaprasi* could be. This was not said in disparagement. It was a compliment paid to Lord Mountbatten that he had elected to be the Indian Union's servant deriving his appointment from them. It was necessary to say this in order to dispel the suspicion that still lingered in many minds.

#### TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAWN

Gandhiji next referred to an open letter written by the editor of the *Dawn* to him in the day's issue. It was the Qaid-e-Azam's mouthpiece. The editor had taken Gandhiji to task for saying that Jinnah Saheb's assurances about the protection of the minorities in Pakistan would be valued according to the corresponding deeds of the Muslims in Pakistan. He adhered to his statement and held that it carried no reflection. He had said the same of the Viceroy and the Congress ministers. The fear that had seized the Hindus of Sind was an ominous beginning. The editor had further talked about the sufferings and fears of the Muslim minority in the U. P. and had given a number of instances in support. He (Gandhiji) would reply that even if the allegations were proved true, there would be no justification for similar treatment in Sind as Sind's misdeeds would be none in the U. P. He must confess that he had known nothing about many allegations against the U. P. The editor perhaps did not know that he had alluded publicly to the allegations about which he knew nothing. As soon as he read the remarks referred to, he wrote to Rafi Saheb and as he was not in Delhi he wrote to the Chief Minister who wrote in reply and later saw him and told him that there was great exaggeration in what the editor had written. What was true in it was attempted to be remedied at once. The guilty parties were punished whenever traced. No pains were spared in order to trace the offenders. But he added that the aggression in the first instance had come from the Leaguers. He did not seek to justify the Hindu offenders. He and his fellow ministers were doing their best to keep the turbulent element under check. He had a suggestion to make to the *Dawn* and all the newspapers, whatever their hue, that they should avoid all exaggeration. In order to give effect to the suggestion they should appoint a Joint Board to which all reports about communal trouble would be submitted and even passed on to responsible ministers and when

necessary, given publicity. His suggestion could find favour only if the editors realized their duty to the public and were anxious that a peremptory stop should be put to all communalism. Division having become a settled fact it was surely time that the country was allowed to settle down to the constructive work of feeding and clothing the ill-fed and ill-clad millions. The editors had a weighty part to play in the noble task. To foment trouble was ignoble.

New Delhi, 19-7-'47

### GOVERNMENT JOBS

Gandhiji began his after-prayer discourse by telling the gathering that there was nothing of special import that he could pass on to them in connection with the day's Working Committee meeting. One thing, however, he thought he should share with them. The members of the Working Committee were deploring the mad desire for holding office that had today seized the Congress ranks. It was a sad commentary on the members of an organization that had identified itself with the masses. How many jobs could any government provide in any case? Government service was only for those who would serve as a matter of duty as was the case with top-ranking leaders. It was no use reminding him that such was not the case under British rule. They must not do as free men what they were not ashamed to do as slaves. Any hankering after government jobs by Congressmen simply because Congress was now in power was inconsistent with Congress ideals.

### COW PROTECTION

The second thing Gandhiji alluded to was the number of wires which he was receiving, advising prohibition of cow slaughter. While he had always been a worshipper of the cow, he saw no reason why he should ask their Government to stop the slaughter of cows because it was contrary to Hindu religion. The tragedy was that the senders of the wires, and the Hindus as a whole, did not realize that while they did not actually slaughter cows themselves, they did equally badly by them. In the end God was the Protector of the cow as He was of all. But the Hindus starved cows and cattle in general, they did not look after them as they should, they sold cows that were out of milk and never thought that they were sending them to the slaughter house. They sold them to the best bidder. They were cruel to bullocks and tortured them with goads. It ill befitted them to expect the law to observe their religion for them. Cattle wealth was largely in the hands of the Hindus but in no country was the breed so poor and so neglected. He remembered the magnificent specimens of cattle in England where, while they certainly did eat beef, they bestowed the greatest care on their cattle wealth. Gandhiji implored them

to turn their attention to the preservation of cows and cattle wealth. They could save them without recourse to law.

### THE NATIONAL FLAG

He then spoke of a letter he had received from a person who had written angrily about the rumour that from 15th August the Union Jack would occupy a corner of the National Flag. If this happened, the writer said, he would tear the flag into pieces and die rather than tolerate it. This, the speaker said, was a thoughtless outlook. The Union Jack in itself had committed no crime. The hurt caused to India during long years of subjection had been caused by British officers. But they were now going. Lord Mountbatten was staying on but not as Viceroy. He would henceforth be their first servant, carry out the will of the Cabinet who were the people's representatives. Gandhiji saw no harm whatsoever in the Union Jack occupying a corner in their flag so long as India remained a Dominion. It would be an act of courtesy towards their erstwhile enemy. It was a gesture worthy of the tradition they had patiently built up. The Indian Independence measure had become law with amazing speed. It sometimes took a year to get an important Bill through the British Parliament but this had been passed inside of a week. Whether the British were giving up their hold on India with good intent or otherwise time alone would show. In the meantime they must realize that the retention of the Union Jack for such period as India was a Dominion was in his opinion a point of honour. Even if in the past they had looked on the British as enemies—he himself never looked upon anyone as an enemy—that was no reason for visiting the sins of the fathers on the children. He had been a born fighter and a rebel all his life and he would be the last person in the world to submit to any indignity. As a matter of fact, however, he had heard with sorrow at the Working Committee that the Union Jack was not going to occupy a place on the flag. He asked them not to rejoice over the omission. The British Government having recognized their independence, it was open to them to do as they liked. He was solicitous about their traditions.

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor PYARELAL

VOL. XI No. 27

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, AUGUST 3, 1947

TWO ANNAS

## HINDI V. HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shrimati Perinbehn Captain writes

'It was with shame, disgust and sorrow that I heard on the Delhi radio that our own group of men wished to dethrone our national language for which we have been struggling all these years. The deepest cut is that Congressmen of standing should be so blinded by prevailing passions as to break the very thing which all Congressmen have cherished and worked for. One would have thought that at least some statesmanship might have remained amongst our so-called bigger leaders. Please write to me fully what you would like—(1) Our Hindustani Committee to do, (2) our honest and self-sacrificing Hindustani *pracharaks* to do, and (3) last but not least, those of our countrymen Hindus, Muslims, Parsees, Christians and Jews, who have accepted and love Hindustani as understood by the Congress resolution, to do.

"I know you must be busy, but still please do give some time to this question, as I think that this is one of the strong links, which may in happier times bring back the oneness of our beloved country as we have envisaged it and for which we have worked all our life. Yesterday about 25 young men from one of our classes came to me and asked why some narrow-minded men should coerce them into a narrow groove when they loved Hindustani and the beauty of both forms of literature and its national value. Please try and prevent our friends from losing their vision through hatred and thereby losing all hopes of living in true friendship and love the whole country from Kashmir to Kanva-kumari and Assam to Sind.

This represents the common grief of many nationalists like her, labelled Congressmen or not. Since this letter was written the threat has been postponed for two months or until such time as the Constituent Assembly meets again. It is a wise postponement which gives time for passions to cool down in order to allow clear thinking.

Let the Hindus, by their conduct, direct or indirect, disprove the Muslim League statement that we, the Hindus and the Muslims of India, are not one nation but two and that too because of our respective religions. Congressmen have declared from the very inception of the Congress that India is one nation composed of men belonging to all religions and sects known in the world and it has proved the claim often enough at crucial moments

in spite of many lapses which it would be easy to fling in its face.

Dadabhai Naoroji, whose grand-daughter has written the above letter with so much feeling, has become and still remains the only Grand Old Man of India.

Pherozeshah Mehta became the uncrowned king of the Bombay Presidency and after Dadabhai Naoroji's death ruled the Congress by right of service unselfishly rendered.

Who was Badruddin Tyebjee—at one time President of the Congress? Was he not a Musalman every inch of him? Was he any the less an Indian? India has many religions but only one nationality and this, I dare to say, in spite of its two divisions. They may persist for a long time, but we must not be enemies one of the other for a single minute. It takes two to make a quarrel, but friendship does not require reciprocity. That which requires reciprocity is a bargain. This friendship, otherwise called love or non-violence, belongs not to the cowardly but to the brave and the seeing.

I entirely endorse Perinbehn's remark that not Hindi, highly Sanskritized written in the *Nagari* character nor Urdu, highly Persianized written in the *Urdu* character can ever be the link between two or more communities in India. It can only be Hindustani which is a fusion of the two forms robbed of their artificial character and written either in the *Nagari* or the *Urdu* character. This natural fusion has been going on for many years and like all natural processes, it has been slow but none the less sure. It does not matter to me whether my Muslim brother reciprocates or not, by trying to understand my form of speech or writing; but surely I am richer by endeavouring to understand his form of speech and writing. Speaking to many Muslim divines I have not found it difficult to explain my meaning through Hindustani though I have never attempted to pretend to speak their highflown Persianized Urdu. They have as a rule been the losers and invariably the gainer. What is true of me is true, I am sure, of many more.

Now about her main questions.

Every member of the Hindustani Committee is to live up to his creed, that is to say, he or she should himself or herself master both the scripts and be familiar with a mixture of the two forms, Hindi and Urdu. This will happen when both are diligently studied in their simple forms. And when this first requisite is fulfilled, he or she must try to induce others to acquire the knowledge.

Secondly, if the Hindustani *pracharaks* are honest and self-sacrificing they are bound to infect their surroundings with the spirit that actuates them.

Thirdly, those who have accepted Hindustani as the national language of the whole of India and love it, have to prove their acceptance by speaking and writing only in Hindustani, when it is meant for those who do not know the mother-tongue. Thus a Tamilian will speak only in Tamil to a fellow Tamilian, but with a non-Tamilian he will make use of Hindustani and not English as is now the wont.

New Delhi, 25-7-'47

### GANDHIJI'S SPEECHES

New, Delhi, 20-7-'47

#### DON'T CRY OVER SPILT MILK

Gandhiji said that some friends were insistently telling him that his post-prayer discourses were having a depressant effect on the people in general. After all the freedom for which he had fought all his life was at their door. He knew that there could be no economic freedom or moral betterment without political freedom. Therefore, why did he not rejoice? Gandhiji said that there was some force in this argument. But as a *satyagrahi* wedded to Truth, he could never say what did not come from the depths of his heart. The partition of India was there and he could not but be unhappy about it. If, however, what he said depressed them the fault was not his. He had told them that it was no use crying over spilt milk. He had been a rebel and a fighter all his life and had found great happiness therein. But he had never been defeated in spirit. He could not weep nor could he make others do so. He had gone to Noakhali to wipe their tears and tell them not to mourn over the loss of life and property. A *satyagrahi* knew no defeat. Even if their leaders had made a mistake, there was no consciousness about it. They believed that what they had done was for the good of the country. If they were happy, the audience too felt likewise. It was no part of his duty to seek to deprive them of their happiness. If the Congress decided on celebrations on August 15th, those who felt like joining must join in them. Congress, as a democratic organization, was never going to force anyone to do anything against his or her wishes. It was true that the British were going. Those few who remained would remain as their servants to do their bidding. Gandhiji brought home to the audience the difference between gaining a victory as Congress had done through passive resistance and that gained by armed force. Now power was going to be in their hands. But the real day of rejoicing would be when the Hindus and the Muslims would live as brothers, even though in the two dominions. He was distressed to hear that the Punjab Muslim League were holding out threats of violence if the decision of the Boundary Commission went against their wishes. Some Sikhs had said likewise. Gandhiji deplored this attitude. It was inconsistent with the honour of the parties who had

agreed to arbitration. Having agreed they must conform to the decision.

#### THE TRAGEDY OF BURMA

He then referred to the terrible tragedy of Burma. It was incredible that the very people who had fought for Burma's freedom and had brought her to its threshold should have been murdered thus in cold blood by assassins. He knew Burma and her people fairly well. They had taken Buddhism from this country. They had been made part of us by the British, but they had now elected to remain separate. Nevertheless, they were our neighbours with close cultural ties. It was sad that the followers of Lord Buddha should resort to such mad violence. He hoped that India would learn a lesson from the sad happening which was a tragedy not only for Burma but for Asia and the whole world. He was afraid that it was not ordinary murder, but there was political ambition behind the act. Such doings had become part and parcel of political strife the world over and it did not augur well for the future of humanity. He referred to the barbarities in India and pointed a warning finger and hoped that they would desist from following the path of mutual destruction. He sympathized with the relations of the murdered leaders and with the Government of Burma and asked the audience to pray with him that God would change the hearts of those who had committed those murders for the attainment of their ends. What was needed was not the dagger and the pistol but the play of reason for change of heart that would rid men's minds of the lust for blood.

#### WELCOME CHANGE

Lastly, Gandhiji said with pleasure that two of his suggestions had commended themselves to the editor of the *Dawn*. The latter had assured him through the columns of his paper that all minorities would be well-treated and perfectly safe in Pakistan and that they too wanted all to live together as brothers.

His second suggestion regarding the getting of news published had also been accepted. The editor had appealed to Gandhiji as a journalist to take up the task of initiating a committee. The speaker said that he had not the time and his movements were uncertain. But there was no reason whatsoever why other journalists should not be approached to the end proposed.

He longed for the day when minorities everywhere could say that they were equally safe and happy whether in Pakistan or in the Indian Union. Then only, in his opinion, would there be real freedom and cause for rejoicing.

New Delhi, 21-7-'47

#### CELEBRATIONS ON AUGUST 15TH

A non-Muslim friend living in the Pakistan area writes.

"You people are talking loud about the celebration of 16th August next as the Independence Day. Have you thought how we, the non-Muslims of Pakistan, are to celebrate the day and with what joy in our hearts? We here shall be afraid about

our own safety when you might be rejoicing. Can you direct us as to what we might do? Can it be a day of anything but mourning? Our Muslim neighbours have begun to put fright into our hearts from now! What will the Muslims of the Indian Union be thinking? Are they not likely to share the same fright? We are frightened to such an extent that we feel we are in danger of compulsory conversion to Islam. It is all very well for you to preach courage and to prattle that everyone's religion is in his own keeping. It may be true of *sanyasis*, not of poor house-holders having children."

All I can answer is that Jinnah Sahab has now become the Governor-General of Pakistan. As such he says that the non-Muslims in Pakistan will be treated precisely in the same manner as their Muslim brethren. My advice is that we should trust the word and believe that no harm will come to the non-Muslims in that part of India as none will befall the Muslims in the Indian Union. Now we have two States in India. Therefore, I think that each will have to be responsible to the other for the due protection of the minorities.

This much I certainly believe that the coming 15th August should be no day for rejoicing whilst the minorities contemplate the day with a heavy heart. It must be a day for prayer and deep heart-searching. There is one condition on which it might become a day of universal rejoicing in spite of the two divisions. Let both try from now onwards to become true friends so that they are ready on the 15th August to give themselves to rejoicing. This, however, is an opinion confined to me alone.

#### SHELTER FOR REFUGEES

The same friend asks whether those who, being mortally afraid, leave Pakistan, will get shelter in the Union.

My opinion is emphatic on the point. Such refugees should get proper shelter in the Union and vice versa. Of course, the rich ones may not expect palatial buildings in the Union. I have not seen that done anywhere. I further believe that the refugees should work against food being given to them. No work, no payment. I hug the hope that no non-Muslim will have to leave Pakistan and no Muslim the Union.

The friend again asks: "What will happen about land and buildings, if any, left in Pakistan?"

I have said repeatedly that the State should pay the present market price of the land and buildings. So far as I know it is customary for the rival State to ensure such payment. But let us hope that matters will never have to go so far.

#### PUNISHMENT FOR EVIL-DOERS

Lastly, the same writer says: "You regard yourself as a practical idealist. What is happening today is inhuman. Will you tell me how your practical *ahimsa* can work against these evil-doers?"

I must plead guilty to having called myself a practical idealist. I have tried ever to practise as I have preached, be it ever so imperfectly. Who are the evil-doers of your conception? Are they as described by the Sage Manu? All these are not

today done to death. Today there is a movement on foot in the world for the abolition of capital punishment. Indeed, an attempt, worthy in my opinion, is being made to convert prisons into hospitals and reformatories for the treatment of criminals as if they were diseased persons. The upshot of all I want to convey is that every work labelled as scripture is not necessarily so. Moreover a scripture to be scientific lends itself to emendations as the times may really require. They must progress with the times if they are to live in the lives of the people. The changeless and universal fundamentals are always very few. They do not require learned treatises to be described. The treatises are built upon these immovable rocks.

Further, it is not everyone who is entitled to punish evil-doers. In a decent society it is always reserved for the State. It enacts laws and appoints judges to judge in accordance with them. If such were not the case, we would all bid fair to become evil-doers. The assassinations in Burma were truly fearful. Now we know for certain that the motive behind them was political. I am quite sure that the assassins believed that they were doing a virtuous act in murdering those patriots whom they regarded as evil-doers. Did not our terrorists think likewise? They told me that they sincerely believed that those whom they did to death were evil-doers of Manu's description. These friends never thought until they had seen new light, that they had done anything wrong in shooting their victims. Hence have I argued that those who take the law into their own hands and presume to judge others are themselves the guilty ones. Departure from *ahimsa* is possible, if at all, when justice is awarded by properly constituted impartial tribunals. What is happening today comes under the definition of evil.

New Delhi, 22-7-'47

#### THE VICEROY'S HOUSE

In his post-prayer speech Gandhiji referred to a letter that he had received that day. The writer had taken Gandhiji to task for lavishing unwarranted praise on the Viceroy. He reminded Gandhiji of his speech at the Second Round Table Conference in which he had declared that in a free India the Viceroy's House would lodge Harijan and other poor patients. Gandhiji said that he never lavished unwarranted praise on anybody. In fact the charge against him was that he was unnecessarily hard on his friends. The Viceroy Lord Mountbatten was asked to stay on as the Governor-General so that he might see to the proper delivery of his charge. He was trying his best to wash off the sins of the past.

So far as Gandhiji was concerned, he would gladly invite the Viceroy to come and stay in the Bhangi Colony. But that was hardly practicable in view of the work he had to do. Whether the Viceroy's House would be converted into a hospital or not was a question which he could not answer. The members of the Union Government could answer it. It was not an easy matter to shift high personages without extra cost.

(Continued on p. 262)



# HARIJAN

August 3

1947

## THE NATIONAL FLAG

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The National Flag by the very name was accepted by the nation functioning through the Congress in 1921. Those, therefore, who say that the flag that was at one time the Congress Flag has now become the National Flag of India are wrong. By making an unnecessary fuss over what they only now call the National Flag, albeit unknowingly, they insult the Congress. The Congress has been national from its very birth in 1885. It has never represented a party, but by it have been represented all parties and all Indians. Of course, it is open to this great national organization any day to commit suicide by becoming a party machine. The calamity may overtake it if God's wrath descends upon it. Nevertheless, many will be praying that such a misfortune may never befall it. Is it possible that Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's taunt, that the Congress is national only in name but essentially Hindu in action, will ever prove true?

Here, however, let us confine ourselves to the Flag. What has happened is that, having been party to the two divisions of India, the Congress has nevertheless delivered it from the British domination and has taken over the largest part from them. Therefore, a *swaraj* Government will henceforth function under a flag under which the Congress has fought without violence many a battle against the British power. I see nothing to gloat over in this display of the flag. The joy and the excitement that accompany the stages in the ascent of the Himalayas, giving one a variegated and picturesque view, are not to be enjoyed on reaching the top. That no one has yet succeeded in making that goal merely illustrates the truth that the goal is ever in sight but never reached and the joy consists in the attempt.

On the 13th day of April, 1921 I wrote an article for *Young India* which I re-read today before writing this article. I advise every reader to glance through that article. It is reproduced in this issue. The improved condition of the Flag has value only if it answers the significance attached to the original. If it does not, it is valueless in my estimation. There is reason for this caution.

Some say that the original has vanished for ever. A new generation has begun and with it have come new and befitting conceptions. I have not yet known a worthy son for whom age has disfigured his mother. It is conceivably possible to gild pure gold, but the son is yet to be born who would embellish his parent. Hence, in my opinion nothing would have been lost if our councillors

had never thought of interfering with the design of the original flag. In defence of the improvement some say that "the spinning wheel was an old woman's solace and Gandhi's toy; but *swaraj* does not belong to old women. It belongs to the warriors and, therefore, we want Ashoka's disc mounted with lions and if the lions do not adorn the disc of the flag, the omission is merely for the sake of art; they cannot be accommodated on it, but we will not be satisfied until they have found a place on the disc somewhere. We have had enough of cowardliness. Nobody has yet had the experience of the non-violence of the brave. We shall talk about it when we see it. This we know that only the lion is the undisputed king of forest life. Sheep and goats are his food. We are tired of wearing *khadi* in this age of advance. We have beautiful cloth made of glass. Our forefathers used cloth as a protection against wind and rain. Now we use cloth as ornamentation; therefore, it should be so transparent as to show to advantage every limb of the body. Then the improved flag has no need of *khadi*. We do not want to disfigure with *khadi* the shop windows of our towns. Surely, it should be counted as creditable for us when we do not regard it criminal for the villagers to wear *khadi* and for old women to ply the wheel in their humble cottages."

I would refuse to salute the flag that bears the foregoing interpretation, however artistic it may appear.

Another group of interpreters says: The new flag is merely an improvement upon the original. The spinning wheel has its undoubted honoured place on it. The wheel on the improved pattern, bereft of the spindle and the *mal*, may not be counted as a defect, if it is purely due to the exigencies of art. After all every picture has to leave something for the imagination. The spinning wheel in a picture has no slivers with the spinnets at work on it. These are left for the imagination to fill in. This rule applies as well to the improved edition of the original. Thus conceived, the improvement must appear purely innocent to an unbiased mind. This tricolour flag with the wheel will certainly consist of hand-spun and hand-woven *khadi*. Our country has called it *khadi* whether it is woven from hand-spun cotton or silk. When the original conception is kept intact no one has the right to cavil at a touch of art. We must not be deliberately inartistic. When the country was at war with a foreign power the fact of being so engaged was in itself a work of art. Now that it has ended in success, there must be place for art though, perhaps, of a lower type, yet quite useful in order to perpetuate the memory of the valour, such as is open to a weak nation. If any further but not inconsistent interpretations are added to this indispensable interpretation, the additions will certainly be harmless. It is undoubtedly open to a rich mind to see in the same colours a subtle meaning. Unity of design lies in the diversity of colours in the whole universe. Some will recall through the wheel the name of that Prince of Peace, Ashoka, the founder of an

empire, who ultimately gave up the pomp and circumstance of power to become the undisputed Emperor of the hearts of men and became the representative of all the then known faiths. We would call it a legitimate interpretation of the wheel to seek in it the Wheel of Law ascribed to that living store of mercy and love

The spinning wheel thus interpreted adds to its importance in the life of billions of mankind. To liken it to and to derive it from the Ashoka disc is to recognize in the insignificant-looking *charkha* the necessity of obeying the ever-moving Wheel of the Divine Law of Love

New Delhi, 27-7-'47

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

## SCHEDULED CASTES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes

"If the Scheduled Castes of a area are included in Pakistan, they would probably have no alternative other than embracing Islam."

The correspondent is well-educated and is an M. L. A. The question immediately arises as to what will happen to the Scheduled Caste members in the Pakistan areas where they are not living in contiguous areas. Will they all have to embrace Islam? I can only say that their religion must be very poor stuff, if it admits of change like one's clothes. Religion (binding faith) is made of sterner stuff; it is a deep personal matter, more personal than honour. To be true, it must be able to defy coercion of the extreme type

So much for those who are in fear of compulsory conversion. But what about those who inspire men and women with such fear? I have heard it seriously argued that people have often mistaken voluntary for compulsory conversion. I think the argument does not carry any conviction. People have been known in all ages to resort to conversion when they have known their friends, relations or neighbours to profess conversion under duress. When, therefore, there is suspicion all round conversion should be stopped altogether. Here I remind myself of the argument of the correspondent used only the other day that my "brave" words about personal religion would be alright if they were confined to *sanyasis* but not to house-holders who were exposed to a variety of temptations from life. Though I do not endorse this argument, for it weakens those on whose behalf it is led, I cannot help feeling that there is considerable force in it, especially when it is made applicable to members of the Scheduled Castes who have been ill-treated by their fellow Hindus and would, therefore, yield to compulsion in the hope of avoiding ill-treatment from their fellows who arrogate to themselves superiority, falsely so-called. Frequently this compulsion assumes subtle forms, as for instance, free grants of land or offer of service even beyond merit

New Delhi, 25-7-'47

## NOTES

### A Terrible Contrast

Prof. Kumarappa is at present in London. From his letter received from there I quote the following extracts

"The air travel, as I explained to you, is extremely dull as the sense of motion that we get on surface travel is practically absent. From our height you can see nothing but the bare red earth with some streaks indicating rivers. Trees etc. are not visible except as clumps of grass here and there.

"Last evening I strolled all over Marble Arch, Hyde Park, Kensington, Westminster, Whitehall, James Park, Piccadilly, Bond Street etc. clad in my *dhotijamma*. London is not even for that. Our old time London of plenty and pleasure seems to have undergone a radical change. There seems to be very effective rationing in which a great deal of credit should be given to the willing co-operation of the public in restraining themselves in the interests of all. This is in striking contrast to our lack of a public conscience. I used to think the efficiency of rationing here was a credit to the efficiency of the government machinery here. But I think now that it is largely due to public self-control that even black markets are not able to hold their own. Our culture, though based on self-discipline and self-control, has to extend its influence to public behaviour. This should be the foundation of our *Swaraj*.

Assuming the correctness of the information the writer gives, the contrast, between willing co-operation in London and the black marketing with all its implications here, is terrible.

New Delhi, 22-7-'47

M. K. G.

### Congressmen and Constructive Work

An English friend, who came to India years ago and has identified herself with Gandhi's constructive programme, writes to Gandhi:

"As to Congressman, this is a subject which pains me to the bottom of my heart. So painful have been my experiences that I have come to the stage when I prefer to lead a lonely life and render such service as I can. Everywhere I see a bid for power. There are honourable exceptions. But I remember your saying years ago that power corrupts and that the function of a non-violent organization should be to send people to power, not to seek it themselves. But the old ideals seem to have gone, just at the very moment when India could have risen as a guiding star to save the world from blind self-destruction."

A Congressman came to Gandhi the other day asking him how he would re-organize the Congress under the new set-up. Gandhi was emphatic that if the Congress was to live as a potent force, it must become a body of constructive workers. Constructive work, he knew, had never been over-popular. He thought that it was never more necessary than now. Without the backing of constructive work and penetrating the villages, their legislators would practically be idle and the voters

would be exposed to the machinations of the vote-catchers. The labour vote would presently be a drop in the ocean in the face of adult suffrage both for men and women. It was probably the boldest experiment known to the world on a vast scale. Unless it was well-planned and all attendant dangers anticipated and provided against, adult suffrage might well prove a deluge drowning the whole country. He (Gandhiji) knew nothing so effective for the purpose as a well thought out constructive programme.

New Delhi, 26-7-'47

S. N.

### GANDHIJI'S SPEECHES

(Continued from p. 259)

#### ARMY AND FREEDOM

Another friend had also asked if the division of the army and the retention of British Officers had Gandhiji's approval. The friend should first ask whether Gandhiji approved of the army at all. As it was, the military expenditure in free India would probably be more, not less, than before. Gandhiji could never be a party to it. He viewed the military with apprehension. Could it be that India would also have to pass through the stage of military rule? For years they had said that they did not want any army. He stood by that statement even today, but the others did not. A new generation had set in. Congressmen were not bound by what they had done during India's bondage. No blame could be imputed to them for the change. He had mistaken passive resistance for non-violence. There was violence in people's hearts. The British Government's imminent withdrawal had set free the bottled violence which was finding free vent against their own kith and kin. Almost every province wanted military assistance. If they did not wake up betimes, there was even danger of military dictatorship being established. Was that freedom?

#### NATIONAL FLAG

Four sisters who were members of the Constituent Assembly had come to him this afternoon to offer congratulations on the fact that the Congress flag had become the National Flag. He was told that Khaliqzaman Sahab and Sadulla Sahab had associated themselves with the ceremony. It was a good omen. Others had consoled with him that there was no *charkha* in the flag and that *khadi* was banished. Others again held that the *charkha* was represented by the wheel on the white surface. If the flag truly represented their feeling i. e., if the *charkha* and *khadi* were in their hearts, it was well. If not, the flag had no value for him.

#### GOONDAISM IN SYLHET

He had received a telegram from Sylhet that after the referendum terrorism had become rampant there. The Nationalist Muslims were being harassed. They had asked him to send someone to study the situation and bring him first-hand information. That was the job of the Congress President or the Government. He would say this to the people of Sylhet that his heart was with them. When he went to Noskhali, he would surely visit Sylhet if required.

He had received another letter too in which it was stated that some Muslims got down from the railway train and created mischief, which ultimately led to arson and loot. A whole Harijan village was practically destroyed. He hoped these reports had given an exaggerated account of the real situation. If there was any truth, the situation demanded serious attention. Pakistan and the Indian Union were both being weighed in the balance. Let them take care that they were not found wanting. They should pray to God to enable them to taste the sweet fruit of Independence. He was all powerful. He could change the hearts of men and bring real peace among them.

New Delhi, 23-7-'47

#### SEEING GOD FACE TO FACE

Before the prayers started, some one passed a note to Gandhiji. In it the writer had asked him whether he had seen God face to face. Answering the question after prayers, Gandhiji said that he had not seen God face to face. If he had, he would have no need to be speaking to them. His thought would be potent enough to render speech and action on his part unnecessary. But he had an undying faith in the existence of God. Millions all over the world shared that faith with him. The most learned could not shake the faith of the illiterate millions. The *bhajan* sung during the prayer described the way to see God face to face. The poet asked the aspirant to shed anger and desire and to be indifferent to praise or blame if he expected to reach the blessed state.

He compared *nirvana* to *Rama Rajya* or the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. The dream of *Rama Rajya* was far from realization. The withdrawal of the British power did not mean *Rama Rajya*. How could it happen when they had all along been nursing violence in their hearts under the garb of non-violence?

#### SALT

Another friend had written to him that he had undertaken the Dandi march and launched a mighty struggle for the removal of the salt tax. The tax had been removed, but the result was that the salt had probably become more costly and more difficult to get. It was a shame, said Gandhiji, that our business community and petty traders tried to make money out of a thing like salt. The Government had to be vigilant about the matter. They could organize the salt works at their disposal so that the people could get salt for the labour put into the production. The officer in charge of the salt department had to see to it that the full benefit of the abolition of the tax went to the public. He blamed also the people for their laziness. They could easily manufacture salt for their own requirements. The poor were free to do so from the time of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. There was no reason why they should be lazy.

It was difficult to find pure salt in the market. It was the easiest thing to purify salt. He had done it himself in jail. One had just to dissolve the salt in a little water and then evaporate the water. It

could be dried in the sun also, but that took a long time. The people themselves could organize manufacture and distribution of pure salt. If they would overcome the temptation of making a profit, they would be able to supply it to the public at a nominal price. But selfishness and corruption were rampant in the land. How could they hope for *Rama Rajya* under the circumstances? It was possible that the Government of the Union of India or of Pakistan might lose its head and reimpose the salt tax. It would be a sad and shameful thing if that happened.

New Delhi 24-7-'47

#### SMOKING

Gandhiji had noticed that some people were smoking in the prayer ground. Speaking after prayers he said that most of the Christians were given to smoking. Yet no one ever smoked inside a church. Similarly, the Muslims would throw down their cigarettes before entering the mosque. No one could drink inside a mosque. The prayer ground was a Church, Mosque, Temple, Synagogue and *Agrari* combined into one. Correct conduct required that there should be no smoking on the prayer ground and they should all sit quietly from the beginning to the end of the prayers.

#### NATIONAL FLAG

Speaking of the National Flag Gandhiji said that the A. I. S. A. had stocked national flags worth about two lacs of rupees. They wanted to know what was to happen to those flags in view of the new National Flag. Gandhiji said that the A. I. S. A. was an organization for the service of the poor. It could ill afford to lose property worth two lacs. The Congress or the Constituent Assembly could never do anything which could involve a poor man's organization in such needless loss. The new National Flag was in implication the same as the existing tricolour flag with the *charkha*. So far as he knew, for the sake of the exigencies of design, the wheel was kept without the *mal* and the spindle. He had made enquiries and was told that the new flag would fly on Government buildings and on our ships and embassies abroad. But the people could fly the old flag without any hesitation or hindrance. When the King died, it was said, "The King is dead, long live the King." The Kingship continued. The coins had the impression of the successor king. The old coins, however, bore the same value and were as current as the new ones. The same held true about the existing tricolour. Only the Charkha Sangha branches should now no more manufacture flags with the old design.

#### CONGRESS AFTER AUGUST 15TH

A friend had written and asked him if the Congress would continue to exist after the 15th August and if so what would be its function and objective. Gandhiji said that the objective of the Congress had so far been the attainment of India's

independence through legitimate and peaceful means, or in his language, through truth and non-violence. As he had said already, there had been neither truth nor non-violence in their hearts. He had, however, no doubt that the Congress had to remain even after the 15th August though the objective must be altered. It was now a question of mutual strife or mutual friendship. Today they were cutting one another's throats and were preparing for further slaughter. If such a fight came, it would be worse than during the Mutiny of 1857. In 1857 the masses of India were not awake. That was why he could not participate in the celebrations of August 15th whilst they were getting ready for a blood war among themselves. God forbid that such calamity befall India. If it did, their freedom would be short-lived. Russia, America and Britain and perhaps others also would soon step in and put an end to the newly acquired political freedom.

Dr. Shahriar had come to India to seek the help of Pandit Nehtu and Jinnah Sahab. He could only secure moral help which was far superior to that of a legion of soldiers. But he could not secure it if we were at war with one another. India's real contribution would be her moral weight on the side of justice.

India was the home of the Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Parsis, the Christians and others. The Parsis were driven out of Persia and found shelter in India. Here they were treated as equals. That was the tradition of India. She did not scorn or look down upon the new comers. She just absorbed them.

#### NATIONAL LANGUAGE

But now there seemed to be a quarrel about the national language. What was it to be? He was told it was to be Hindi written in the *Devanagari* script. Gandhiji could never agree to that. He had been twice President of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. He could not be an enemy of Hindi and Urdu. But he had realized that the language of the common man, the *lingua franca* of India, could only be an amalgamation of simple Hindi and simple Urdu written in the *Devanagari* or the *Urdu* script i. e. Hindustani. He knew many Hindus, leave alone the Muslims, who did not understand Sanskritized Hindi nor could they write in the *Devanagari* script. Therefore, he would stick to Hindustani even if he had to stand alone. The Muslims might regard themselves as the enemies of the Hindus today. India had to win them over, not by servility or appeasement nor yet by enmity. They could do so only through friendship i. e. non-violence of the brave. He could never reach cowardice. He was a staunch Hindu, but his Hinduism taught him equal regard for all religions.

A friend had written to him that now that India had been divided, it could not enjoy the status of a great nation in the world. Gandhiji did not agree with this opinion, if the two parts behaved as brothers and friends.

## THE NATIONAL FLAG

(By M. K. Gandhi)

[The article *The National Flag* which appeared in the *Young India* of 18-4-'21, and is referred to in Gandhiji's article in this issue, is reproduced below.]

A flag is a necessity for all nations. Millions have died for it. It is no doubt a kind of idolatry which it would be a sin to destroy. For a flag represents an ideal. The unfurling of the Union Jack evokes in the English breast sentiments whose strength it is difficult to measure. The Stars and Stripes mean a world to the Americans. The Star and the Crescent will call forth the best bravery in Islam.

It will be necessary for us Indians—Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Jews, Parsis and all others to whom India is their home—to recognize a common flag to live and to die for.

Mr. P. Venkayya of the National College, Masulipattam, has for some years placed before the public a suggestive booklet describing the flags of the other nations and offering designs for an Indian National Flag. But, whilst I have always admired the persistent zeal with which Mr. Venkayya has prosecuted the cause of a national flag at every session of the Congress for the past four years, he was never able to enthuse me; and in his designs I saw nothing to stir the nation to its depths. It was reserved for a Punjabee to make a suggestion that at once arrested attention. It was Lala Hansraj of Jullunder, who, in discussing the possibilities of the spinning wheel, suggested that it should find a place on our Swaraj Flag. I could not help admiring the originality of the suggestion. At Bezwada I asked Mr. Venkayya to give me a design containing a spinning wheel on a red (Hindu colour) and green (Muslim colour) background. His enthusiastic spirit enabled me to possess a flag in three hours. It was just a little late for presentation to the All India Congress Committee. I am glad it was so. On maturer consideration, I saw that the background should represent the other religions also. Hindu-Muslim unity is not an exclusive term; it is an inclusive term, symbolic of the unity of all faiths domiciled in India. If Hindus and Muslims can tolerate each other they are together bound to tolerate all other faiths. The unity is not a menace to the other faiths represented in India or to the world. So I suggest that the background should be white and green and red. The white portion is intended to represent all other faiths. The weakest numerically occupy the first place, the Islamic colour comes next, the Hindu colour, red, comes last, the idea being that the strongest should act as a shield to the weakest. The white colour moreover represents purity and peace. Our national flag must mean that or nothing. And to represent the equality of the least of us with the best, an equal part is assigned to all the three colours in the design.

But India as a nation can live and die only for the spinning wheel. Every woman will tell the

curious that with the disappearance of the spinning wheel, vanished India's happiness and prosperity. The womanhood and the masses of India have been awakened as never before at the call of the spinning wheel. The masses recognize in it the giver of life. The women regard it as the protector of their chastity. Every widow I have met has recognized in the wheel a dear forgotten friend. Its restoration alone can fill the millions of hungry mouths. No industrial development schemes can solve the problem of the growing poverty of the peasantry of India covering a vast surface, 1900 miles long and 1500 broad. India is not a small island, it is a big continent which cannot be converted like England into an industrial country. And we must resolutely set our face against any scheme of exploitation of the world. Our only hope must centre upon utilizing the wasted hours of the nation for adding to the wealth of the country, by converting cotton into cloth in our cottages. The spinning wheel is, therefore, as much a necessity of Indian life as air and water.

Moreover, the Muslims swear by it just as much as the Hindus. As a matter of fact, the former are taking to it more readily than the Hindus. For the Muslim woman is *purdanashin* and she can now add a few *paisas* to the poor resources that her husband brings to the family. The spinning wheel, therefore, is the most natural as it is the most important common factor of the national life. Through it we inform the whole world that we are determined, so far as our food and clothing are concerned to be totally independent of the rest of it. Those who believe with me will make haste to introduce the spinning wheel in their home and possess a National Flag of the design suggested by me.

It follows that the flag must be made of *khaddar*, for it is through coarse cloth alone that we can make India independent of foreign markets for her cloth. I would advise all religious organizations, if they agree with my argument, to weave into their religious flags, as for instance the Khilafat, a miniature National Flag in the upper left hand corner. The regulation size of the Flag should contain the drawing of a full-sized spinning wheel.

### ASHRAM BHAJANAWALI

[Revised Edition in Hindustani]

With Gandhiji's Foreword

Price Annas Eight

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## ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI.

## INSTALMENT—XXV

## ENGLISH

## HINDUSTANI

**Demobilize** v. काम तोड़ना, प्रौद्योगिकी तोड़तीसे अलग करना।  
لام توڑنا، فوج کی توڑی سے الگ کرنا

**Democracy** n. प्रजाशासन, लोकशासन, जनसहृदयता।  
प्रजाशास, लोक शास, जनसहृदय

**Democratic** adj. प्रजाशासी, लोकशासी, जनसहृदी।  
प्रजाशासी, लोक शासी, जनसहृदी

**Demography** n. पैदाशिक्ष, बीमारी बढेवाके बीजके जिनसे  
किरकोरी हालत जालम हो।  
पैदाशिक्ष, बीमारी बढेवाके बीजके जिनसे

**Demolish** v. गिराना, धावा, तोड़ना, मिटाना, बरबाद  
करना, नष्ट करना, का जाना, समस्त साधित करना।  
गिराना, धावा, तोड़ना, मिटाना, बरबाद करना, नष्ट करना, का जाना, समस्त साधित करना

**Demolition** n. गिराव, बिगाड़, धावा, तोड़, बरबादी।  
गिराव, बिगाड़, धावा, तोड़, बरबादी

**Demon** n. भूत-प्रेत, शैतान, राक्षस, अशुर, जिन।  
भूत-प्रेत, शैतान, राक्षस, अशुर, जिन

**Demon for work, he is a** वह भूत बनकर कामके पीछे  
पड़ जाता है।  
वह भूत बनकर कामके पीछे पड़ जाता है

**Demonetize** v. किसी सिक्के या चलनका बन्द कर देना।  
किसी सिक्के या चलनका बन्द कर देना

**Demoniacal** adj. भूत वैश; भूतका सताया हुआ; जिसपर  
भूत बड़ा हो।  
भूत वैश, भूतका सताया हुआ, जिसपर भूत बड़ा हो

**Demonism** n. भूतकी शक्तिमें अन्धता।  
भूतकी शक्तिमें अन्धता

**Demonology** n. भूतविद्याकी किताब, जादू-अतरकी पोथी।  
भूतविद्याकी किताब, जादू-अतरकी पोथी

**Demonstrable** adj. जो दिखाया या साधित किया जा सके,  
प्रमाणयोग्य।  
जो दिखाया या साधित किया जा सके, प्रमाणयोग्य

**Demonstrate** v. दिखाना, बताना, बताना, सिखाना; साधित  
करना, सिद्ध करना, दिखावा करना।  
दिखाना, बताना, बताना, सिखाना, साधित करना, सिद्ध करना, दिखावा करना

**Demonstration** n. दिखाना, सबूत, प्रमाण, दिखाना, बताना;  
दुखद बरीदा।  
दिखाना, सबूत, प्रमाण, दिखाना, बताना, दुखद बरीदा

**Demonstrative** adj. जो बताना हो, दिखाने या बतानेवाला।  
जो बताना हो, दिखाने या बतानेवाला

**Demonstrator** n. दिखानेवाला; सिखानेवाला; सबूत देनेवाला;  
दुखद बरीदामें शामिल होनेवाला।  
दिखानेवाला, सिखानेवाला, सबूत देनेवाला, दुखद बरीदामें शामिल होनेवाला

**Demoralization** n. पतन, बिगाड़, होला या हिम्मत टूटना,  
बदचलनी।  
पतन, बिगाड़, होला या हिम्मत टूटना, बदचलनी

**Demoralize** v. बिगाड़ना; होला या हिम्मत तोड़ना; नियम  
तोड़ना (कासकरके प्रोत्साहन)।  
बिगाड़ना, होला या हिम्मत तोड़ना, नियम तोड़ना (कासकरके प्रोत्साहन)

**De mortuis nil nisi bonum** जो कब बसे सुनके बारेमें सिवा  
अच्छाईके और कुछ नहीं कहना चाहिये।  
जो कब बसे सुनके बारेमें सिवा अच्छाईके और कुछ नहीं कहना चाहिये

**Demos** n. लोक, प्रजा, जनसहृद।  
लोक, प्रजा, जनसहृद

**Demulcent** adj. n. सुखायन या भरम करनेवाली औषधि या  
दवा।  
सुखायन या भरम करनेवाली औषधि या दवा

**Demur** v. होके अटकना; शक या सन्देह करना, विरोध करना,  
सिन्कार करना।  
होके अटकना, शक या सन्देह करना, विरोध करना, सिन्कार करना

**Demure** adj. विनोत, गम्भीर, छापीला, काबज, सीपी चिप्रीसा।  
विनोत, गम्भीर, छापीला, काबज, सीपी चिप्रीसा

**Demurrage** n. बन्दरगाहमें जहाजका या रेलके स्टेशन पर मानका  
कमावा देर पड़े रहनेका इजाजा, एके हुने मान पर इजाजा या  
महसूल।  
बन्दरगाहमें जहाजका या रेलके स्टेशन पर मानका कमावा देर पड़े रहनेका इजाजा, एके हुने मान पर इजाजा या महसूल

**Den** n. बीद, कोद, गुज, जंगली आन्दारके रहनेकी जगह, बहुत  
छोटा कमरा।  
बीद, कोद, गुज, जंगली आन्दारके रहनेकी जगह, बहुत छोटा कमरा

**Denary** adj. दसका, दहासीका।  
दसका, दहासीका

**Denationalize** v. होमकी हैसियत या अधिकार किसी कोमसे  
छान देना; किसी आदमीको होमसे बाहर कर देना।  
होमकी हैसियत या अधिकार किसी कोमसे छान देना, किसी आदमीको होमसे बाहर कर देना

**Denature** v. दुदरती या स्वाभाविक गुण बदल दहलना;  
प्रकाशके इका छान देना या प्रकाशकी हैसियतसे किसी आदमीको  
निकाल देना।  
दुदरती या स्वाभाविक गुण बदल दहलना, प्रकाशके इका छान देना या प्रकाशकी हैसियतसे किसी आदमीको निकाल देना

**Dene** n. देतका छोटा टीला।  
देतका छोटा टीला

**Dengue** n. भेक क्रिमका बुनार (जिसमें शरीरके जोड़ोंमें बहुत  
पीड़ा होती है)।  
भेक क्रिमका बुनार (जिसमें शरीरके जोड़ोंमें बहुत पीड़ा होती है)

**Deniable** adj. जिससे सिन्कार किया जा सके।  
जिससे सिन्कार किया जा सके

**Denial** n. सिन्कार, अस्वीकार, नही, न देना।  
सिन्कार, अस्वीकार, नही, न देना

**Denizen** n. रहनेवाला, वासी।  
रहनेवाला, वासी

**Denominate** v. नाम रखना; पुकारना; बिकारना।  
नाम रखना, पुकारना, बिकारना

**Denomination** n. नाम, कृत, बंगत, किरकान, तबका।  
नाम, कृत, बंगत, किरकान, तबका

**Denominator** n. जिसमें कमीरके नीचेका अंक, बौद बताता  
अंक, लघुसुमा।  
जिसमें कमीरके नीचेका अंक, बौद बताता अंक, लघुसुमा

**Denote** v. बताना, बताना, दिखाना; नाम होना।  
बताना, बताना, दिखाना, नाम होना

**Denotation** n. निदान, निशानी, चिन्ह, अर्थ, माने।  
निदान, निशानी, चिन्ह, अर्थ, माने

**Denouement** n. मेदका खल जाना, मुकामका मुकाम, हल;  
विपत्ता, आकृत।  
मेदका खल जाना, मुकामका मुकाम, हल, विपत्ता, आकृत

**Denounce** v. होष या खिलकास लगाना, खलनाखल बुरा ठहराना,  
बुरा माना कहना, पोके खोलना, रद करना, न मानना, धमकी देना।  
होष या खिलकास लगाना, खलनाखल बुरा ठहराना, बुरा माना कहना, पोके खोलना, रद करना, न मानना, धमकी देना

**Denouncement** n. निन्दा, शोष, खिलकास; रद करना।  
निन्दा, शोष, खिलकास, रद करना

**De novo** } adj. फिरसे, शुरूसे, नवे सिरेसे।  
फिरसे, शुरूसे, नवे सिरेसे

**De nouveau** } adj. फिरसे, शुरूसे, नवे सिरेसे।  
फिरसे, शुरूसे, नवे सिरेसे

**Dense** adj. घना, गाढ़ा, डोस; घुनघुन, मूर्ख।  
घना, गाढ़ा, डोस, घुनघुन, मूर्ख

**De novo** } adj. फिरसे, शुरूसे, नवे सिरेसे।  
फिरसे, शुरूसे, नवे सिरेसे

**De nouveau** } adj. फिरसे, शुरूसे, नवे सिरेसे।  
फिरसे, शुरूसे, नवे सिरेसे

**Dense** adj. घना, गाढ़ा, डोस; घुनघुन, मूर्ख।  
घना, गाढ़ा, डोस, घुनघुन, मूर्ख

**De novo** } adj. फिरसे, शुरूसे, नवे सिरेसे।  
फिरसे, शुरूसे, नवे सिरेसे

**De nouveau** } adj. फिरसे, शुरूसे, नवे सिरेसे।  
फिरसे, शुरूसे, नवे सिरेसे









# HARIJAN

Editor PYARELAL



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TWO ANNAS

## NOTES

### Fifteenth of August

On the 15th of August, 1947, India will be a free country. It was on the 15th of August, 1942 that the tallest of Gandhiji's disciples, the late Shri Mahadev Desai passed away in detention at the Aga Khan's palace. He joined Gandhiji at the age of 25, and served him and through him the motherland with every breath of his life for twenty-five years. Before his arrest on the morning of the 9th of August Gandhiji had given the word—*Do or Die*. Within a week of that Mahadev Desai passed away in harness. Gandhiji called it one of the purest sacrifices on the altar of freedom. A friend writes: "Is it not significant that the day for the transfer of power to India should have been fixed for the 15th of August, the death anniversary of the great patriot Mahadev?" He calls upon Gandhiji to see that the nation does not forget Mahadevbhai on the day of the celebrations. Gandhiji has suggested fasting, prayer and spinning for the celebration. It should include an homage to those whose sacrifices have brought about the dawn of freedom. May God give us the strength to follow in their footsteps and enable us to preserve the hard-won freedom in all its glory. As a matter of fact the freedom today in the midst of communal disharmony, shortage of food and clothing is shorn of all its glory. To make it worthwhile all have to work hard. Construction is much more difficult than destruction.

Rawalpindi, 31-7-'47

### Good or Great?

A young American pacifist came to see Gandhiji some days ago. He had brought a note of introduction from Miss Muriel Lester. He told Gandhiji how she had carried the message of peace to young Americans during the war and explained to them why they should stay out of the war. He asked Gandhiji how young American pacifists should behave today.

Gandhiji's reply was that they should behave as they would have, if the war was still going on. Even if they are a few individuals, they should not hesitate to do the right thing. The few would multiply into many.

The friend was eloquent about Miss Lester. He had great admiration for her. He thought she was one of the greatest women.

"She herself would contradict it," said Gandhiji. "There are many great women, but very few good

women. If you had said that she was a very good woman, you would have been right. A true pacifist's language must be correct and thought exact. If you want to play your part effectively in this movement against war, you have to model your life accordingly. The movement against war is intrinsically sound. No one can question the value of peace. Yet it has not made enough headway. The fault lies with the pacifists."

The friend turned back to what Gandhiji called inexact language on his part because he had described Miss Lester as the one of the greatest women. He said he had called her great because she was good. Gandhiji retorted that he never knew that goodness and greatness were synonymous terms. A man might be great, yet not good.

New Delhi, 27-7-'47

S. N.

## REALIZATION OF DIFFICULTY

( By M. K. Gandhi )

An English sister reading my recent speeches giving a glimpse of my grief over the happenings in India writes—

"Does not this deep agony, this descent into hell, this feeling of something near despair, mean that you ought to extend your life span even further than 125 years? How very much easier it would be to die! . . . Day and night one feels the burrow of hell . . ."

I know that she is not joking when she expects me to extend my life span even further than 125 years. She is a brave woman of great faith. With me there is no question of extending my life span even to one day longer than the allotted time. I am fatalist enough to believe that not a blade of grass moves but by His will. What I have done and still would wish to do is to aspire after a life of 125 years, provided that it is a life of uttermost service of humanity. But such a wish becomes quite empty if it is not accompanied by the requisite correctness of conduct. Answering the description of a steadfast man of the Gita, such are the lines according to Sir Edwin Arnold's rendering

Arjuna

What is his mark who with steadfast heart  
Confirmed in holy meditation? How  
Know we his speech, Krishna? Still he, moves he  
Like other men?

Krishna

When one, O Pritha's Son!  
Abandoning desires which shake the mind

Finds in his soul full comfort for his soul,  
 He hath attained the *Yoga*—that man is such!  
 In sorrows not defeated, and in joys  
 Not overjoyed, dwelling outside the stress  
 Of passion, fear, and anger, fixed in calm  
 Of lofty contemplation, — such an one  
 Is *Muni*, is the Sage, the true Recluse!  
 He who to none and now ere overhous  
 By ties of flesh, takes evil things and good  
 Neither desponding nor exulting, such  
 Bears wisdom's plainest mark! He who shall draw  
 As the wise tortoise draws its four feet safe  
 Under its shield his five frail senses back  
 Under the spirit's buckler from the world  
 Which else assails them such an one, my Prince!  
 Hath wisdom's mark! Things that sensate sense  
 Hold off from the self-governed, nay, it comes  
 The appetites of him who lives beyond  
 Depart,—aroused no more. Yet may it chance,  
 O Son of Kunti, that a governed man  
 Shall some time feel the sense-storms sweep and wrest  
 Strong self-control by the roots. Let him regain  
 His kingdom! let him conquer this, and sit  
 On his intent. That man alone is wise  
 Who keeps the mastery of himself! If one  
 Ponders on subjects of the sense, there springs  
 Attraction, from attraction grows desire,  
 Desire flames to fierce passion, passion breeds  
 Fleckless loss, then his memory — as bewayed —  
 Lets voice and purpose go, and saps the mind,  
 All purpose, mind, and man are all undone.  
 But, if one deals with objects of the sense  
 Not loving and not hating, making them  
 Serve his free soul, which rests serenely lord,  
 Lo! soon a man comes to tranquillity,  
 And out of that tranquillity shall rise  
 The end and healing of his earthly pains.  
 Since the well-governed sets the soul at peace  
 The soul of the un-governed is not his,  
 Nor hath his knowledge of himself, which lacked,  
 How grows serenity? and, wanting that  
 Whence shall he hope for happiness?

The wind

That gives itself to follow shows of sense  
 Booth its helm of wisdom rent away  
 And, like a ship in waves of whirlwind, drives  
 Wreck and death. Only with him, great Prince!  
 Whose senses are not awayed by lunge of sense  
 Only with him who holds his mastery,  
 Show wisdom perfect. What is midnight-gloom  
 To unalighted souls shines wakeful day  
 To his clear gaze, what seems as wakeful day  
 Is known for night, this night of ignorance,  
 To his true-seeing eyes. Such is the Saint!  
 And like the ocean, day by day receiving  
 Floods from all lands, which never overflows  
 Its boundary-line not leaping, and not leaving  
 Fed by the rivers, but unswelled by those,  
 So is the perfect one, to his soul's ocean  
 The world of sense pours streams of wretchedness,  
 They leave him as they find, without commotion,  
 Taking their tribute, but remaining so,  
 Yea, whose, snaring off the yoke of flesh

Loves lord, not servant, of his lusts, set free  
 From pride, from passion, from the aim of "Self",  
 Toucheth tranquillity! O Pritha's Son!  
 That is the state of Brahmin! There rests no dread  
 When that last step is reached! Live where he will,  
 Die when he may, such passeth from all pining,  
 To most *Nirvana*, with the Gods, attaining

I confess that in spite of my trying to reach  
 the state, I am far away from the condition of  
 equipoise. I realize how difficult it is in the face  
 of the storm raging round us.

She says in the same letter

"The only comfort is that mankind, some of it  
 has discovered its innate impotence apart from God"

Motto in her letter-head is:

"Is hearts too young for enmity

There lies the way to make men free .

How true and yet how difficult!

New Delhi, 22-7-47

## CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIALISM

William Morris was a socialist if ever there was  
 one. In all that he did, wrote and was, he was  
 every inch a socialist. His ideas and principles are,  
 therefore, capable of being a precious guide to all  
 those in India who would hasten the coming of  
 socialism.

In his recent article about the meaning of socialism  
 Gandhiji has stressed the fact that the deepest motive  
 of socialism is and ought to be ethical. Morris provides  
 a significant illustration of this truth. A rich man  
 used to refinement and luxury, he broke away from  
 ease and comfort to fellowship with the poor man.  
 He felt for those who were condemned to work  
 for fear of starvation and who did not know the  
 pleasure of working for work's own sake. He  
 regarded labour with the eye of a fellow-labourer.  
 He was a socialist not because he was animated by  
 scientific theories of economic betterment but  
 because he desired for every man and woman an  
 un-anxious life in which they might do all that  
 was best worth doing. He had no use for a material  
 paradise of comfort and leisure if the new world  
 did not give joy, peace and harmony for all. His one  
 hope about the new world was that it might end  
 de-humanizing labour. In reviewing an American  
 Utopia, Mr. Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, he raised  
 his protest against the apotheosis of machinery and  
 the glorification of the life of large towns. A  
 beautiful thought is thus expanded in the article:

"It is necessary to point out that there are  
 some Socialists who do not think that the problem  
 of the organization of life and necessary labour can  
 be dealt with by a huge national centralization,  
 working by a kind of magic for which no one feels  
 himself responsible; that on the contrary it will be  
 necessary for the unit of administration to be small  
 enough for every citizen to feel himself responsible  
 for its details and be interested in them, that  
 individual men cannot shuffle off the business of  
 life on the shoulders of an abstraction called the  
 State, but must deal with it in conscious association

with each other; that variety of life is as much an aim of true Communism as equality of condition, and that nothing but an union of these two will bring about real freedom, that modern nationalities are mere artificial devices for the commercial war that we seek to put an end to, and will disappear with it, and finally, that art, using that word in its widest and due signification, is not a mere adjunct of life which free and happy men can do without, but the necessary expression and indispensable instrument of human happiness."

The change that Morris desired was not in the machinery of life but in the very civilization that man has evolved. His socialism is deeper than politics and economics. It is full of the magnificent expression of the urge of life towards truth, beauty, peace, freedom and fellowship.

Morris was rigidly scrupulous with regard to the means adopted to achieve the end. He wrote, "I have a religious hatred to all war and violence." He says that he made it his duty "to sow the seed for the goodwill and justice that may make it possible for the next great revolution which will be a social one, to work itself out without violence being an essential part of it." Of this great change he has a great vision.

"When the change comes, it will embrace the whole of society, and there will be no discontented class left to form the elements of a fresh revolution. It is necessary that the movement should not be ignorant, but intelligent. What I should like to have now, far more than anything else, would be a body of able, high-minded, competent men who should act as instructors. I should look to those men to promote what Socialism really is—not a change for the sake of change, but a change involving the very noblest ideal of human life and duty, a life in which every human being should find unrestricted scope for his best powers and facilities."

He sees modern society as the product of a pact made between selfishness and selfishness but he was not sanguine of a speedy change by impatient agitation or hasty revolution. He held that the socialist's duty was to guard himself against "opportunism and intriguing, and the making of a party" in the eagerness to achieve results quickly. On the other hand, he held that Socialism can succeed only when the Socialists aim at founding a religion, the religion of love and fellowship. He wrote:

"The educational process therefore, the forming a rallying point for definite aims, is necessary to our success; but I must guard against misunderstanding. We must be no mere debating club, or philosophical society, we must take part in all really popular movements when we can make our own views on them unmistakably clear; that is a most important part of the education in organization."

"Education towards revolution seems to me to express in three words what our policy should be, towards that New Birth of Society which we

know must come, and where, therefore we must strive to help forward so that it may come with as little confusion and suffering as may be."

Again he says

"Our business, I repeat, is the making of Socialists, i.e. convincing people that Socialism is good for them and is possible. When we have enough people of that way of thinking, they will find out what action is necessary for putting their principles in practice. Therefore, I say, make Socialists. We Socialists can do nothing else that is useful."

Morris also teaches us that we should not delude ourselves with belief in the finality of any system. He wrote: "I do not believe in the world being saved by any system,—I only assert the necessity of attacking systems grown corrupt." He teaches us that we should look not to the label on the forehead or to the badge on the breast but to the purity of passion within. Morris also knows that at heart all good men and true have the same things though they may strive in different ways and in different circumstances. It is Morris who speaks when one of his heroes says:

"I pondered all these things and how men fight and lose the battle, and the thing they fought for comes about in spite of their defeat and when it comes about, it turns out not to be what they meant, and other men have to fight for what they meant under another name."

The strength of Morris's Socialism is derived not from a hatred of the rich but a real feeling for the poor. He said: "The contrasts of rich and poor are un-endurable and ought not to be endured by either rich or poor." He deplored the fatal division of men into the cultivated classes and the degraded classes which competitive commerce has bred and fosters. "While the rich enslave the poor, they themselves are not happy, and are always trying to run each other. Socialism will end this war by abolishing classes; this change will get rid of bad housing, under-feeding, over-work and ignorance."

What lay at the root of his belief was that everybody can be above want, can enjoy the pleasure of useful and happy labour and above all, can share in the larger intellectual and spiritual life. This is also the belief of every socialist. His first duty is to get others to share this belief with him. He can do this only when he practises what he preaches, and above all only when he adds to his burning sincerity, love and consideration towards those whom he would convert to his belief.

T. N. JAGADISAN

ASHRAM BHAJANAWALI

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# HARIJAN

August 10

1947

## THOU TOO GUJARAT!

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Maganbhai Desai has sent me a copy of his correspondence with Shri Ratanlal Parikh. The latter writes

"The newspapers report that the Congress Party has decided that Hindi written in the *Devanagari* script should be the lingua franca of the Indian Union. It has had a profound effect upon the public mind. They are excited and opposed to the *Urdu* script. It is as well that the move for the propagation of the *Urdu* script is not a living thing. I am sure Congressmen have begun to oppose it. This means that the number of candidates for Hindustani examinations to be held in February is likely to be greatly reduced."

I hope that what Shri Ratanlal says is not true. The Gujaratis are not to act thus foolishly. I do not approve of the dislike of the writers for the *Urdu* script, though I would be prepared to account for it. But for the life of me I cannot understand this thoughtless dislike of the script. Does it not betray a bankruptcy of wisdom? The Gujaratis are reputed as businessmen. In doing business, they do not discriminate between friends and foes. They gladly make money from both. Will this same businesslikeness forsake them in politics or in the use of the script?

In Delhi I daily come in contact with Hindus and Muslims. The number of the Hindus is larger. Most of them speak a language which has very few Sanskrit words and not many more Persian or Arabic. They or the vast majority do not know the *Devanagari* script. They write to me in indifferent English and when I take them to task for writing in a foreign language, they write in the *Urdu* script. If the lingua franca is to be Hindi and the script only *Devanagari*, what will be the plight of these Hindus?

But I confess that my insistence on Hindustani is a proof of my partiality for the Muslim brethren, though not of Gujarat. The Muslims of Gujarat do not know *Urdu*. They learn it not without difficulty. Their mother tongue is Gujarati. But the language of the Muslims in North India is undoubtedly Hindustani i. e. simple *Urdu*. I do not mind their calling it *Urdu*. The millions of the villagers of India have nothing to do with books. They speak Hindustani, which the Muslims write in the *Urdu* script and the Hindus in the *Urdu* or in the *Nagari* script. Therefore, the duty of people like you and me is to learn both the scripts. The Gujaratis decided to perform this duty with gladness. They joyously accepted Hindustani as the lingua franca. They did not swallow it like a bitter pill. Why then have they developed a dislike for the *Urdu* script now? For me it has become all the sweeter in the midst of the deadly bitterness surrounding us. The non-

Pakistani Muslims are all the dearer to me. They are not to look to Pakistan for the safety of their honour, person and property. Such a thing would be a shame for us of the Union. *Sanatana Hindu Dharma* is not circumscribed like the proverbial frog in the well. It is as broad as the ocean. Thus interpreted, it is the property of all mankind, no matter by what name it is called. A Malayali commentator of the great epic the *Mahabharata* has, in my opinion, correctly called it the history of mankind. But be it as it may, the word Hindu is not derived from Sanskrit. The foreigners called the inhabitants on this side of the river Sindhu, Hindus. We have adopted the title. Manu is not the name of any one man. It is an equivalent of Adam, the first man. The Law of Manu is known as *Manava Dharma Shashtra* (the Law for Mankind). It is given by the first man under inspiration. One can only guess as to how many of the *shlokas* are the original work of Manu and how many are interpolations. Dr. Bhagavandas has pointed out certain interpolations. The Arya Samaj looks upon certain others as such. There has been some difference of opinion even on the interpretations. In my opinion whatever out of them appeals to the head and heart of the wise, is the law for mankind. There is, therefore, always room for addition or subtraction. The *shlokas* looked upon as interpolations are the result of the efforts, successful or unsuccessful, of the reformers in different ages. Such a law belongs to all mankind. It does not permit of discrimination on grounds of caste and class. It knows no distinctions between the Hindus, the Muslims and the others. "This is mine and that is some one else's, is the calculation of narrow minds," is one of the pearls of wisdom.

On the basis of this immortal *shloka* you and I cannot discriminate between Hindustani and Pakistan. What even if you and I happen to be the only ones having such a belief? If we are true, others are bound to follow us.

The Congress has always kept a broad vision. Today it is needed more than ever before. It is permissible to say that India has accepted partition at the point of the bayonet. This settled fact cannot be unsettled in the same way. The two can be one only when there is heart unity.

The omens today seem to point to the contrary. During the crisis the Congress must stand firm like a rock. It dare not give way on the question of the lingua franca of India. It cannot be perverted *Urdu* or Sanskritized Hindi. It must be a beautiful blend of the two simple forms written in either script. How I wish Gujarat would remain unaffected by the gathering storm! Will those who have soared high, now crash at the first blow? If I could have my way, such a thing would not happen. There is a Gujarati hymn which says, "Will he who has been purified by the fire of love ever turn back?" Let us follow the poet. Let us not turn away from the *Urdu* script. One slip of the foot is likely to hurl us down. Thank God the newspaper report was untrue. The consideration

of the question has been postponed by two or three months. Let us hope sanity will prevail. On the train to Kashmir, 31-7-'47

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

## THE CHURNING OF THE OCEAN

An English friend who has adopted India as home, writes to Gandhiji.

"What joy is left in national work? Where and how can I work for your ideals? Of all moments in history this was the time for India fearlessly to throw her armies to the winds. And now instead of that we are to have two rival armies! India is being dragged down to inevitable destruction. It is so simple. Why cannot people see that armies are the death-trap of mankind? Huge sums are to be spent on developing this death-trap in India and what is left over, on industrialization with all its evils.

"Cannot those of us who believe in your ideals get away from this path of negation of all that we have lived for and have some outlet of our own?"

"Will not our Bapu come out of the blind whirlpool and call us together in some quiet place where we can open out our hearts to him and seek in his guidance some path of common action in direct service of Truth and Non-violence? In this shattering cataclysm, if the few of us who believe do not stand together our scattered strength may be lost in the storm."

Gandhiji would love to do that. But today he feels he must not. His one thought is to get to Bihar and Noakhali as early as possible. If the minorities in both the parts are as secure as the leaders of both the Congress and the League have stated in their recent statements, he will return refreshed. For the time being he wishes to go to Bihar and Noakhali as on a pilgrimage to the Himalayas. After that he would love to settle down to constructive work and thus bring nearer the dream of Rama Rajya with such of his co-workers as would be willing to stand by his ideals. He has always been essentially a social reformer. He was dragged into politics because he found from experience that social reform was impossible without political freedom. Now that political serfdom seems to have gone, his real work in life should command his time and attention. In the special train that carried Gandhiji and the leaders to prison on the fateful morning of the 9th of August, 1942, the late Shri Satyamurti told Gandhiji, "Bapu! your real work will start when India is free." India is at last on the threshold of freedom. Will the shock of division destroy all that Gandhiji has lived for and worked for? The eyes of the whole world are fixed on India. In the mythological churning of the ocean were discovered poison and nectar along with other valuable gifts. All the gifts were shared by the *Devas* and the *Asuras*. The Lord Shiva had to swallow the poison to save the world. The mighty struggle for India's independence might well be compared with the churning of the ocean. It has yielded the nectar of independence and the poison of partition. There are many who have had to swallow the poison. Let us hope like the figurative Lord Shiva they will emerge all the stronger for the deadly drink.

New Delhi, 27-7-'47

S. N.

## GANDHIJI'S SPEECHES

New Delhi, 25-7-'47

### COW PROTECTION

In his post-prayer speech Gandhiji said that Rajendra Babu had told him that he had received about 50,000 post cards, 30,000 letters and thousands of telegrams asking for prohibition of cow slaughter in the Union of India. A telegram was received today saying that a *pandit* had undertaken a fast in Cawnpore on that issue. Hindu religion prohibited cow slaughter for the Hindus, not for the world. Religious prohibition came from within. Any imposition from without meant compulsion. Such compulsion was repugnant to religion. India was the land not only of the Hindus but also of the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Parsis, the Christians, the Jews and all who claimed to be of India and were loyal to the Union. If they could prohibit cow slaughter in India on religious grounds, why could not the Pakistan Government prohibit, say, idol worship in Pakistan on similar grounds? He was not a temple-goer, but if he was prohibited from going to a temple in Pakistan he would make it a point to go there even at the risk of losing his head. Just as *Shariat* could not be imposed on the non-Muslims, Hindu law could not be imposed on the non-Hindus. He told the audience that many Hindus were guilty of cow slaughter by slow torture. It was the Hindus who exported cows outside India well knowing that they were to be slaughtered for beef extract which came to India and which the children of orthodox Hindus ate without compunction under medical advice. Were they not co-partners in cow slaughter?

### TREE PLANTATION

Gandhiji next referred to the Tree Plantation Week in Delhi. Many big people had taken part in it including the Vicereine. He was told that none but she had thought of watering the trees after planting. The official who originated the idea of tree planting did not do it for fancy nor was it meant only for the moneyed men. It began with them so that the others would copy them and thus add to the wealth and rainfall of India. Deforestation led to diminished rainfall. Moreover, trees required little care except in the early stages. An acre of land used for growing fruit trees would give greater yield than a crop of wheat over the same area. They should also take to growing salad vegetables in pots on their open terraces. Love of growing edibles on open patches of ground or in pots provided healthy employment combined with innocent amusement.

### PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

The question he had no time to answer yesterday, Gandhiji answered today. How were they to behave towards the Muslims in the Union in view of the atrocities committed by them in many places? It had become difficult to trust the Muslims they met—and how were they to ensure the protection of the non-Muslims in Pakistan? He had, he hoped, answered the question more than once. Yet evidently the answer



bore repetition India was equally the home of the Hindus and the non-Hindus. All religions were on their trial. He had already confessed his own mistake. He had imagined that the weak could be non-violent. It was not so. If they could shed their cowardice the Muslims would recognize their bravery and would cease to worry them. In the Union they were, therefore, bound to treat all with equal regard. In the absence of that bravery which non-violence alone gave, they had the law of revenge - division of army might well mean a graphic lesson in that law. The division rendered the army weak, if not useless, as an effective defence against foreign aggression. He had shown how, if they did not take care, India might even have to pass through military dictatorship. Was it to be the fate of India to win freedom with one hand and lose it with the other? The Dutch seemed to be trying to deprive Indonesia of her freedom. Whatever their previous faults the British were leaving India of their own accord. A fratricidal war was bound to result in the loss of that freedom. If they acted correctly in the Indian Union, no one would dare touch the non-Muslims in Pakistan, however small their number might be. It was, therefore, a good sign that the leaders of both the communities had made a statement that they would accept the decision of the Boundary Commission whatever it was. They had also said that the minorities and even erstwhile political opponents would be quite safe in either part of India. Correct conduct required that they should believe what they had said till proved otherwise.

New Delhi, 26-7-'47

#### STRIKES

Speaking after prayers Gandhiji said that from what he had heard and read in the newspapers it seemed that strikes were becoming a nuisance in India. At Calcutta there was a 'Pers Down' strike in the Accountant General's Office. Services like this were public utility services. Dislocation of these would dislocate public life. He was not the one to tell the clerks and the others in these departments to slave away under any conditions. But there were other and unobjectionable ways of getting redress. The Pay Commission had recommended a large increase in the salaries of the lower staff. But they wanted still more. That seemed to be the cause of the strike. Why should the Director get, say, Rs. 2000 a month and the *chapran* Rs. 20 a month? It certainly sounded odd. He for one believed that under ideal conditions the barrister and the *bhang* should both get the same payment. But he knew, as everybody else did, that society all the world over was far from the ideal. It was not possible to pay everyone Rs. 100 per day. He knew too that the barrister did not deserve what he got. But clients gladly paid fabulous fees. Coming lower down, people would gladly pay four rupees a day to a tailor, but not more than eight annas per day to a sweeper. Society needed patient and sustained education to bring it to the same level in earning. It required much advanced training to

reach that state of equality. Meanwhile every effort must be made to bridge the gulf between the payments of the higher and the lower ranks. The Commission had done that. If it was not a satisfactory rise, the causes must be examined. Among these must be the capacity of the country to bear the additional burden. There was no such thing as an abrupt ascent in life. Let them not kill the goose that laid the golden egg. That process would spell insolvency of the land.

In Bombay, he had learnt, the Government had already put into practice the recommendations of the Pay Commission. But there was an agitation for a still higher increase. There was now a threat of a token strike of a day. He hoped that there was no truth in the statement. If there was, he hoped that the matter would not be allowed to go beyond a threat. If it was meant seriously, he would ask the leaders of the movement to think twice before embarking on what appeared to him to be a meaningless adventure, unless it was an attempt to rest the strength or the influence of the leaders behind the movement. If such was the case, he could only regard it as a dangerous move harmful to the country. Let all who had influence in life remember that any manoeuvring for party gains might endanger the freedom they were about to gain from foreign domination.

New Delhi, 27-7-'47

#### PRINCES AND PARAMOUNTCY

Gandhiji drew the people's attention to the conference of the Princes called the day before yesterday by the Viceroy. It was right that the latter should now explain to the rulers what their position was going to be. Gandhiji expressed the opinion that what the Viceroy had said in the main appeared to be correct. It was well-known that up till now the Princes had lived secure under the shelter of British guns. Britain was the paramount power and had concluded treaties with some of the Princes. The latter had to do the bidding of the paramount power and they could not even appoint their own *Dwans*. But paramountcy was now going and while the Viceroy said that legally and technically the States were independent because that paramountcy was not devolving on either of the dominions, he advised the rulers to join one or other dominion rather than be in isolation. It was ridiculous for them to remain aloof and to maintain their independent existence. The British could not compel them to join one or the other dominion. The days of British compulsion were gone for ever. But, as the Viceroy said, it would be wisdom for the Princes to make their choice and enter one or the other dominion, having due regard to their geographical situation and the compulsion of that position.

There was one lacuna in the Viceroy's speech which perhaps was inevitable but which Gandhiji said, he had a right to refer to. He was from a small Kathiawad State himself. He knew what the position meant. There was no mention of the people of the States. The British had occasionally

hauled a Prince over the coals for misgovernance. But, by and large, the Princes had lived lives of ease and luxury and exploited their subjects. Now that the Imperial Power was going, the Princes would naturally welcome its departure in the sense that the weight of paramountcy was to be withdrawn. In another sense they might foolishly resent the paramountcy of the ryots. He suggested to them that they should regard the people's paramountcy as a privilege to be prized. It would add to their moral weight and redound to their credit. But this meant that they should become truly the first servants of the people. They had to show the spirit of service in action, they should act on the advice of the *prajamandals* or real leaders of the people. That would be wisdom and in that way alone could the people feel with the rest of India the glow of freedom.

The *prajamandals* had no experience of administration and of running the government. But the same was true of the leaders who were running the Central Government. They were lions outside. In office they had become lambs. They were slaving away night and day in order to serve the people. Therefore, the *prajamandals* were to be approached with trust.

The Princes were on their trial. The taxes they received should be spent for the welfare of the ryots, so that they received ten-fold return for what they paid. The States' people comprised probably one fourth of the whole of India. Would the ten crores of the States' subjects be able to rejoice on the 15th of August?

A simple Muslim girl had written to Gandhiji, "Freedom has come. But shall I call it freedom or ruination?" There was force in what the girl had said. The British could have said that paramountcy would devolve on the dominions and they could have adjudicated as to which dominion each State was to join. Unfortunately they did not choose to do so. Nevertheless, the Princes' road was clear. He hoped that they would choose the right course forthwith and assist in making the whole of India, though in two parts, a true democracy. There should be no mental reservations. All parties must lay all their cards on the table. It was now easy to understand why they could have no demonstrative celebration. He recommended, therefore, the celebration of the event with fasting, prayer and deep heart searching.

New Delhi, 28-7-'47

Gandhiji said that that evening he proposed to answer some of the questions that were found in his correspondence file.

#### CONGRESS AFTER AUGUST 15TH

Q. After the 15th of August will there be two Congresses or only one for both the parts of India, if there is to be any need for the Congress at all?

A. In my opinion the need for such an organization will be greater than it has been upto now. No doubt the function will be different. Unless Congressmen foolishly subscribe to the theory of two nations based on two religions, there can be

only one Congress for one India. Division of India does not, ought not to, divide the All India body. India does not become two nations because it has been cut up into two sovereign States. Supposing one or more States remain outside the two dominions, will the Congress exclude them and their people from the National Congress? Will they not rather demand special care and attention from the Congress? Problems more intricate than before, will certainly arise. Some of them may defy solution. That will be no reason for cutting the Congress in twain. It will evoke greater statesmanship, deeper thinking and cooler judgment than hitherto. Let us not anticipate paralysing difficulties. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

#### CONGRESS AND COMMUNALISM

The second question is

Q. Will the Congress become a communal body now? There is an insistent demand for it. Now that the Muslims regard themselves as aliens, why should we not call the Union, Hindu India with an indelible stamp of Hindudom on it?

A. This question betrays gross ignorance. The Congress can never become a Hindu body. Those who will make it so are enemies of India and Hinduism. We are a nation of millions. Their voice no one has heard. Insistence, if there is any, is confined to the busybodies of our cities. Let us not mistake their voice for the voice of the millions of India's villages. Thirdly, the Muslims of the Union have not declared themselves as aliens. Lastly, in spite of the many shortcomings of the Hindus, it can be safely claimed that Hinduism has never been known to be exclusive. Many persons claiming different faiths make us one and an indivisible nation. All these have an equal claim to be the nationals of India. The so-called majority community has no right to impose itself on the others. Might of numbers or of the sword shall not be right. Right is the only true might, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding.

#### NON-MUSLIMS AND THE PAKISTAN FLAG

The third question is:

Q. What should be the attitude of the non-Muslims towards the Pakistan flag?

A. That flag has not yet come into being. Probably it will be the same as the Muslim League flag. If it is identified with Islam, it must have a flag which is common to all Muslims of the world and it should command the universal respect of all who are not inimical to Islam. I know of no such flag either for Islam, Christianity, Hinduism or any other faith. Not being a student of history I am subject to correction. If the Pakistan flag, whatever its design, represents all its inhabitants equally, irrespective of religion, it will command my salute as it should yours. In other words, the dominions must not be enemies one of the other. Dominions of the Commonwealth cannot be enemies of one another. I am watching with painful interest how the South Africa Dominion behaves towards the Dominions of India. Can they afford to be

anti-Indian? May the Europeans of that dominion refuse even to travel in the same compartment with the Indians because they are Indians?

New Delhi, 29-7-'47

At the beginning of his post-prayer speech Gandhiji introduced Shri Prabhakarji of Sevagram who had conducted the prayers the day before and sung at the prayers that day. He was a Harijan. He had been rendering valuable service to the poor villagers by working at the Ashram hospital, now known as the Kasturba Hospital and conducted the prayers at the Ashram.

#### IN FULFILMENT OF A PROMISE

He informed the audience that he was leaving for Kashmir on Wednesday, the 30th inst. The talk of his going to Kashmir had been going on for a long time. He was not very keen to go, although everyone should wish to visit that beautiful place. He was going as a matter of duty to fulfil a promise made to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

After his return to India from South Africa in 1915, he met the late Maharaja of Kashmir at the Kumbha mela at Haradwar. The Maharaja invited him to Kashmir. But he had no time then. In 1935 he was the guest of Khan Sahab Abdul Ghaffar Khan at Abbottabad. Sir N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar was then the Prime Minister of Kashmir. He invited Gandhiji to go to Kashmir. It was almost decided that he would go. But he could not. In 1945 there was the Simla Conference. Important negotiations were going on at Delhi in which Pandit Jawaharlal was the chief participant. He went on what was to be a day's visit to Kashmir. But being a born fighter he got caught in a fight with the State authorities and could not return. Maulana Sahab was the President of the Congress. He was upset and so was Lord Wavell that Panditji was held up. Gandhiji told Maulana Sahab to send a telegram to him to return immediately. His honour was the honour of the Congress and his commitment would be taken up by the Congress and that, if need be, Gandhiji would go instead. As a disciplined soldier that he was, Pandit Jawaharlal returned. When, therefore, over a month ago when Panditji felt that he should pay Kashmir a flying visit, Gandhiji offered to go in his place, provided the Viceroy had no objection to it. The Viceroy advised him to postpone his visit. After the protracted delay it became a question as to who should go now. It was felt that Pandit Nehru's visit would be more open to misinterpretation than his (Gandhiji's). As a matter of fact neither had any intention of influencing the decision as to joining one dominion or the other. So far as he was concerned, he knew what he wanted to go for. He did not want to let the workers in Kashmir feel that they were neglected. Pandit Nehru belonged to Kashmir. The speaker was connected with Kashmir as President of the A. I. S. A. He was not going to Kashmir to secure the

release of Sheikh Abdulla. He was certainly going to see Begum Abdulla. He had no wish to see the Kashmir functionaries, though he was courteous enough not to object to any such proposal. He would certainly like to see common men and women of Kashmir whether Muslim or non-Muslim. So far as the accession to the dominions was concerned, he was firmly of opinion that it was the ryots who should decide, not the rulers. The British Government were a paramountcy imposed. The real paramountcy is inherently vested in the ryots. His visit to Kashmir was thus in fulfilment of the promise referred to by him. He had no wish to address public meetings.

He appealed to the public to let him have a quiet and peaceful journey. He was not fit to stand the noise and din of the crowds.

#### CELEBRATIONS ON AUGUST 15TH

He was taken to task for advising the people to fast and pray and spin on the 15th of August. Was it not a sign of mourning? It was not so. There was cause for sorrow in as much as the country had been cut in twain. But there was cause too for rejoicing in that the British power was quitting India. There was more than enough to chasten them. Even when there was cause for unmixed joy as on the 6th of April, 1919, when there was country-wide awakening and the Hindus, the Muslims and the others freely mixed with one another, he had advised the celebration by prayer, fasting and spinning. The reason for humbling themselves before God was now infinitely greater when brother was fighting brother, when there was shortage of food and clothing, and when the country's leaders were called upon to shoulder a burden under which, without God's grace, the strongest back might well break.

Some people were even thinking of having black flag demonstrations. He could not approve of such. There was no cause for mourning.

He had heard that people were not willing to buy the old flags, which were in stock and asked for those with the new design. The leaders had told them that the meaning of the two flags was the same. The new one was also to be on pure khadi. The Khadi Bhandars should refuse to sell new flags till the old stock was exhausted and if the people understood the spirit behind the flag, they would deem it an honour to buy the old flags till the Bhandars which were the poor man's property had any of them to sell.

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## HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## WEEKLY NOTES

## DEPARTURE FOR KASHMIR

After weeks of hopes and fears the people of Kashmir were relieved to learn that Gandhiji had at last started for Kashmir on the night of the 30th July. Gandhiji's one and only hobby is his work. He does not care for sight-seeing and even those with him have often to miss beautiful scenery for the same reason. Mahadevblai told me how he could not spare time to go and see the beautiful Gersappa Falls in the South during one of Gandhiji's South India tours. Gandhiji was too busy and so, of course, was his secretariat.

But even Gandhiji was keen to visit the beautiful Kashmir. The talk about the proposed visit had gone on for weeks. Pandit Nehru brought maps and showed him what places he ought to visit. He read out to him passages about Kashmir from books and tried to enthuse him in every possible way. Seth G. D. Birla is an orthodox Hindu. As soon as he heard that Gandhiji wanted to visit Urtarkashi, he took up the idea with enthusiasm and eagerly went forth to make arrangements for the 'old father's' pilgrimage. But the idea was later dropped for the time being. Pandit Nehru is different. Pilgrimages do not suit him. He wanted the 'old father' to go to Kashmir, where he could find a little rest and peace and also give solace to the suffering people. Gandhiji needed the rest very badly and agreed to spend a fortnight in Kashmir, if there was time. But he did not wish to go there against the wishes of the Viceroy. He took time to make up his mind. H. E. only wanted to advise. The result was that instead of a fortnight Gandhiji could spare only three days for Kashmir.

## AT KASHMIR

He reached in the evening on 1st instant and left it on the morning of the 4th. During his stay there, all that he saw of Kashmir besides the road was the inside of Lala Kishorilal's house, where he was putting up. He could not even spare a couple of hours to go and see the beautiful gardens of Srinagar. Every minute was booked up. All kinds of people came to see him. They were all unanimous in asking for the release of Sheikh Abdullah Saheb and other leaders and for the removal of the Prime Minister. Gandhiji told them that he had not come on a political mission. He had no intention to ask for the release of Sheikh Abdullah Saheb. A *satyagrahi's* mere stay in jail was a most potent force to achieve the objective.

At Jammu, which he reached on the 4th August, deputations of workers and students waited on him. "India will be free on the 15th of August," they said. "What of Kashmir?" "That will depend on the people of Kashmir," replied Gandhiji. What could the people do when Sheikh Saheb was behind the bars? they asked. A similar question had been asked in Srinagar also. Gandhiji discouraged the tendency to rely on one man and feel helpless in his absence. They must learn to stand on their own legs. The leader's function was merely to help them in that. Spoon-feeding could not go on for ever.

They all wanted to know whether Kashmir would join the Union or Pakistan. Gandhiji had not gone to Kashmir to discuss this question. It should be decided by the will of the Kashmiris.

He had promised himself that he would make no speeches in Kashmir so as to make his visit devoid of all political colour as far as was humanly possible. On the first day public prayer also was not held. But the authorities wrote saying that they had no objection to the prayers being held in the compound of the house where he was staying. So the prayer was held and was attended by thousands on the 2nd instant. Men and women flocked from the neighbouring villages to have a glimpse of the Mahatma. Friends and foes alike wonder at the hold he has on the masses. His mere presence seems to soothe them in some strange fashion. Those near him for long forget this fact.

## AT THE WAH CAMP

Gandhiji went up to Srinagar via Rawalpindi but his programme had been fixed already. He could not break journey at Rawalpindi and went straight up to Srinagar. But his heart was with the sufferers of the Punjab. Therefore, he cut short his stay in Kashmir and returned to Jammu on the 4th instant from where he motored down all the way back to Pindi so as to spend some time with the refugees at the Wah Camp. The number of refugees in this camp had reached 24,000 at one stage. But the fear of the coming 15th of August was fast driving them out of Western Punjab. They numbered about 9000 on the day of Gandhiji's visit. They were all insistent that the camp should be removed to Eastern Punjab before the 15th instant. They were terror-stricken. The things that they had seen and passed through were too terrible to be faced again. They could not trust the Muslims. If left in Western Punjab, they would have no alternative except to embrace Islam or to die, they said. It was too painful for Gandhiji to hear

these things from the lips of the Sikhs whose Gurus had made such tremendous sacrifices for the sake of their religion. Was religion so cheap that it could be sold for the sake of life or property? Why had they forgotten the glorious instance of Guru Govind Singh's boys who laid down their lives for their religion at a tender age? The Sikhs had taken to a life of luxury. It had robbed them of their valour. Could there be anything more tragic than that? He wanted them to develop superior bravery to that of the sword. That, to him, was the true test of valour.

There was no cause to be frightened of the coming 15th of August. He would have loved to stay in their midst till then and face the danger if there was any. But he could not do so. He had promised to be in Noakhali before that date. Therefore, he asked me to stay on with the refugees till the 15th. His post-prayer speech at the Refugee Camp the first one since he left Rawalpindi dealt with his visit to Kashmir and the question of the refugees. It will be reproduced in the next issue.

#### AT PANJA SAHEB

The Wah Camp is situated at a distance of about 2 miles from Panja Sahib, the famous Sikh *Gurudwara*. From the Camp Gandhiji motored to Panja Sahib where he was taken to a cool underground room for rest. Two water channels leading from the main tank flow through this room. The tank is fed by a spring which yields lovely cool water. But like most holy places the tank is made extremely dirty by the thoughtless public. Before leaving Panja Sahib, Gandhiji visited the *Gurudwara* where an address was presented to him in *Gurmukhi*. It narrated the sufferings of the Sikh community and the dangers that faced them and their shrines in Pakistan. The Panja Sahib *Gurudwara* is one of the oldest and holiest of the Sikh shrines. It owns property worth a crore or so. It feeds one thousand mouths every day. Nowadays, nearly three to four thousand people are fed at the *Gurudwara langar* everyday. Twice the *Gurudwara* was attacked by Muslim mobs during the recent disturbances. But with the grace of God, the attack was warded off and no harm came to the *Gurudwara*. But they wanted definite and concrete measures to insure the safety of the *Gurudwara*. Any damage to the *Gurudwara* would endanger the peace of the whole of the Punjab, they said. They also wanted Eastern Punjab to be made into a Sikh State where Sikh religion and culture could prosper. Replying to the address Gandhiji did not consider it possible that Eastern Punjab should be handed over entirely to the Sikhs to govern. He felt that the Sikhs should never entertain such an unworthy ambition. The Sikhs were reputed, and rightly, to be a warlike race. With them of all the persons in the world, merit and merit alone should be the sole test for holding any office. He hoped that throughout the two dominions merit would be the sole test. The speaker invited the Sikhs to lead in this desirable competition.

Coming to the protection of Panja Sahib, Nankana Sahib and the other *Gurudwaras* that may be found in Pakistan or elsewhere, he said. "Do not look to any other power outside yourselves for the protection of these shrines. I would like every Sikh to be a defender of his faith and, therefore, of all the *Gurudwaras* and not merely of Panja Sahib which is one of the greatest. At the same time I want you to shed all fear about the future. I would ask you to rely upon the plighted word of the Muslim leaders. They had got their Pakistan. They have no quarrel now with any one in India at least they should have none. If your fears materialise and any attempt at desecration of the *Gurudwaras* is made by the Muslims, it will be contrary to the tradition of Islam as I know it. And those Muslims who take part in such desecration would be partakers in the destruction of Islam. Every faith is on its trial in India. God is the infallible judge and the world which is His creation will judge the Muslim leaders not according to their pledges and promises but according to the deeds of these leaders and their followers. What I have said of the Muslim leaders is also true of the leaders and followers of other faiths.

Rawalpindi, 6-8-47

S. N.

#### FOOD CRISIS AND SOIL FERTILITY

The present crisis is not directly due to the low fertility of the Indian soil. There are a number of factors which are responsible for the food-shortage. But the Government could really save the country from the crisis by taking steps, which it has failed to do, to increase production by applying manures to the soil. It is high time for the National Government to increase the crop production. If India can produce more cereals like paddy, wheat, jowar, bajra etc. which form the staple and most important ingredient of the food materials, the chance of a famine or a crisis will be much less. Many parts of the country depending on rice have always been substantially helped by the crops produced in Burma, Malaya, Siam and other countries. In the Travancore State 367,000 tons of rice are annually imported as against 250,000 tons produced in Travancore. Bengal and Madras have also to depend a good deal on imported rice. Hence there is plenty of scope for the better production of those cereals which respond well to treatment by nitrogenous compounds.

The question regarding the exhaustion of the Indian soil has been repeatedly asked but so far no satisfactory answer has been forthcoming. Dr Voelcker in his *Improvement of Indian Agriculture* recorded the following results at Rotterdam (in England) in the case of wheat grown on fields continuously unmanured for over 50 years.

Crop yield in bushels per acre	
8 years (1844-51)	17
20 years (1852-71)	18.9
20 years (1872-91)	11.1

1 bushel = 4

These results show that there is a slow deterioration of the unmanured fields at Rothamsted. Dr. Voelcker concluded that under existing conditions of agriculture, the soil of India must become gradually poorer.

On the other hand Howard and Wad in their *Waste Products of Agriculture* have stated as follows:

"A good example of such a system of farming without manure is to be found on the alluvial soils of the United Provinces India, where field records of ten centuries prove that the land produces fair crops year after year without any falling in fertility. A perfect balance has been reached between the manurial requirements of the crops harvested and the natural processes which recuperate fertility."

G. Clarke (late Director of Agriculture, United Provinces, India) in his presidential address to the Agriculture section of the Indian Science Congress, has stated the position in the following words.

"When we examine the facts, we must put the Northern Indian cultivator down as the most economical farmer in the world as far as the utilization of the potent element of fertility, nitrogen, goes. In this respect he is more skilful than his Canadian brother. He cannot take a heavy over-draft of nitrogen from the soil. He has only the small current account provided by a few pounds annually added by nature yet he raises a crop of wheat on irrigated land in the United Provinces that is not far removed from the Canadian average. He does more with a little nitrogen than any farmer I ever heard of. We need not concern ourselves with soil deterioration in these Provinces. The present standard of fertility can be maintained indefinitely. . . . In India, we have in existence at least a perfect balance between the nitrogen requirements of the crops we harvest and the processes which recuperate fertility."

It is well-known that about half of every crop the root system remains in the ground at harvest time and thus provides the soil with cellulosic and other carbonaceous materials. From our experimental observations showing that cellulosic and other energy-rich substances when added to the soil, cause marked nitrogen fixation, it can be concluded that from the oxidation of the cellulosic and other organic substances, the nitrogen fixed on the soil surface, supplies the plant need. The nitrogen need of crops in the tropical countries, can be met by the nitrogen fixed from air due to the energy liberated from the oxidation of the cellulosic materials, left behind in the soil after harvesting. Moreover, the available nitrogen in rain water in the tropics is greater than in that of temperate countries. In the cold countries, chiefly due to the inactivity of Azotobacter caused by the low temperature of the soil and lack of sunshine, the cellulosic and other energy-rich materials added to the soil along with plant residues, are not oxidized as readily as in tropical soils and hence much nitrogen fixation is not possible in the soil of temperate countries. This explains the slow deterioration of the unmanured fields of Rothamsted already referred to. From the above observations, it seems that in the tropical countries,

almost a constant yield of crop which is not high in unmanured fields, is possible, due to the addition of nitrogen to the soil by the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen, caused by the energy produced from the oxidation of plant residues, left in the soil or added to it. Also the available nitrogen in tropical soils is usually over 10% of the total nitrogen while in the countries having temperate climate, the available nitrogen is between 1 to 2% of the total nitrogen. It is clear, therefore, that the amount of ammonium and nitrate ions, available in tropical soils for plant growth, is much greater than that available in cold countries, although the total nitrogen in cold countries may be double or treble of that in the tropical countries.

#### MANURING OLD AND NEW

Manuring can be done in two ways: by adding nitrogen-rich substances, e. g. nitrates, ammonium sulphate etc. and secondly, by adding carbonaceous substances which may help in fixing atmospheric nitrogen. The fertility is due to the available nitrogen (as ammonia and nitrate) and it is by increasing the nitrogen content that the fertility of the soil can be raised.

As regards inorganic manures, the artificial manures like ammonium sulphate, ammonium nitrate etc. which are likely to be manufactured in India, do not enrich the soil and increase soil fertility permanently. Most of these manures are lost as nitrogen gas without adding nitrogen to the soil. Hence, soils treated with such artificial manures may temporarily increase the crop yield but usually they deteriorate and their nitrogen content may fall off. On the other hand, organic manures like cowdung, farmyard manure, molasses etc., when added to the fields, not only add to the nitrogen they contain but the soil is also enriched by the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen. The value of cowdung or molasses depends chiefly on its power to fix atmospheric nitrogen. In Rothamsted no combination of artificial manures has been found to be so effective as farmyard manure, in steadying crop yield from year to year and there was an increase in soil nitrogen to about three times its original value when farmyard manure was used for more than sixty years; whilst with ammonium sulphate and soda nitrate, the soil nitrogen has a tendency to fall off with time. Similar beneficial results of organic manures over artificial nitrogenous compounds have been obtained with cowdung, molasses and leaves of plants in Allahabad and sunlight is actually utilized in increasing the nitrogen content of soil, when treated with organic manures. The experiments at Allahabad have fully established the fact that nitrogen fixation may be a non-bacterial process and it can take place readily in the complete absence of bacteria but with smaller velocity.

In support of organic manures Dr. G. Ruschmann says:

"The increase of soil fertility, which is the aim of all the modern scientific and practical efforts, cannot be attained by mineral manures. These by accelerating

(Continued on p. 282)

## HARIJAN

August 17

1947

## STUDENTS' DIFFICULTIES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"There is an attempt today to bring together all the existing students' organizations in a National Convention, to revise the basis of the student movement and to evolve a united national organization of students. What in your opinion, should be the scope of this new organization? What activities should this students' organization undertake in the new circumstances in the country?"

There is no doubt that there should be one national organization including the Hindus, the Muslims and the others. Students are the makers of the future. They cannot be partitioned. I am sorry to observe that neither the students have thought for themselves nor have the leaders left them to their studies so that they can become good citizens. The rot began with the alien government. We, the inheritors, have not taken the trouble to rectify the errors of the past. Then the different political groups have sought to catch the students as if they were shoals of fish. And stupidly the students have run into the net spread for them.

It is therefore a herculean task for any students' organization to undertake. But there must be a heroic spirit among them who would not shrink from the task. The scope will be to knit them together into one. This they cannot do unless they will learn to steer clear of active politics. A student's duty is to study the various problems that require solution. His time for action comes after he finishes his studies.

"Today students' organizations are more concerned with passing resolutions on political affairs than devoting their energies to the task of national reconstruction. This is partly due to the attempts which political parties have been making to capture the students' organizations for their party purposes. Our present disunity too can be traced to these party politics. We, therefore want to evolve some method by which we can prevent the repetition of all this party politics and disunity in the proposed National Union of Students. Do you think it is possible for the students' organizations to eschew politics completely? If not, what, in your opinion, is the extent to which students' organizations should interest themselves in politics?"

This question is partly answered above. They must eschew active politics. It is a sign of one-sided growth that all parties have made use of the student world for their purpose. This was probably inevitable when the purpose of education was to create a race of slaves who would buy their slavery. That part of the business is over, I hope. The students' first business is to think out the education that the children of a free nation should

receive. The education of today is obviously not such. I must not go into the question as to what it should be. Only they must not allow themselves to be deceived into the belief that it is the function only of the leaders in the university senates. They must stimulate the faculty of thinking. I do not even remotely suggest that the students can force the situation by strikes and the like. They have to create public opinion by offering constructive and enlightened criticism. The senators having been brought up in the old school are slow to move. They can truly be acted upon by enlightenment.

"Today, the majority of students are not interesting themselves in national service. Many of them are cultivating what they consider 'fashionable' western habits, and more and more students are resorting to bad habits like drinking etc. There is little efficiency and little desire for independent thinking. We want to tackle all these problems, and build up character, discipline and efficiency in youth. How do you think we can do it?"

This deals with the present distemper. It will disappear when a calm atmosphere is produced, when the students cease to be agitators and take to sober studies. A student's life has been rightly likened to the life of a *sannyasi*. He must be the embodiment of simple living and high thinking. He must be discipline incarnate. His pleasure is derived from his studies. They do provide real pleasure when study ceases to be a tax the student has to pay. What can be a greater pleasure than that a student marches from knowledge to more knowledge?

On the train to Patna,

7-8-'47

## IS HE BURIED ALIVE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent from Hyderabad (Deccan) writes

"India has reached the present state on the strength of Gandhi's deeds and practices based on truth. But is it not clear that we are losing the very ladder by which we have mounted so high? Where are Hindu-Muslim unity, Hindustani, *khark*, Village Industries? Is not any talk about them hypocrisy?"

There is substance in the biting criticism. But I cling to the hope that I am not yet buried alive. The hope rests on the belief that the masses have not lost faith in them. When it is proved that they have, they will be lost and I can then be said to have been buried alive. But so long as my faith burns bright, as I hope it will even if I stand alone, I shall be alive in the grave and what is more, speaking from it. The correspondent forgets untouchability and prohibition. The former is rapidly disappearing. And it looks as if prohibition is coming. I am quite sure that if the Congress forsakes the ideals it adopted in 1920, it will commit suicide.

On the train to Patna

7-8-'47

(Adapted from the original in *Hindustani*)



## NOTES

## The Reason for Addition

During the three days I passed in Shrinagar though I had prayers in the compound of Lala Kishorlal's bungalow, where I was accommodated, I made no speeches. I had so declared before leaving Delhi. But some of the audience sent me questions. One was—

"I attended your prayer meeting last evening in which you recited two prayers of the other communities. May I know what is your idea in doing so and what you mean by a religion?"

As I have observed before now, the selection from the *Quran* was introduced some years ago on the suggestion of Raihana Tyebji who was then living in the Sevagram Ashram and the one from the Parsi prayers at the instance of Dr. Gilder who recited the Parsi prayer on the break of my fast in the Aga Khan palace during our detention. I am of opinion that the addition enriched the prayer. It reached the hearts of a larger audience than before. It certainly showed Hinduism in its broad and tolerant aspect. The questioner ought also to have asked why the prayer commenced with the Buddhist prayer in Japanese. The selections of the stanzas of the prayer has a history behind it befitting the sacred character. The Buddhist prayer was the prayer with which the whole of Sevagram resounded in the early morning when a good Japanese monk was staying at the Sevagram Ashram and who by his silent and dignified conduct had endeared himself to the inmates of the Ashram.

Jammu, 5-8-'47

## Why Not Indian?

His second question was why Lord Mountbatten was selected as the first Governor-General. The reason so far as I know is properly guessed by the questioner. There was no equally suitable Indian for the post. He, being the part, if not the sole, author of the conception lying behind the Indian Independence Bill, seemed to the members of the Interim Government to be the fittest person to pilot the ship of State safe through the troubled waters. The appointment if it was a credit to the British, was equally a credit to the Indian statesmen who had shown themselves free from prejudice and who were capable of rising above prejudice. They showed that they were brave enough to trust their erstwhile opponents.

## The Minorities

He next asks why I do not agree that the minorities should quit their respective dominions.

No one has asked me to agree. But I should oppose any such movement. There is no occasion to distrust the majority in either dominion. And in any case, now that there are two sovereign States in India, each has to ensure the proper treatment of the minorities in the other. Let us hope that such a contingency will never arise. I hold too that every right carries with it a duty, better still, there is no right which does not flow from duty duly performed.

## Leaving Politics after the 15th?

Fourthly, he asks whether I would leave politics after the 15th when India will be free.

In the first instance there is no freedom approaching the Kingdom of God. We seem to be as far from it as ever. And in any case the life of the millions is my politics from which I dare not free myself without denying my life work and God. That my politics may take a different turn is quite possible. But that will be determined by circumstances.

Lastly he says, "You have done a lot of work in Bihar; why was the Punjab ignored?"

All I can say is that my not going to the Punjab must not be counted as my neglect of the province. Nevertheless the question is quite apposite and has been asked more than once. The nearest answer I gave was that I had no call from within and my counsellors gave me no encouragement.

On the train to Patna,  
7-8-'47

M. K. G

## TRUE ISLAM

(By M. K. Ganahi)

A Muslim correspondent sends a letter which is given below barring personal references.

Islam is a universal religion and its great message is to strive and know the Truth. The following verses of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi will explain what great effort is needed even for great souls like Caliph Ali to know the Truth:

1. The Prophet said to Ali, O Ali!

Thou art the Lion of God, a hero most valiant  
Yet confide not in thine lion-like valor.

But seek refuge under the palm trees of the truth  
Come under the shadow of the Man of Reason.

Thou canst not find it in the road of the tradition

His shadow of earth is as that of Mount Qaf

His spirit is as a Simurgh soaring on high

Were I to tell his praises till the last day

My words would not be too many nor admit of

certainly not

That sun is hidden in the form of a man,

Understand me, Allah knows the truth!

2. Pass over names and look to qualities

So that qualities may lead thee to essence

The differences of sects arise from His names

When they pierce to His essence, they find His peace

The great tragedy of Muslim India today is that it has entangled itself in names and has ignored the teachings of Islam, whereby it could have passed over to knowing the reality. They act according to their own natures, yet they attribute their actions to Islam forgetting that

The moon seeds her night and the dogs howl

Everyone acts according to his nature

To each his office is allotted by the divine decree

I swear by Ages indeed man is at total!

Except those who believe and do good deeds.

And those who preach for Truth and Non-violence.

I would request you kindly to avoid bringing the name of Islam when you refer to the actions of the Muslims, as the two are today different.

Would that this Islam might be exhibited in the deeds under Pakistan and the correspondent's taunt dispelled!

New Delhi, 20-7-'47

## FOOD CRISIS AND SOIL FERTILITY

(Continued from p. 279)

The breaking down of humus are actually detrimental. Increase of crop by improving the soil properties, and greater returns by addition of plant food are two different things, which are often confused. The latter can be effected by mineral manures which act not immediately. On the other hand, to build up a good soil is a more lengthy process. While it is relatively simple to maintain the fertility of soil rich in humus, it is difficult in a soil which is mainly mineral to build up the necessary humus. . . . Directly or indirectly all plant and animal life is made possible by the soil humus. To its increase may be systematically employed all those organic materials which at present are virtually wasted. The greatest attention should be devoted to the albuminous or nitrogen containing organic rejects and residues of human and animal life."

The best manure, well-suited for this hot and poor country like India, is certainly farmyard manure (cowdung) or any substance rich in carbonaceous compounds e. g. molasses, leaves, plant residues etc. When these materials are not available in large amounts, they may be mixed with ammonium sulphate, ammonium nitrate or urea manufactured in this country. To purchase artificial manures from abroad is likely to be costly and the poor cultivator may not be in a position to purchase imported material.

### BURNING OF COWDUNG CRIMINAL

As explained above cowdung or farmyard manure is definitely the best manure for increasing the soil properties and steadying the crop yield. If it is utilized properly, it may really serve as a boon to the poor Indian farmer by giving a rich return of steady crop-yield on a relatively cheap price. It is really a pity that cowdung being the most economic manure, the Indian farmer burns, knowing little that he is burning his own money. But the question arises as to what fuel should he use. Unfortunately, cowdung is the only fuel cheaply available to him. The Government in the past have totally neglected this important problem and seem to have no schemes even at present. Under a National Indian Government which propose to launch a thousand and one schemes for the improvement of Indian agriculture, steps must be taken to really better the lot of the Indian farmer by procuring some other fuel for his use and leave cowdung only for manuring purpose. It may be useful to encourage tree-plantation or coal may be made available wherever possible.

It has been suggested that preparation of compost for use in the fields may be useful; but agriculturists all over the world find its preparation tedious and laborious and are, therefore, not anxious to take it up seriously. From our experiments on the fixation of nitrogen by the addition of green and dry leaves, paper, straw, etc. to the soil in fields, we are of the opinion that it is more profitable to add these plant residues to the soil before composting. When these plant residues are added to the soil and ploughed under before the rainy season, in three months, they are considerably decomposed and the carbon of the materials undergoes oxidation on the soil surface with the liberation of energy necessary for nitrogen fixation. These plant materials, therefore, when added to the soil directly, not only supply

the nitrogen, potash etc. they contain but can fix appreciable amounts of nitrogen on the soil surface and enriches the soil. If the plant materials are not in large excess, they are considerably decomposed and oxidized within three months after their application and the carbon-nitrogen ratio of the soil attains the normal value. The humus, the colloidal matter and the nitrogen contents are increased. The tilth, the moisture retention and the nitrogen conservation capacity are considerably improved. In composting the aim is to conserve the total nitrogen originally present in the materials and add it to the soil along with the carbon of the compost. In our method of adding the plant materials direct to the soil, not only the nitrogen present in the original material is added but a considerable amount of nitrogen increase in the soil takes place due to the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen. It appears, therefore, that the application of the plant materials direct to the soil is more beneficial than composting them because the high temperature and the sunlight available in tropical countries are helpful.

As a matter of fact inorganic manures are no good in improving the soil properties. However they may be useful for getting better crops in the hour of need. It is no exaggeration to state that the standard of civilization of a country can be judged by the amount of nitrogen of the air fixed for the production of synthetic ammonia and nitric acid from the nitrogen of the air. It is pleasing to note that India is also going to have some plants for the manufacture of manure. But the Government ought to be aware of the fact that unless we can compete with sister countries like China and Japan in the production of manures, the fate of locally manufactured manures would be no better than that of gur (sugar) some years back. It does not sound economical and wise to establish a plant in Bihar and get raw materials (gypsum) from Rajasthan about 800 miles apart.

The manures that can be manufactured in India are urea, ammonium nitrate, ammonium sulphate etc.

### HOW TO RECLAIM

The chief defects of alkali land are :

1. The alkalinity. We have examined several samples of bad usar lands and we find that the alkalinity is very high. Neither Azotobacter nor nitrite-formers are observed in cultures obtained with these soils.

2. The amount of calcium compounds is less in these soils than in normal ones. The amounts of exchangeable bases are less than in normal soils.

3. The nitrogen content is small. In several samples examined by us the total nitrogen varied from 0.008% to 0.02%, normal soils contain approximately 0.05% nitrogen in tropical countries.

4. The soil is highly impermeable to water.

5. The soil particles do not settle readily when shaken with water.

6. Lack of bacterial activity.

It is estimated that the total area of usar (alkali) lands in the United Provinces alone is more than four million acres. In the Punjab (Lyallpur, Montgomery and other places), Bihar, Mysore, Sind

and Bombay, there are vast tracts of such unproductive land. Naturally the reclamation of these lands is a problem of great importance to India. The salts which make these lands unfit for growing crops are the carbonate, bicarbonate, sulphate and chloride of sodium. Sodium carbonate is chiefly responsible for the unproductiveness of such lands, which are generally heavy clay soils and are very often termed *parti* or waste lands. In Sind and in the other parts of the country, normal soils are being converted into alkaline ones by irrigation water. Moreover, there are vast tracts of sea-water-damaged lands in Bengal, Orissa, Gujarat, Bombay and Madras Presidencies. Due to various causes, mentioned above, the amount of alkaline land is increasing in India.

Regarding reclamation, the late Dr. J. W. Leather carried on experiments for the reclamation of alkali soils in different parts of the United Provinces (India). His conclusions are as follows:

1. The only experiment which can claim to have really reclaimed the *usar* land (alkali land) is the application of gypsum. The cost of sufficient gypsum to effect this was very great—about 700 or 800 rupees per acre—and is obviously prohibitive. Even if the cost of gypsum could be reduced to one-half, it would still be too expensive if required in the quantity that this land did receive it.

2. The effect of deep and good cultivation coupled with heavy manuring has not been either what is indicated to the unaided eye or what might have been anticipated. The surface foot of the soil has been apparently reclaimed, but below this the soil is as bad as ever.

3. Scraping of the salts is practically useless. Recently Dr. Dalip Singh and Mr. S. D. Nighawan have tried to reclaim *kallar* (alkaline) soil at Iyalpur, Lakakku, Montgomery and the Bara farm by the application of a mixture of gypsum and calcium chloride, and achieved some success. They reported that the soil permeability appreciably increases on this treatment after four years and the process of reclamation takes four years which also the time required by the application of gypsum or powdered sulphur.

Molasses can also be used for this purpose. Alkaline lands have been successfully reclaimed near Cawnpore, Allahabad and in Mysore by the application of molasses at the rate of one to ten tons per acre and a good rice crop has been grown in these reclaimed areas where no vegetation ever grew. We have applied molasses in amounts varying from two to five tons per acre of alkali land at Sorson (near Allahabad) and at the Government Farm of Unao, and have obtained excellent results with rice. The Mysore Government has been able to obtain 1200 to 1800 lbs. of rice grains per acre of alkaline land, using one ton of molasses per acre on plots where crops failed previously.

Research work carried on in Allahabad, Bangalore, Java, Hawaii and other sugar-producing countries shows that molasses added to the soil along with carbonic acid and organic acids like acetic, propionic, butyric, lactic etc., are produced in the early stages in the decomposition and partial oxidation of the carbohydrates present in molasses. Consequently

the acids present in molasses and those obtained from the decomposition and partial oxidation can neutralize the alkali of the soils rich in alkali. Moreover, the carbonic acid which is produced in large amounts from the decomposition and oxidation of the carbohydrates, can convert the sodium carbonate into bicarbonate. Also in the process of the escape of carbonic acid from the molassed soil, the latter is rendered porous and its tilth is improved. The investigations at Allahabad show definitely that the moisture content of the molassed soil is appreciably higher than that of the unmolassed one. The lime, which is added to the soil along with the molasses, is rendered soluble by the organic acids formed from molasses and is helpful in the conversion of sodium soil into a calcium one. Moreover the small amounts of sulphuric acid present in molasses convert the soil calcium carbonate into calcium sulphate, which reacts with alkali and reclaims such soils.

Press-mud from sugar factories containing large proportions of carbohydrates and calcium compounds is also very useful in the reclamation of alkali and *usar* soils. Using one half to one ton of oil cake per acre, *usar* soils have been successfully reclaimed for rice cultivation.

DR. N. R. DHAR

[The suggestions contained in this paper are worthy of attention and adoption. I have no doubt that proper treatment and judicious use of our soil should allay all fear of dearth of food. — M. K. G.]

### Milk Sweets

A correspondent writes

"You know the position of milk in India. Here at Jamsheerpur the population is about two and a half lakhs. Even if two and a half *chhataks* of milk was given to every one, there will be a daily consumption of 1000 maunds. Against this the Tisco dairy is producing 30 maunds of milk per day and we another 9. How much watered milk is supplied by the *gawalas* from door to door we do not know. But we do know that while the babies and expectant mothers and the sick are not getting milk to drink, about 50 maunds of milk is being daily used by the *halwais* for making sweets. Should *rasgullas*, *peethas* and similar luxuries be given preference over feeding bottles?"

Gandhiji has times without number cried himself hoarse over the question. In times like these it is criminal to waste a single morsel of food. Eating sweets is worse than waste. It harms those who eat them and it deprives others of the necessary foodstuff. It is the responsibility of the public to see that the practice is stopped immediately. All sweets prepared from milk should be banned till there is enough milk for the sick and the children. All conscientious people should take a vow not to touch such sweets themselves and persuade others to do likewise. The most effective sanction is that of public opinion. If the public realize the gravity of the situation and the viciousness of the practice which deprives the babies and the sick of their food, they will rectify it. Without an enlightened public opinion, artificial controls can serve no useful purpose.

Rawalpindi, 31-7-47

S. N.

## IS THE TRICOLOUR GONE?

( By M. K. Gandhi )

The Hyderabad correspondent writes

"This flag was the mainstay of our struggle. The Constituent Assembly has committed a grave blunder by traducing the spinning wheel. The Ashoka Chakra has nothing in common with it. It is contrary to all that the spinning wheel stands for. Gandhiji's wheel has nothing to do with religion. The innovation is a sign of Hinduism. The spinning wheel is the sign of non-violent economics. The new one is the Sudarshan Chakra, a sure sign of violence. T. T. S. says Sri Munshi in his broadcast. Thus it is said Hinduism will be sustained by violence. A deliberate attempt is being made in that direction. This will never bring Pakistan nearer to us but will put it off from us."

I have not read the speech attributed to Sri Munshi. Assuming that he has expressed these sentiments, let us hope he does not represent the opinion of the masses. Pandit Jawaharlal, who moved the resolution on the flag, said definitely that the wheel which is undoubtedly a copy of the Ashoka wheel was meant to represent the spinning wheel. Maharaja Ashoka was a Buddhist and he represented in his person non-violence on which his edicts were based. He was the one Emperor who renounced the fruits of victory and attempted to rule by the force of love, not by that of the sword. One can thus extend the meaning not inconsistent with the original. Lastly, in my opinion, Sudarshan did not represent the force of arms. But I confess that here I am on debatable ground. All I can say is that if the present design does not represent the original and represents something contrary, my head would refuse to bow to the new flag. Let me hope that the correspondent is unnecessarily nervous about things happening around us.

On the train to Patna,

7-8-'47

(Adapted from the original in Hindustani)

## A DRAFT DECLARATION

( By M. K. Gandhi )

Shri Brijlal Nehru sends for publication the following draft declaration.

"Draft declaration to be signed by all members of the Public Service in India, Civil or Military, and by all candidates for the Service, whether Central, Provincial or Local, and by all applicants for other profitable jobs under these Governments and the members of the legislatures including the Constituent Assembly

I hereby solemnly declare that

1. I am a subject of the Union of India to which I pledge my loyalty in all circumstances.

2. I repudiate the theory that the Hindus and the Muslims are two separate Nations and hold the view that all the people of India, of whatever race or religion they may belong, are parts of one Nation.

3. I shall so conduct myself in all my actions and speech as to strengthen this idea of One Nationality of all the inhabitants of this ancient and sacred land.

4. If at any time I am found guilty of a breach of this declaration, I shall render myself liable to removal from any office or post of profit that I may be holding at the time.

The wording may admit of improvement. But the spirit behind is surely admirable and worthy of adoption if we are to get out of unhealthy growth in the body politic.

On the train to Patna

7-8-'47

## RACES

( By M. K. Gandhi )

The following is the substance of a Gujarati letter published in the Harijanbandhu

"During the rainy season races take place in Poona. Three specials per day run to Poona and back. This is possible when there is scarcity of accommodation, since that businessmen have to go in crowded cars. Passengers are often seen hanging on foot-boards at times resulting in avoidable fatal accidents. Add to this the fact that when there is not enough petrol, extra cars also run to Poona. Do not these passengers draw their usual millions in Bombay? Do they not get refreshments in the specials and on the race course?"

"This reflection leads me to examine the Civil Service. Are not the men whose mismanagement we used to condemn before, running the State today? What are we coming to? We are without enough food and enough clothing. And we find ourselves indulging in costly amusements.

I have often written about the evils of racing. But mine was then a voice in the wilderness. The alien rulers liked the vice and clothed it with some kind of virtue. Surely, there is no reason for now clinging to the vice. Or shall we retain the vices of the rule and will its virtues quit with it?

There is much truth in what the correspondent says about the Civil Service. It is a soulless corporation. It acts after its master's manners. Therefore, if our representatives are watchful, if we insist on their doing their duty, much may be done through the Civil Service. Criticism is food for any democratic government. But it has to be constructive and wise. The original purity which marked the Congress in the beginning of the mass movement is the hope of the masses and must return if we are to live.

On the train to Patna

7-8-'47

(Adapted from the original in Gujarati)

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## ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## INSTALMENT—XXVI

## ENGLISH

## HINDUSTANI

Desperately } *adv* बेतहाशा, जान लोड़कर, आगे डूब  
Desperation, in }  
 सोचे बिना, संग कायर, जानवर जैसा, जानकी काड़ी लगाकर ।  
 मैं नाना, जान लोड़ कर, आगे कंधे सोच जा, तूक आ कर, जान  
 किल से, जान की बारी लोकर

Despicable *adj.* नीच, कमीना, दुष्ट ।  
 Despise *v.* दुष्ट जानना, बहिष्कृत समझना, घिन करना, बर्बाद  
 नही जाना, गिनाईल समझा, गिन कर, निज समझा ।  
 Despite *n.* बेर, दुश्मनी, द्वेष ।  
 Despite *prep.* बावजूद, तथापि, होते हुये भी ।

Despite, in my बेरी बेसिद्ध होव हुये भी ।  
 मेरी क्रुश होव हुये भी ।

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 मेरी क्रुश होव हुये भी ।

Destructive *n., adj.* लुकाव का उखाटावा का नष्ट करनेवाला,  
 -बर्बादी मचानेवाला, लोड़-लोड़ करनेवाला ।

अज्ञान या शिष्टाचार या लोड़ करने वाला, बर्बादी मचाने वाला,  
 लोड़ करने वाला

Destructor *n.* लुकाव-बर्बाद मचानेवाली शक्ति का भी ।  
 लोड़ करने वाला, लोड़ करने वाला, लोड़ करने वाला

Desuetude *n.* कानून का अभाव, अस्तिमान का होना, बेकार पड़े  
 काम में न आना, अस्तिमान होना, बेकार पड़े काम में न आना

Desultory *adj.* बे-बोड़, लुकाव-लुकाव, बे-बोड़ ।  
 बे-बोड़, लुकाव-लुकाव, बे-बोड़

Desultoryly *adv.* बे-बोड़ तरीके से ।  
 बे-बोड़ तरीके से, बे-बोड़ तरीके से

Detach *v.* अलग करना, छुड़ाना; काट काटकर लेना (हेमके  
 आकार में) ।

Detached *adj.* अलग, छुड़ा हुआ, बे-बोड़, निराला, छिन्नछिन्न ।  
 अलग, छुड़ा हुआ, बे-बोड़, निराला, छिन्नछिन्न

Detachment *n.* अलगाव, अलगावगी, अलग होना, अलगाव;  
 छुड़की, छुड़ी दस्त ।

Detail *n.* पूरा हाव, तफ़्तील, ज़ोरा ।  
 पूरा हाव, तफ़्तील, ज़ोरा

Detail *v.* तफ़्तील का ज़ोरा देना या बताना; काम तोड़ना ।  
 तफ़्तील का ज़ोरा देना या बताना; काम तोड़ना

Detailed or Detail, in *adv.* पूरा, तफ़्तीलवार, ज़ोरावार ।  
 पूरा, तफ़्तीलवार, ज़ोरावार

Detail, to go into *v.* इतनेक बातों में खोई तह देखना ।  
 इतनेक बातों में खोई तह देखना

Detain *v.* रोकना, रोक रक्कना, ठहराना, अटकाना या बैठ रक्कना ।  
 रोकना, रोक रक्कना, ठहराना, अटकाना या बैठ रक्कना

Detainer *n.* रोक छोड़नेवाला, तफ़्तीलगी, छुड़की ।  
 रोक छोड़नेवाला, तफ़्तीलगी, छुड़की

Detect *v.* देख पाना, पता का खोज लगाना; जान देना, माहम  
 करना, पकड़ना ।

Detection *n.* पकड़, खोज, पता चलना, माहम होना ।  
 पकड़, खोज, पता चलना, माहम होना

Detective *n.* खोजी, छुड़की, पता लगानेवाला, खोजी ।  
 खोजी, छुड़की, पता लगानेवाला, खोजी

Detector *n.* पकड़नेवाला, माहम करनेवाला; माहम करनेवाला  
 साधन (यंत्र) ।

Detent *n.* यंत्र (यन्त्र) बलने या रोकनेवाला यंत्र; यंत्र ।  
 यंत्र (यन्त्र) बलने या रोकनेवाला यंत्र; यंत्र

Detention *n.* रोक, अटक; तफ़्तीलगी ।  
 रोक, अटक, तफ़्तीलगी

Detention, house of *n.* हवाजीत ।  
 हवाजीत

Detent *n.* यंत्र (यन्त्र) बलने या रोकनेवाला यंत्र; यंत्र ।  
 यंत्र (यन्त्र) बलने या रोकनेवाला यंत्र; यंत्र

Deter *v.* डराने का रोकना, डराना, डराना, डराना, डराना ।  
 डराने का रोकना, डराना, डराना, डराना, डराना

Deterrent *adj.* रोकनेवाला, डरानेवाला ।  
 रोकनेवाला, डरानेवाला

Detergent *adj., n.* साफ करनेवाला ।  
 साफ करनेवाला

Deteriorate *v.* बिगाड़ना, बिगड़ना, बर्बाद करना या होना,  
 और बुरा या बदतर होना, गिरना ।

Deterioration *n.* बिगाड़, बिगड़, बिगड़, बिगड़, बिगड़ ।  
 बिगाड़, बिगड़, बिगड़, बिगड़, बिगड़



Devil, play the दुष्ट बचाना, आत्मासि सिपर लुभाना, लोभ बचाना ।  
لرزم مچال، آجان سر پر اڻال، شور مچال

Devil with, play the लुभाइना, बरबाद करना, धूममें मिलाना ।  
आजान، بر باد کرنا، محول میں ملانا

Devil, printer's n. डायैकानेका चपराही ।  
چاپے خانے کا چपराही

Devil and he will appear, talk of the शैतानक  
झिंकर करो और वह आ कड़ा हुआ ।

Devil and all, the बगलमरकी दुआमी या बत्ता ।  
جنگ هر کی برای یا بلا

Devil to pay, there will be the भागे चलके काजी  
हु-ब हा मुचीवत होगी । आ के चल के कानि दक या सबिह होगी ।

Devil c. बड़े बकीर या डेलकके सीधे काम करना; मसदेराना  
कामा चकाना ।

Devilish adj. बहुत बुरा, पापी, शैतान-सा ।  
بڑے دیکل یا بیکل کے لئے काम کرنا; صالحی والا कहना; بیکल

Devilism n. शैतानी काम या गुण, भू-परेत या शैतानकी पूजा ।  
शैतानी काम या गुण; भू-परेत या शैतान की पूजा

Devilment ) शरासन; भू-परेत; बाद्, शैतानी, बदमाशी,  
Devilry ) n. पापीपन; दिवैरी ।

Devilry ) n. पापीपन; दिवैरी ।  
تحریرات: भूत प्रेत; जादू-शक्त, भ्रमण, पापी प्रो; दुरी

Devious adj. दूर पड़ा हुआ, मकन; घुमाव-फिरावका, पेचदार,  
भूत-मटक ।

Deviser c. दुष्कृत करना, रास्ता निकालना, चकना, सोच निकालना,  
भीमाइ करना; शिखारपत्रके दे जाना, तरकेमें जोड़ना ।

Deviser c. दुष्कृत करना, रास्ता निकालना, चकना, सोच निकालना,  
भीमाइ करना; शिखारपत्रके दे जाना, तरकेमें जोड़ना ।

Deviser c. दुष्कृत करना, रास्ता निकालना, चकना, सोच निकालना,  
भीमाइ करना; शिखारपत्रके दे जाना, तरकेमें जोड़ना ।

Devitalize c. बेभाव कर देना, निरुत्पन्न कर देना ।  
बे-जान कर देना, लकता कर देना

Devoid adj. काली, रहित, मरुस्थल ।  
खाली, रहित, मरुस्थल

Devoir n. धर्म, कर्तव्य, कर्त; ज्ञान; अर्थ; अपनी-सी कोशिस ।  
धर्म कर्तव्य, कर्त, ज्ञान, अर्थ, अपनी-सी कोशिस

Devolute c. सुपुर्ने करना, लेकले दूबरेको देना ।  
सुपुर्ने करना, लेकले दूबरेको देना

Devolution n. लेक हाथसे दूसरेको जाना, सुपुर्नेगी, सोपना ।  
लेक हाथसे दूसरेको जाना, सुपुर्नेगी, सोपना

Devolve c. बालना; सोपना (काम या कर्त); आ पड़ना; शिम्ने  
जाना, खिर जाना; शिम्ना (शिखारपत्रमें) तरकेमें शिम्ना ।

Devolve c. बालना; सोपना (काम या कर्त); आ पड़ना; शिम्ने  
जाना, खिर जाना; शिम्ना (शिखारपत्रमें) तरकेमें शिम्ना ।

Devonian n. डेवन प्रान्तका रहनेवाला ।  
डेवन प्रान्त का रहनेवाला

Devonshire n. डिवनशायर लेक भूभा या प्रान्त ।  
डिवनशायर का लेक भूभा या प्रान्त

Devote c. दे देना; बड़ावा, निष्ठावर करना या बराना, सोप देना;  
लव जाना; लव लगाना; व्यास देना; जान देना; बाइना ।

Devoted adj. दिया हुआ, अर्पण या भेंट किया हुआ, मस्त,  
बक्रादार ।

Devotee n. मस्त, लव भक्त ।  
दिया हुआ, अर्पण या भेंट किया हुआ, मस्त, बक्रादार

Devotion n. भक्ति, लगन, बक्रादारी, पूजा, पूजागठ, बक्राइ,  
प्राप्ति, शिखारत; देव, मोहभत ।

Devotion n. भक्ति, लगन, बक्रादारी, पूजा, पूजागठ, बक्राइ,  
प्राप्ति, शिखारत; देव, मोहभत ।

Devour c. का जाना; दूध कर जाना, निगल जाना; मसदेरकी तरह  
जाना; लुटना, बरबाद करना, लुभाना, लुभाना; बहुत  
शीकले देकना, पड़ना या सुपना, टिकटकी बीकना ।

Devour c. का जाना; दूध कर जाना, निगल जाना; मसदेरकी तरह  
जाना; लुटना, बरबाद करना, लुभाना, लुभाना; बहुत  
शीकले देकना, पड़ना या सुपना, टिकटकी बीकना ।

Devour c. का जाना; दूध कर जाना, निगल जाना; मसदेरकी तरह  
जाना; लुटना, बरबाद करना, लुभाना, लुभाना; बहुत  
शीकले देकना, पड़ना या सुपना, टिकटकी बीकना ।

Devour the way c. बहुत देव या मसदी जाना (चोड़ोका),  
सरपट होइना । सरपट होइना (कमरुका) सरपट होइना ।

Devout adj. मस्त, शैतान, पापिक, मसा पुजारी ।  
जक, देव, दार, मस्त, मसा पुजारी

Dew n. कोव, सवनम ।  
कोव, सवनम

Dew-bright adj. ओव-सा लुभता, मोली-सा ।  
ओव-सा लुभता, मोली-सा

Dew-drop n. ओवकी बूंद, ओवका मोली ।  
ओवकी बूंद, ओवका मोली

Dew-fall n. ओव गिरनेका समय, शाम ।  
ओव गिरनेका समय, शाम

Dewlap n. डैगा, चबचाव, भाव या बैलके गढेसे लटकता हुआ  
मांस ।

Dexterity n. हाथकी चफाही; निपुणता, लुस्ताही, कारीगरी,  
होशियारी, बगुराही; रहने हाथसे काम केना ।

Dexterity n. हाथकी चफाही; निपुणता, लुस्ताही, कारीगरी,  
होशियारी, बगुराही; रहने हाथसे काम केना ।

Dextrose adj. कारीगर, हाथका छाक, निपुण, लुस्ताइ; सीधे  
हाथसे काम केनेवाला ।

Dextrose adj. कारीगर, हाथका छाक, निपुण, लुस्ताइ; सीधे  
हाथसे काम केनेवाला ।

Dextrose adj. कारीगर, हाथका छाक, निपुण, लुस्ताइ; सीधे  
हाथसे काम केनेवाला ।

Dhow (dow) n. भरपी बहाइ ( जो पुरी भरीकाके गुणामकी  
तिहारत या शीपारमें काम आया करते वे ) ।

Dhow (dow) n. भरपी बहाइ ( जो पुरी भरीकाके गुणामकी  
तिहारत या शीपारमें काम आया करते वे ) ।

Dhow (dow) n. भरपी बहाइ ( जो पुरी भरीकाके गुणामकी  
तिहारत या शीपारमें काम आया करते वे ) ।

Diabetes n. बह रोग, शिखमें पेशाब या मूत्रमें शक्कर आती है,  
शियाबीनड, मधुमेह ।

Diabetes n. बह रोग, शिखमें पेशाब या मूत्रमें शक्कर आती है,  
शियाबीनड, मधुमेह ।

Diabetes n. बह रोग, शिखमें पेशाब या मूत्रमें शक्कर आती है,  
शियाबीनड, मधुमेह ।

Diabetic n. जो शिख बीमारीका रोगी हो ।  
जो शिख बीमारीका रोगी हो

Diabolic or diabolical adj. शैतानी, राक्षसी, बदमाइ,  
पापी ।

Diadem n. ताज, मुकुट, फुलोका ताज, राजका, बक्रादारी ।  
ताज, मुकुट, फुलोका ताज, राजका, बक्रादारी

Diagnosis n. बीमारी या रोगकी जांच करना ।  
बीमारी या रोग की जांच करना



**Diagonal** *n.* तिरछा या आड़, कोनी रेखा ।

زجاء یا آڑ، کوئی دیکھا

**Diagram** *n.* चक्र, चरत; चक्रा, चोचा, रेखाचित्र ।

شکر، صورت: نقشہ، سانچا، دیکھا चर

**Dial; Sun dial** *n.* घड़ीका घुंघ, घुंघड़ी ।

گھڑی کا منبر، عربی گھड़ी

**Dialect** *n.* बोली, लहान, भाषा (जिसे काम बगल या लोगोकी) देशी बोली ।

بولی زبان جانا (کسی خاص جگہ یا لوگوں کی) دیش بولی

**Dialectics** *n.* तर्क विद्या, विमर्शनाम ।

**Dialectic** *adj.* बहसका, दलीली ।

**Dialogue** *n.* वातचीत, मुकतल, वातचीतके समयमें जो लिखा जाय ।

بات چیت، گفت گو، بات چیت کے دوپ میں جو لکھا جائے

**Diameter** *n.* अपकट; पाट, चौड़ाई, मोटाई ।

اڈھ کٹ، پائے، چوڑائی، موٹائی

**Diametrically** *adv.* विलक्षण, ठीक, सीधा ।

بالکل، ٹھیک، سیدھا

**Diametrically opposed** विलक्षण बरबिसाक या विरुद्ध ।

بالکل بر خلاف یا درود

**Diamond** *n.* हीरा, ताशमें ओंठका चत्ता या रंग ।

हीरा، तاش में ओंठ का चत्ता या रंग

**Diamond cut diamond** मोहेको मोहा ही काटता है, बुद्धिमान या दाना बादमीका छावना वैसा ही बादमी कर सकता है ।

لوہے کو لوہا میں کاٹتا ہے، بدھی مان یا دانا آدمی کا ساما

دیا میں آدمی کر سکتا ہے

**Diamond wedding** विवाह या शादीकी साठवी सालगिरह या बरसी ।

ویاہ یا شادی کی - اسی سال گھر یا بوسی

**Diamond, black** *n.* काला हीरा; कोयला ।

**Diamond, Glazier's** *n.* चीका या काँच काटनेवाला ओंठार ।

تیغہ یا کاچ کاٹنے کا اوڑار

**Diamond, rough** *n.* हीरा जो तराशा न गया हो, गद्य हीरा, मोहर या बहुत अच्छा बादमी जिसके गुण छिये हो, जो अपनी बोलचालमें अपनी कीमत दिखा न सके ।

میرا جو زانا نہ کیا ہو، گھر میں، جو مر یا بہت اچھا آدمی

جس کے گھر میں جو مر ہو، جو مر اپنی بولی میں اپنی قیمت

دکھا نہ سکے

**Diapa** *n.* सिंघारकी देखी, पुद्गलवार औरत, जी जो शादी करनेके बिलग हो ।

شکر کی دیری، گھڑل سوار، عورت، استری جو شادی کرے

خلاف ہو

**Diaper** *n.* सूती कपड़ा जिसपर छोटे छोटे चारबावे बने होते हैं, जैसे कपड़ेकी सीलिया, कैगोछ ।

سوتی کپڑا جس پر چھوٹے چھوٹے چارباवे بنے ہوتے ہیں، جیسے کپڑے کی سیلیا، کینگوچ

کپڑے کی تولیہ، لنگوچا

**Diaphanous** *adj.* जिसके कारण चीक पड़े; कांच, शीश ।

جس کے آبار دیکھ پڑے، صاف، ٹرمل

**Diaphoretic** *n.* पसीना कनेवाली दवाभी ।

پسینہ لانے والی دوا

**Diaphragm** *n.* छाती और पेटके बीचका परत; घुसकदार परत ।

چاتی اور پٹ کے درمیان کا پردہ، سورنگ دار پردہ

**Diarchy** *n.* दो शासन, दो हुकूमत ।

**Diarist** *n.* दैनिक विवरण या रोजगारना रचनेवाला ।

دینک ویورن یا روزگاہ دیکھنے والا

**Diary** *n.* रोजगारना, दैनिक विवरण ।

**Diarrhoea** *n.* पेट बलना, बहुत दस्त आना ।

دست چلنا، بیت دست آنا

**Diathesis** *n.* किसी रोगकी ओर शरीरका झुकाव ।

کسی رورگ کی اور شری کا جھکا

**Diatribes** *n.* बदनी मुकलाचीनी या कातोबना; मालीकी बोलार, चहर मुकलना ।

کوری نکتہ جیسی یا آویزاں کال کی برچار، دمر اگلا

**Dibble** *n.* कुदाली, खुरपी ।

**Dibble** *v.* खुरपीसे मोहरकर बोना या पोसा लगाना ।

کھدی سے کھد کر رونا یا چوڑا لگانا

**Dice** *n.* बच्चोंका खेल (भेदकी इज्जतीका) कपडा, पैसा, दमड़ी ।

بچوں کا کھیل (بیل کی طرح کے) ورید، پيسہ، دڑی

**Dice** *n.* १. पाँसा, बैसेसे जुआ खेलना, पाँसा फेंकना; चार कसे पाने, पाने, पाने से चरा कहना, पाने से चरा कहना ।

**Dice box** *n.* जिसमें बैसेसे जुआ खेलने के लिये है ।

ڈیا جس میں پانے سے چلا کر پھینکتے ہیں

**Dicephalous** *adj.* जिसके भेद चढ़कर दो तर हो; दो-विध ।

جس کے بے دھڑ دو سر ہوتا ہو، دو سرا

**Dicer** *n.* बैसेसे खेलनेवाला, जुआरी ।

**Dichromatic** *adj.* दुरंगी ।

**Dichromic** *adj.* जिसके दो रंग दिखायी देते हैं ।

جسے کیرل دو رنگ دکھائی دے

**Dickey or dicky** *n.* गधा; बच्चोंका खेलन, कमीके सामनेका भाग, जो लगन लगाना जाता है; कोवस्त; काढ़ीके पीछे देखनेकी चाल, कबासी ।

گدھا، بچوں کا ایرون، کھیل کے سامنے کا چاگ، جو الگ لگایا

جانا ہے کوچ بکرا گاڑی کے پیچھے لوکر کے پھینکے کی

جگہ، خواسی

**Dickey bird** *n.* छोटी चिड़िया ।

**Dicky** *adj.* दुबनेवाला, कमजोर ।

**Dictaphone** *n.* वह कल या यंत्र जिसमें जो कहा जाय वह रिकार्ड हो जाता है ।

ہوہ کل یا چتر جس میں جو کہا جائے وہ ریکارڈ ہو جاتا ہے

**Dictate or dictates** *n.* आज्ञा, हुकम, हिदायत, फरमान, आदेश ।

آگیا، حکم، حاکم، فرمان، آدیش، آواز

**Dictate** *v.* सिखावना, आज्ञा या हुकम देना, मनमानी करवाना, दबाव डालकर मनवाना, हुकम चलाना ।

لکھوانا، آگیا یا حکم دینا، من مانی کروانا، دوا ڈال کر منوانا، حکم چلانا

**Dictation** *n.* आज्ञा, आदेश, हुकम, हिदायत; सिखावना, चलाना ।

آگیا، آدیش، حکم، حاکم، لکھوانا، چلانا

**Dictator** *n.* हुकम या आज्ञा चलानेवाला, सब अधिकार रखनेवाला, डिक्टेटर; सिखावनेवाला ।

حکم یا آگیا چلانے والا، سب اختیار رکھنے والا، ڈکٹیٹر، لکھانے والا

**Dictatorship** *n.* डिक्टेटरी, डिक्टेटर शास ।

**Dictatorially** *adv.* बबरवसीसे, दबाव डालकर, अपना हुकम चलाने से ।

دورستی سے، دوا ڈال کر، اپنا حکم چلا کر

**Diction** *n.* बोली, कड़ावत, भाषा, लहान; बोलनेका ढंग या तरी ।

بولی، گہاروت، بھاننا، زیادہ بولنے کا ڈنگ یا طرز

**Dictionary** *n.* कोष, चन्द-सागर, छान, फहरा, कपडों या कपड़ोंकी किताब ।

کوفہ، شبد ساگر، لہند، فرنگی، لفظوں یا شبدوں کی کتاب

# HARIJAN

Editor PYARELAL



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TWO ANNAS

## AN INDIAN GOVERNOR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In construing the word India here it includes both Hindostan and Pakistan. Hindustan may mean the country of the Hindus strictly so-called. Pakistan may mean the country of the Muslims. Both the uses are, in my opinion, irregular. Hence, I have purposely used the word Hindostan.

The Khilafat-Swaraj-Non-co-operation Resolution of 1920 passed in Calcutta at the Special Session of the Congress, which has brought freedom from the British yoke, was for both the Hindus and the Muslims, designed to induce self-purification so as to bring about non-co-operation between forces of evil and those of good. Hence,

1. An Indian Governor should in his own person and in his surroundings, be a teetotaler. Without this, prohibition of the fiery liquid is well-nigh inconceivable.

2. He and his surroundings should represent hand-spinning as a visible token of identification with the dumb millions of India, a token of the necessity of 'bread labour' and organized non-violence as against organized violence on which the society of today seems to be based.

3. He must dwell in a cottage accessible to all, though easily shielded from gaze, if he is to do efficient work. The British Governor naturally represented British might. For him and his was erected a fortified residence—a palace to be occupied by him and his numerous vassals who sustained his Empire. The Indian prototype may keep somewhat pretentious buildings for receiving princes and ambassadors of the world. For these, being guests of the Governor should constitute an education in what "Even Unto This Last" equality of all—should mean in concrete terms. For him no expensive furniture, foreign or indigenous. Plain living and high thinking must be his motto, not to adorn his entrance but to be exemplified in daily life.

4. For him there can be no untouchability in any form whatsoever, no caste or creed or colour distinction. He must represent the best of all religions and all things Eastern or Western. Being a citizen of India, he must be a citizen of the world. Thus simply, one reads, did the Khalif Omar, with millions of treasure at his feet, live; thus lived Janaka of ancient times; thus lived, as I saw him, the Master of Eton in his residence in the midst of, and sur-

rounded by, the sons of 'the Lords and Nabobs of the British Isles. Will the Governors of India of the famished millions do less?

5. He will speak the language of the province of which he is the Governor and Hindustani, the lingua franca of India written in the Nagari or Urdu script. This is neither Sanskritized Hindi nor Persianized Urdu. Hindustani is emphatically the language which is spoken by the millions north of the Vindhya Range.

This does not pretend to be an exhaustive list of the virtues that an Indian Governor should represent. It is merely illustrative.

One would expect that the Britishers who have been chosen by Indian representatives as Governors and who have taken the oath of fealty to India and her millions would endeavour as far as possible to live the life an Indian Governor is expected to live. They will represent the best that their country has to give to India and the world.

Calcutta, 17-8-'47

## GOD IS GOOD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Not in the same sense as *x* is good, *X* is comparatively good. He is more good than evil, but God is wholly good. There is no evil in Him. God made man in His own image. Unfortunately for us man has fashioned Him in his own. This arrogation has landed mankind in a sea of troubles. God is the Supreme Alchemist. In His presence all iron and dross turn into pure gold. Similarly does all evil turn into good.

Again God lives but not as we. His creatures live but to die. But God is Life. Therefore, goodness and all it connotes is not an attribute. Goodness is God. Goodness conceived as apart from Him is a lifeless thing and exists only whilst it is a paying policy. So are all morals. If they are to live in us they must be considered and cultivated in their relation to God. We try to become good because we want to reach and realize God. All the dry ethics of the world turn to dust because apart from God they are lifeless. Coming from God, they come with life in them. They become part of us and ennoble us.

Conversely, God conceived without Goodness is without life. We give him life in our vain imaginings.

Calcutta, 17-8-'47

## KASHMIR AND REFUGEES

Addressing his post-prayer gathering at Wah on August 5, Gandhiji said that he was glad that he was able to visit the Refugee Camp at Wah and see the patients in the Camp hospital and other appointments in connection with it. He was glad too that he was able to pay what was his second visit to Panja Sahab. He had a talk with the representatives of the Camp.

Before, however, he dealt with matters arising out of these talks with the representatives of the refugees, he said that he would like to say a word about his visit to Kashmir. He had made up his mind not to hold any public meeting or address them but he was able to see the workers, Begum Saheba (wife of Sheikh Abdulla) was constantly with him throughout the three days he was in Srinagar. He was able also to see the Maharaja Sahab, the Maharani Sahaba and Prime Minister Kak Sahab. He was sorry that he was not able to see Sheikh Abdollah who was undoubtedly the leader of the Kashmiris. He had not gone there to see the Sheikh Sahab. He was able, however, to hold public prayers for two days in Kashmir and one day in Jammu. These were attended by thousands. He could say that on 15th August, all being well, legally the State of Kashmir and Jammu would be independent. But he was sure that the State would not remain in that condition for long after August 15. It had to join either the Union or Pakistan. It had a predominantly Muslim population. But he saw that Sheikh Sahib had fired Kashmiris with local patriotism. British paramountcy would terminate on the 15th instant. Real paramountcy would then commence. He referred to the paramountcy of the Kashmiris. They had one language, one culture and, so far as he could see, they were one people. He could not distinguish readily between a Kashmiri Hindu and a Kashmiri Mussalman. In the large deputation that he saw it was very difficult for him to know whether it was predominantly Muslim or Hindu. Whatever it was, he had no hesitation in saying that the will of the Kashmiris was the supreme law in Kashmir and Jammu. He was glad to say that the Maharaja Sahab and the Maharani Sahaba readily acknowledged the fact. He had the good fortune to read what was euphemistically called the Treaty of Amritsar but which was in reality a deed of sale. He supposed that it would be dead on August 15. The seller was the then British Governor-General and Maharaja Gulab Singh was the buyer. The treaty going, would the State revert to the British and, therefore, to England? If to India, to which part? He held that without going into the intricacies of law which he had no right to dilate upon, commonsense dictated that the will of the Kashmiris should decide the fate of Kashmir and Jammu. The sooner it was done the better. How the will of the people would be determined was a fair question. He hoped that the question would be decided between the two Dominions, the Maharaja Sahab and the Kashmiris. If the four

could come to a joint decision, much trouble would be avoided. After all Kashmir was a big State; it had the greatest strategic value, perhaps in all India. So much for Kashmir.

He would now deal with the question of the refugees. Among them they were nearly 9000. The Hindus and the Sikhs who discussed the question with him said that they were afraid of the approach of August 15. He confessed that he did not in any way whatsoever share the fear. Nor could he appreciate it. The Muslims had got their Pakistan. They could now have no quarrel with the Hindus and the Sikhs of the Punjab. Jinnah Sahab and other Muslim Leaguers had given assurances that the non-Muslims were as safe in Pakistan as the Muslims. He invited the audience to accept the assurance. Supposing that the assurance proved untrue and the worst fears of the refugees proved true, it would be the beginning of the ruin of Islam. He refused to believe that Muslim leaders would be guilty of such a suicidal act. He asked the refugees, men and women, to dispel all fear. If he could put off his departure for Noakhali, he would gladly pass August 15 in the midst of the refugees at Wah. He proposed, however, to do the next best thing. The audience saw Dr. Sushila Nayyar taking notes of what he was saying. She herself belonged to the district of Gujarat in Western Pakistan. He had conferred with her before coming to the prayer meeting and though she was otherwise to accompany him to Noakhali, she had accepted his advice to stay with the refugees on his behalf, in order to help them to dispel all fear about August 15. He knew that she had no such fear. She was with him in Noakhali as was also her brother Pyarelalji. She was posted in one of the worst affected areas of Noakhali and through medical assistance she had become popular among the Muslims as she was undoubtedly among the Hindus. He had just heard from the District Commissioner, who was a Muslim, that the refugees in and about Rawalpindi had nothing to fear. They should feel as safe as the Muslim inhabitants.

Rawalpindi, 5-8-'47

S. N.

(Adapted from the original in Hindustani)

## FOR AGENTS

Agents are requested to take note of the following :

1. Please remember that agents have to deposit with us an amount covering the price of their demand for two months. A month's deposit will be treated as fixed and the other as current. Every week the cost of the copies sent to them would be deducted from the current deposit.

2. The amounts for the deposits are usually sent by the agents by cheques. Please note that we do not accept cheques. The amount should be remitted either by M. O., Postal Order or by a bank draft.

MANAGER

## " TO MUSLIMS "

" The non-Muslim population of the Pakistan is showing signs of nervousness. They are developing a sense of insecurity about themselves and their properties. In fairness to you, your God, and your history, they should not have felt like this. But the British domination during the last two hundred years kept them aloof from Islamic history, literature, jurisprudence and life, hence, they do not understand that they will have as much right and privileges in the Pakistan as any other Muslim.

' Qasid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah has already reminded you of your duties towards the non-Muslim minorities, and has assured them on your behalf that they should have no worry about their future securities and prosperity. We, by way of reminder, quote the following records of your *Quran*, *Hadis* and *History*. We hope you will prove a true Muslim and will not falsify the orders of your God and your Prophet. The non-Muslims will judge Islam and Pakistan by your actions.

" I. The holy *Quran* says, 'God may very soon bind you and your non-Muslim enemies in a tie of friendship. God is capable of doing so. He is kind and merciful. Those who neither quarreled with you nor turned you out of your house, should be treated with justice and courtesy. God loves those who are just' (*Quran*, Chapter XXVIII).

" II. Again the Book says, 'Do not use offensive language about the gods and goddesses of the non-Muslims lest they also retort with unpertinent remarks about your Allah' (*Quran*, Chapter VII).

" III. The Prophet has said, 'If any Muslim will oppress a non-Muslim, cause him a loss, or burden him with duties beyond his capacity, or take away anything from him without his consent, last on the Day of Judgment I will be a supporter of the non-Muslim and lodge complaint before God against the Muslim' (Collection of *Hadis* known as *Jama'ul Fatawa* Volume II, Page 19; also *Mishkat*).

" IV. The Prophet says, 'I am committed to the non-Muslims that they will do whatever they like in their places of worship. I will not charge them with duties beyond their capacity, and I will protect them against their foreign enemies, and that they should have full liberty and freedom in matters of their religion' (*Ibid*, page 14).

" V. 'The blood of a non-Muslim is as good as that of mine,' says that Prophet. 'Any Muslim, guilty of shedding the blood of an innocent non-Muslim, will be guilty of shedding my blood' (*Hayatul Qulub*).

" VI. Abbas Surwani, a historian of Muslim rule in India, records that in Agra, during the reign of Sher Shah, the heir-apparent passed by the side of a non-Muslim grocer's house on an elephant. He overlooked the grocer's wife and threw a *pan* towards her. She reported the incident to her husband. The husband on enquiry ascertained the identity of the offender, but hesitated to lodge complaint against the future king. The Muslim neighbours encouraged the grocer to complain before the king himself. Sher

Shah, when he heard of this incident, issued a warrant against the prince, sent for the prince's wife i. e., his own daughter-in-law, and handed over a *pan* to the grocer and said, 'Throw this *pan* towards the wife of the prince, vindicate your honour, and make this : of prince feel what it means to insult a poor man's wife' (*Tarikh-i Afghane*).

" VII. Ali, the Caliph, lost his armour coat and detected a non-Muslim (Jew) carrying it. He produced the thief before his own subordinate *Qazi*. The *Qazi* demanded evidence. The only witnesses available were his wife Fatima, and his sons — Hasan and Hossain. The *Qazi* gave the Jew benefit of doubt and Ali lost the coat for all time. The witnesses, however eminent, were according to the *Qazi*, relations, hence interested. The maxim of Islamic Jurisprudence is that the justice should not only be done but shown to the people that it is being done (*History of Islam*).

" VIII. At Damascus a palatial mosque was being built by a Muslim king. Its platform encroached upon the compound of a church. The Christian priest refused to sell the compound land of the church for the completion of the mosque. The reigning king was bad and ignorant of Muslim law and he ordered the forcible construction of the platform over the compound land of the church. Soon after Omar Ibn Abdul Aziz succeeded to the throne and his first action was to demolish the mosque and restore the land to the Christian church (*History of Islam*).

" IX. When Muslims occupied Egypt, a soldier from Muslim Army aimed his arrow at a statue of Jesus. The arrow destroyed the left eye of the statue. The Christian custodian lodged a complaint before the army commander and demanded redress. The commander proclaimed that the Christians had a right to aim an arrow and shoot at the left eye of the Muslim Army Commander as penance for his incompetency. He admitted that he should not have neglected to control a soldier under him (*History of Islam*).

1. BEGUM FIRDAUS RIZVI

(S. D. O.'s Bungalow, Kishorganj)

2. EMAD UDDIN AHMED

(Secretary, Subdivisional Muslim League)

1. MD. ATHAR ALI

Imam of Shahidi Mosque, Kishorganj

2. MD. MUSLEM UDDIN

Superintendent, Hybatnagar Senior Madrasah

[The foregoing is reproduced just as it was received. Let us hope that the wise precepts would be followed up in action. An ounce of practice is worth tons of speeches and writings.

Sodepur, 13-8-47

—M. K. G.]

## NOTICE

Change of address to be effective for the week should please be intimated to us by *Tuesday*. Please quote the subscriber number with the intimation.

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Subscribers are not enrolled for a period of less than six months.

MANAGER

# HARIJAN

August 24

1947

## MIRACLE OR ACCIDENT?

(By M. K. Ganah)

"Shaheed Saheb Suhrawardy and I are living together in a Muslim *manzil* in Beliaghata where Muslims have been reported to be sufferers. We occupied the house on Wednesday the 13th instant and on the 14th it seemed as if there never had been bad blood between the Hindus and the Muslims. In their thousands they began to embrace one another and they began to pass freely through places which were considered to be points of danger by one party or the other. Indeed, Hindus were taken to their *masjids* by their Muslim brethren and the latter were taken by their Hindu brethren to the *mandirs*. Both with one voice shouted 'Jai Hind' or 'Hindu-Muslims! Be One'. As I have said above, we are living in a Muslim's house and Muslim volunteers are attending to our comforts with the greatest attention. Muslim volunteers do the cooking. Many were eager to come from the Khadi Pratishthan for attendance, but I prevented them. I was determined that we should be fully satisfied with whatever the Muslim brothers and sisters were able to give for our creature comforts and I must say that the determination has resulted in unmixed good. Here in the compound numberless Hindus and Muslims continue to stream in shouting the favourite slogans. One might almost say that the joy of fraternization is leaping up from hour to hour.

Is this to be called a miracle or an accident? By whatever name it may be described, it is quite clear that all the credit that is being given to me from all sides is quite undeserved; nor can it be said to be deserved by Shaheed Saheb. This sudden upheaval is not the work of one or two men. We are toys in the hands of God. He makes us dance to His tune. The utmost, therefore, that man can do is to refrain from interfering with the dance and that he should tender full obedience to his Maker's will. Thus considered, it can be said that in this miracle He has used us two as His instruments and as for myself I only ask whether the dream of my youth is to be realized in the evening of my life.

For those who have full faith in God, this is neither a miracle nor an accident. A chain of events can be clearly seen to show that the two were being prepared, unconsciously to themselves, for fraternization. In this process our advent on the scene enabled the onlooker to give us credit for the consummation of the happy event.

Be that as it may, the delirious happenings remind me of the early days of the Khilafat Movement. The fraternization then burst on the

public as a new experience. Moreover, we had then the Khilafat and Swaraj as our twin goals. Today we have nothing of the kind. We have drunk the poison of mutual hatred and so this nectar of fraternization tastes all the sweeter and the sweetness should never wear out.

In the present exuberance one hears also the cry of 'Long Live Hindustan and Pakistan' from the joint throats of the Hindus and the Muslims. I think it is quite proper. Whatever was the cause for the agreement, three parties accepted Pakistan. If then the two are not enemies one of the other, and here evidently they are not, surely there is nothing wrong in the above cry. Indeed, if the two have become friends, not to wish long life to both the States would probably be an act of disloyalty.

Beliaghata, 26-8-'47

(Adapted from the original in Gujarati)

## SECULAR

Reverend Kellas, Principal of the Scottish Church College, came to see Gandhiji yesterday with some members of his staff. The principal question discussed was in connection with the relation between education, religion and the State. Gandhiji expressed the opinion that the State should undoubtedly be secular. Everyone living in it should be entitled to profess his religion without let or hindrance, so long as the citizen obeyed the common law of the land. There should be no interference with missionary effort, but no mission could enjoy the patronage of the State as it did during the foreign regime.

While discussing these matters with Principal Kellas, Gandhiji incidentally remarked that although we had thrown overboard British political supremacy, we had not yet been able to throw overboard the cultural one. In his characteristic style, he said "We have discarded foreign power, not the unseen foreign influence." What he would like the new India of his dream to do was to lay the foundation of a new life in keeping with its natural surroundings. In every State in the world today, violence, even if it were for so-called defensive purposes only, enjoyed a status which was in conflict with the better elements of life. "The organization of the best in society", was the aim to which new India should dedicate herself, and this could be done only if we succeeded in demolishing the status which had been given to *goondaism* today.

One of the scientist members of the staff then asked Gandhiji what scientific men should do if they were now asked by the free Indian Government to engage in researches in furtherance of war and the atom bomb? Gandhiji promptly replied. "Scientists to be worth the name should resist such a State unto death."

Calcutta, 17-8-'47

N. K. BOSE

## THE PINDI SPEECH

The prayer meeting of the 31st of July was held in the compound of Lala Devraj Anand. But it proved too small for it. The consequent overcrowding and noise made Gandhiji cut short the prayer to *Ramadhun* only. Speaking after the *Ramadhuna* he said that he had received two letters which he would like to answer. The first was in English. The handwriting was good, but that was a little consolation for him. The British were quitting India but the people had become so used to slavery that they still could not shake off the lure of the English language which few could ever hope to master. This linguistic conquest constituted a worse type of slavery than the conquest by the British sword. Every language was good in its own place. He would not ask the Zulus or the Dutch in South Africa to learn Gujarati for instance. Similarly, he would not ask all the sisters assembled there to learn English. That was neither possible nor desirable. His mother tongue was Gujarati. He loved it. But he would not think of making it the lingua franca of India. There were hardly a crore of Indians who spoke Gujarati but there were nearly 21 crores who talked in Hindustani whether they could read or write was a different matter. Hindustani was written in the *Urdu* or *Nagari* script.

The second letter was written in beautiful Urdu handwriting. He encouraged all those who came in contact with him to learn the two scripts and he was proud of the fact. He would rather teach Urdu to his boys and girls than teach them English.

In the letter written in English, the writer had asked him to spend at least a week in Rawalpindi and see with his own eyes what the Hindus had suffered. Why should he wish to go to Kashmir? His reply was that ever since he had gone to Delhi he had wanted to come to the Punjab. He wanted to visit Lahore, Amritsar and Rawalpindi. But he believed that he was in God's hands. God was the Master of all the universe and He could upset the plans of men. The original plan was that he would spend a day at Lahore and Amritsar, two days at Rawalpindi and at least ten days in Kashmir. Now he had only two or three days for Kashmir. And that too was in fulfilment of a promise.

Though he could not stay in the Punjab, he had not forgotten them. He had to reach Noakhali before the 15th. That again was in fulfilment of a promise. He was a devotee of Rama and Rama had said that a promise must be kept at any cost. He referred to the black flag demonstration that Hindu youngmen had arranged at the Amritsar railway station. All the time the train stopped they kept shouting 'Gandhi, Go Back' in English. He had to close his ears as he could not stand the noise. He closed his eyes also and kept on repeating God's name. They were too noisy and too excited, else he would have liked to get down and ask them what harm he had done to them to deserve such noisy hostility. He knew however that

praise and blame must be received with equanimity. At the other stations people were extremely well-behaved and cordial. He had not been disturbed during the night and he was grateful for it.

In the second letter the writer had objected to the projected recitation from the *Quran*. If the people had been quiet, they would have heard the verse from the *Quran*. It was a fine verse and he saw no reason why he should avoid it, simply because it was from the *Quran* and written in Arabic. No one could object to the sentiments expressed therein. If they wished to live in peace as brave men and women, they must cultivate the virtue of tolerance. The only right way of fighting the misled Muslims was the way of love. But if they did not appreciate it, they had the crude way of retaliation open to them; but to insult the scriptures of either religion because of the misdeeds of its followers was a thing which he could never understand.

Rawalpindi, 6-8-'47

S. N

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

Sodepur, 9-8-'47

### MIGRATION TO CALCUTTA

Gandhiji devoted the whole of his address to the situation in Calcutta. His destination, he said, was Noakhali but he had been listening the whole day long to the woes of Calcutta. Some Muslim friends and also some Hindus complained that they (Hindus) seemed to have gone mad, not that the Muslims had become wiser. But now that the Muslim police and officials were almost withdrawn and replaced by Hindus, the Hindus had begun to believe that they were now free to do what they liked as the Muslims were reported to have done under the League Ministry. He was not going to examine what was done under the League Ministry. His purpose was undoubtedly to know what his co-worker Dr Ghosh's Ministry was doing. Was it true that the Muslims were living in terror? If it was at all true, it was a severe reflection on the Congress Ministry. He was rightly asked before he went up to Noakhali to tarry in Calcutta to 'pour a pot of water over the raging fire' that was burning Calcutta. He would love to give his life if thereby he could contribute to the quenching of mob fury. He would never be able to subscribe to the theory that the doings in Calcutta were the result of goondism. He held that the crude open goondism was a reflection of the subtle goondism they were harbouring within. Hence it was the duty of the Governments to hold themselves responsible for the acts of the goondas so-called. He hoped that Calcutta would not present the disgraceful spectacle of hot goondism when they were entering upon full responsibility.

Sodepur, 10-8-'47

There was an enormous crowd to listen to Gandhiji. Their acclamation was piercing. Gandhiji had to speak to them for a few minutes to establish complete quiet if they wanted the prayer and his speech. The audience responded splendidly and

listened in perfect silence. He said that he had thought that he was to go to Noakhali the next day (Monday). Owing to the pressure from many Muslim friends who had seen him, he had decided to stay to see if he could contribute his share in the return of sanity in the premier city of India. The argument of the Muslim friends went home. He had at the same time said that if he did not go to Noakhali and any mishap took place, his life would become forfeit as he had said already about Bihar. He had seen the Ministers and others too during the day. He would like to see the places where destruction was said to have been wrought by the Hindus. He had also learnt that there were parts of Calcutta which were inaccessible to the Hindus, though many premises therein used to be occupied by them. Similar was the case with the Hindu localities. His head hung in shame to listen to this recital of man's barbarism. He would love to go to these places and see for himself how much truth there was in these recitals. He was told that there were not more than 23% Muslims in Calcutta. It was unthinkable that such a minority could coerce the majority without countenance from or incompetence of authority. Similarly it was unthinkable that in the midst of a government which knew the art of government, the majority could for one moment be permitted to coerce the minority. He was also told that what the Muslim police and officers were alleged to be doing before, now that the Congress Ministry was in power, the Hindu police and officers had become partial in the administration of justice. If this wretched spirit of communalism had entered the police force, the prospect was black indeed. He hoped that the police would realize the dignity of their profession.

Sodepur, 11-8-'47

This evening I must devote to answering some questions addressed to me. One of them complains that prominent men were admitted but comparatively unknown persons were insulted. There was an inordinate rush throughout the day, it being Sunday. I agree that when there is such a rush, there should be no distinction made between known and unknown persons. But I had given previous appointments to some who had to be admitted. Then there were many who were specially working for the day. I would, therefore, plead with those who may feel disappointed on such occasions to have forbearance and patience as I would plead with the volunteers to be uniformly courteous and gentle with the public.

I read something about the 'Chittagong flood' the day before yesterday, when I came to Calcutta. This is the third day and I see that the angry waters have not subsided, and the extent of loss to life and property no one can yet assess with any degree of accuracy. It is hardly necessary to remind ourselves in the face of such catastrophe that we may not think of East or West or Pakistan and Hindustan. Adversity makes strange bed-fellows.

Surely then those who were bed-fellows till yesterday must not cease to be at least on such occasions, whatever their political or religious differences might be or might have done. It is a calamity to cope with not merely for East Bengal but for the whole of Bengal, and not for Bengal only but certainly for the whole of India. There must be a strong reliable committee to collect and distribute funds. Local men come first. Round them can arise an All-Bengal Relief Committee, and if need be an All-India one. No trouble need be given to all India if Bengal alone can cope with the situation. My whole heart goes out to Chittagong in its dire calamity. May the survivors bear it with fortitude.

Correspondents continue to ask all sorts of questions about appointments of Governors, Ministers and the like, as if I was a member of the Congress Working Committee or could affect its decisions. I know and admit that I have and shall always retain by right of service a place in the hearts of Congressmen. I know too that I shall forfeit that place immediately I begin to overstep my limits. Legal status I have none, moral status can be retained only so long as the moral platform is firmly held.

Do you agree that the leaders of both the communities should go to East and West Bengal and show that they have no differences now to quarrel over?

My answer is emphatically 'yes', if the leaders are one at heart. If the word belies the thought, the going about will be worse than useless. The newspaper war still continues. I would always prefer an open war to the war of hearts. Are we sure that the leaders trust one another? My fear is that neither at the top nor at the bottom are we cleansed of hypocrisy. I can, therefore but repeat my old argument that we must unlearn the habit of retaliation in every shape and form. Blow for blow is a crude form and probably more excusable than the subtle one of evil thought for its kind. Thought is the root of speech and deed. I am sorry that I am unable to return a more comfortable answer. There is none that I know. This is said to hearten ourselves, not to dishearten us. For, I have said the naked truth. Within my experience it ever heartens. Is it not heartening to know the true remedy for a disease? Any other is a palliative and in the end aggravates the disease.

Sodepur, 12-8-'47

Gandhi said that the 15th instant was to be a landmark in India's history. It was a day when India would be declared free of the foreign yoke. It was to be an independent nation. He had said how the day was to be observed, but he was probably alone in the view. Already there was an announcement that the Muslims of Calcutta were to observe it as a day of mourning. He hoped that it was not true. No man could be compelled to observe the day in a particular manner. It was to be a perfectly voluntary act. He would ask his Muslim countrymen not to mourn over the freedom.



The present distemper was to go. What were the Hindus in Pakistan to do? They should salute the Pakistan flag if it meant the freedom and equality of all in every respect, irrespective of caste, colour or creed. He had heard further that on that day the Indians in the French and Portuguese possessions were to declare their freedom of France and Portugal respectively. That, he said, would be a thoughtless act. It would be a sign perhaps of arrogance. The British were retiring, not the French and the Portuguese. He, undoubtedly, held the view that the Indians in these possessions were bound to merge in Independent India in good time. Only the Indians in those territories should not take the law in their own hands. They had constitutional means open to them and then there was their Chief Minister who had vindicated the freedom of Indonesia. Surely, he was not going to neglect his own kith and kin in the two possessions. If they had any doubt about the validity of his advice, they should act on Pandit's advice.

He then came to another important subject. They knew that he prolonged his stay in Calcutta by two days at the instance of Muslim friends. Last night Shaheed Saheb Suhrawardy came to see him. He suggested that it would be contrary to his (Gandhi's) practice to leave Calcutta while it was going through the horrors of communal strife. Shaheed Saheb suggested that Gandhi should prolong his stay in the city and work until real peace was restored. Gandhi replied that Suhrawardy Saheb and he should live under the same roof in the disturbed parts. It would be best to live unprotected by the police or the military. In brotherly fashion, they would approach the people, argue with them and tell them that now that partition had taken place by agreement, there was no longer any reason why the parties should quarrel. The decision of the Boundary Commission was going to be announced in a day or two, and it was in the fitness of things that all the parties should abide by the decision in a becoming manner. After all, the parties had appointed an arbitration tribunal. They were in honour bound to abide by the award whatever it was.

Gandhi's proposal to Suhrawardy Saheb was of such an important nature that the latter could not afford to give a hasty reply. Gandhi had, therefore, asked Shaheed Saheb to consult his aged father as well as his daughter before coming to a decision.

During the afternoon, Mr Usman, the ex-Mayor of Calcutta, had arrived with Shaheed Saheb's message stating that the latter had accepted Gandhi's proposal without reservation. It was now time, therefore, for the two friends to choose quarters in the midst of the worst affected areas and see what could be done by joint effort.

Gandhi said that he was warned that Shaheed Saheb was not to be relied upon. The same thing was said about him (Gandhi) also. He was described as the worst enemy of Islam. He was supposed to

be a consummate hypocrite. God alone knew men's hearts. He asserted that he spoke and acted as he believed. He had known Shaheed Saheb since the days of the Faridpur Conference, to which the late Deshbandhu had taken him. Nobody had any right to prejudge anybody. He would trust as he expected to be trusted. Both would live under the same roof, and have no secrets from each other. They would together see all the visitors. People should have the courage to speak out the truth under all circumstances and in the presence of those against whom it had to be said.

Gandhi finally referred to what the common citizen could do in order to help the cause. They were to bless them on the mission on which they were embarking.

*Belaghata, 14-8-'47*

Gandhi was able to adjust a packed audience which listened to him without the slightest disturbance. He first said that the next day was the fixed day of deliverance from the foreign yoke. It was, therefore, a great day. They were bound to celebrate it. In his opinion it was a day when both the Dominions were to shoulder a heavy burden. He invited everyone to have twenty-four hours' fast and prayer during the day, for the well-being of India as a whole and pass it in spinning as much as possible. For, it was hand-spinning that had knit the poor and the rich together and that had given occupation to countless men and women who were without occupation.

He then returned to the reason for his postponing the visit to Noakhali and coming to stay in the present place. He said that Shaheed Saheb had come to see him and induce him to do his bit in bringing about peace in Calcutta which was burning. The appeal had its effect upon him. He agreed provided Shaheed Saheb went with him to the affected areas and stayed there under the same roof with him, till the fury had abated and till complete friendship between the two communities was restored. Therefore, they were to work with one mind without mental reservation and without any secrets in the matter from one another. Shaheed Saheb took one night to confer with his aged father and his daughter and sent over his decision the next day. And he sent one message which brought them to the present place yesterday. He had many warnings also against Shaheed Saheb. He was unaffected by the warnings. He was bound to believe his word as he expected him to accept his (Gandhi's) word. Let them not think that they were to neglect the parts of Calcutta which were deserted by their Hindu inhabitants and were occupied by Muslims. They were working for the peace of the whole of Calcutta and he invited his audience to believe with them that if Calcutta returns to sanity and real friendship, then Noakhali and the rest of India would be safe. He mentioned that Shaheed Saheb was in the building, but he had, with his consent, kept himself away from the meeting as he wanted to avoid being the slightest

cause of irritation to the meeting. But he was glad that the audience had exhibited becoming tolerance and gave him the courage to bring Shaheed Saheb to the meeting. After all they should live and work together in the open and perfect co-operation if their difficult mission was to succeed.

Calcutta, 15-8-'47

Gandhiji insisted on walking to the meeting which was held at Rash Bagan Maidan, Beliaghata, Calcutta. A very large congregation attended. The crowd through which he was to pass was so tense that what was five minutes' walk took twenty minutes to cover. Gandhiji congratulated Calcutta on Hindus and Muslims meeting together in perfect friendliness. Muslims shouted the same slogans of joy as the Hindus. They flew the tricolour without the slightest hesitation. What was more, the Hindus were admitted to mosques and Muslims were admitted to the Hindu mandirs. This news reminded him of the Khilafat days when Hindus and Muslims fraternized with one another. If this exhibition was from the heart and was not a momentary impulse, it was better than the Khilafat days. The simple reason was that they had both drunk the poison cup of disturbances. The nectar of friendliness should, therefore, taste sweeter than before. He was however sorry to hear that in a certain part the poor Muslims experienced molestation. He hoped that Calcutta including Howrah will be entirely free from the communal virus for ever. Then indeed they need have no fear about East Bengal and the rest of India. He was sorry, therefore, to hear that madness still raged in Lahore. He could hope and feel sure that the noble example of Calcutta, if it was sincere, would affect the Punjab and the other parts of India. He then referred to Chittagong. Rain was no respecter of persons. It engulfed both Muslims and Hindus. It was the duty of the whole of Bengal to feel one with the sufferers of Chittagong.

He then referred to the fact that the people realizing that India was free, took possession of the Government House and in affection besieged their new Governor Rajaji. He would be glad if it meant only a token of the people's power. But he would be sick and sorry if the people thought that they could do what they liked with the Government and other property. That would be criminal lawlessness. He hoped, therefore, that they had of their own accord vacated the Governor's palace as readily as they had occupied it. He would warn the people that now that they were free, they would use the freedom with wise restraint. They should know that they were to treat the Europeans who stayed in India with the same regard as they would expect for themselves. They must know that they were masters of no one but of themselves. They must not compel anyone to do any thing against his will.

Calcutta, 16-8-'47

There was a greater rush than yesterday. Consequently, there was noise where the pressure was felt. Gandhiji therefore stopped the usual *bhajan* and refused to speak if the noise did not subside. He asked Shaheed Saheb to speak with his powerful voice. He, complying with the request, spoke and the vast audience listened to him in silence and punctuated his remarks with applause when he lustily shouted *Jai Hind* and said he was proud to be a loyal inhabitant of West Bengal. He was then followed by Gandhiji. He expressed his pleasure that at the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan the tricolour was hoisted by an elderly Harijan *mehntaran* who was faithfully serving the institution. Similarly, for a District Congress Committee (of which he had forgotten the name for the moment), a Harijan girl performed the hoisting ceremony. This was along right lines and in keeping with the present fraternal spirit of Calcutta. He hoped that the spirit was permanent and that there would be no trace of untouchability or inequality in Hinduism and that Hindus and Muslims being from the same God, would never quarrel among one another. If this spirit persisted, it would spread throughout the length and breadth of India. Then there would be no fear of disturbance in Noakhali or the Punjab.

He then proceeded to refer to the crowd taking possession of the Government House. It was a matter of shame that there was a show of the military to induce the crowd to vacate the Government House. He was also grieved to learn that some plate in the Government House was pilfered. He would be glad to find that the plate was returned to the Government House. He then mentioned that an American friend who was with the Qaid-e-Azam told him the day before that the Qaid-e-Azam said that India would show to the world that there was no longer any quarrel between the two and that there was no majority and minority community. Rajaji, their Governor, confirmed the same information.

## WOMEN AND SOCIAL INJUSTICE

[Third enlarged Edition]

By Gandhiji

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## HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, AUGUST 31, 1947

TWO ANNAS

## MANY ROADS, ONE GOAL

Everyday, in one quarter of Calcutta or another, the same question has been cropping up: how can we trust the Mussalmans, how can we trust Suhrawardy Sahab after the bitter things we have experienced for one whole year? Gandhiji has unfailingly tried to lift the audience from this emotional way of looking at things to political sanity.

Speaking the other day to a group of students, he said that they should remember that the Muslim League was fighting for a political objective viz., the establishment of Pakistan. The rest of India was against the vivisection; its aim was to preserve India undivided. Whatever the cause actuating the parties, they, the British Government, the Congress, the League and the Sikhs ultimately accepted partition of India. Having got Pakistan, Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah says that in Pakistan there is equality of treatment for all. Muslims and all minorities, the Congress claiming likewise.

The fact towards which Gandhiji has been drawing pointed reference at every meeting, or among every group where opportunity presents itself, is that now that the struggle for Pakistan and Akhand Hindustan is over, we must settle down to the reality, that in each State Hindus and Mussalmans have to live together as common citizens. If any of them still swore by the past, it would not help but hinder us in our forward march. We have to accept facts, and try to convert every citizen into a worthy member of either State. If we treated the Mussalmans in the Indian Union as aliens who had fought for Pakistan and tried to keep them in subjection, we would only succeed in proving our political bankruptcy. Today they were no less citizens of the Union than anyone else. The Mussalmans, he has been pointing out, had accepted the fact of their Indian citizenship, and as proof of that, everyone of them, from Mr. Suhrawardy downwards, had been lustily shouting *Jai Hind*.

But in the speech in Narkeldanga, the other day, Gandhiji referred to a deeper matter. He said that there were indications that all was not well with the Mussalmans. Some Hindus were now beginning to feel that they had the upper hand, and some Mussalmans were afraid that they would have to play the underdog in the Union today. Gandhiji said that this would be shameful indeed. If a minority in India, minority on the score of its religious profession, was made to feel small on that account, Gandhiji could only say that this India was not the India of his dreams. In the India for whose fashioning he had worked all his life every

man enjoyed equality of status, whatever his religion was. The State was bound to be wholly secular. He went so far as to say that no denominational educational institution in it should enjoy State patronage.

All subjects would thus be equal in the eye of the law. But every single individual would be free to pursue his own religion without let or hindrance, so long as it did not transgress the common law. The question of the 'protection of minorities' was not good enough for him, it rested upon the recognition of religious grouping between citizens of the same State. What he wished India to do, was to assure liberty of religious profession to every single individual. Then only India could be great, for it was perhaps the one nation in the ancient world, which had recognized cultural democracy, whereby it was held that the roads to God were many, but the goal was one, because God was one and the same. In fact the roads were as many as there were individuals in the world.

Calcutta, 19-8-'47

N. K. Bose

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

Belaghata, 17-8-'47

## BOILS

Gandhiji said that it was well for Shaheed Sahab to speak sweet things. They were justified. There was no exaggeration in his speech. But he felt bound to draw attention to certain disturbing things. They should not be drowned in the pardonable exuberance they were witnessing. There were isolated spots in Calcutta where it was not all well. He had heard that in one spot the Hindu residents were not prepared to welcome back the Muslim residents who were obliged to leave their place. All this was bad. It was like a bad boil in an otherwise wholesome body. If the boils were not looked after in time, they might poison the body.

Then he mentioned a letter he had received from Mohammed Habibullah Bahar, Secretary of the Muslim League. He made a worthy suggestion about a joint influential committee going to the East and West of Bengal and consolidate the good work being done in Calcutta. He hoped the suggestion would be quickly acted upon. Another suggestion was that the havoc caused by the flood in the East Bengal should be a joint concern of the Hindus and the Mussalmans. He agreed and hoped that there would be a body of Hindu and Muslim workers who would tackle the subject efficiently. Both grain and workers were wanted more than money. The Mayor of Calcutta had sent him a cheque for Rs. 15,000 in aid of relief. He was thankful for the cheque. He would see to it that it was well employed.

## CHANDRANAGORE

Gandhiji then turned to Chandranagore from which the news was received that the Administrator's bungalow was surrounded by those who called themselves *satyagrahis* but were in fact *duragrahis*, if the statement received by him was true. It was suggested that he had approved of the step. He must say it was wholly untrue. Some persons had come to him and he had said that this was no time for *satyagraha*. There never could be any for *duragraha*. Pandit Nehru was there to look after such affairs. After all the French were a great people, lovers of liberty. They must not be subjected to any strain by India which had come in possession of liberty. India was bound to protect the French Possessions in India against any untoward action by the Indians. So he was glad that the Chief Minister had proceeded to Chandranagore to find out the truth and do what he could.

## THE POLICE

Continuing, Gandhiji dealt with the way in which the people were treating the police who were posted to protect Shaheed Saheb and him. It was most improper to disregard the police instructions. He had seen them undertaking their difficult task with exemplary patience and courtesy. It was wrong for crowds to take the law in their own hands. That way lay slavery, not freedom. He warned the public that he was thinking of approaching the authorities to withdraw their forces, for, he did not like them to be subjected to insult for doing a public duty. He, however, expected that the crowd would become perfectly orderly, so that the contemplated withdrawal might not be necessary. The police and the military today were after all servants of the public and not their masters.

## THE ID

Lastly, Gandhiji referred to the coming Id celebration. For twenty years in South Africa he had participated in the celebration with Muslim friends in *mosjids*. Now that a flood of goodwill was sweeping over the city of Calcutta, he expected everyone to take such steps as would render the friendly feeling permanent. It was easy to share in a rising tide of emotion; but it was quite another matter to produce constructive workers who would toil from day to day in order to consolidate the feeling. Gandhiji would love to see such work in the city, for, he was sure that its effect would then be felt by the rest of the country. If they failed to do this, Gandhiji warned them, today's freedom would prove only a nine days' wonder.

Benaghata, 19-8-'47

## NO SUBJECTION

Gandhiji apologized for being 1½ hours late. His party was not at fault. Because of the misdeeds of the majority, who were Hindus in Kanchrapara, the Chief Minister, Shaheed Saheb, he and others had to go to Kanchrapara. Then on return they were stopped by parties who wanted to acclaim their joy. This sort of acclamation, if it was not tempered with restraint, would kill their leaders and then they would deplore the embarrassing affection. He

men warned them against being unduly elated by all the fraternization that they were witnessing. Behind it there were pointers like Barrackpore Kanchrapara and other places he could mention. He would not let them plead excuse or extenuation. There was neither excuse nor extenuation for the majority in Pakistan or Hindustan. If the Hindu majority treasured their religion and duty, they would be just at all cost. They would overlook the limitations or mistakes of the minority who had no one but the majority to look to for justice. He had to listen not without shame and sorrow to the statement that a Muslim friend made to him. He said with a sigh that there was nothing left but a kind of subjection to the Hindu majority and they might have to suffer in silence the playing of music before mosques whilst they were offering prayers. He would have no such despair on the part of Muslims. The friend, who made the remark, did not realize that he unconsciously implied that the Muslim majority would inflict revenge in Pakistan. He hoped it would never be so either in Hindustan or Pakistan. The proper thing was for each majority to do their duty in a humility, irrespective of what the other majority did in the other State. He suggested, therefore, that until the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and the Union agreed upon another course in both the States, the practice that was followed during the British regime often under compulsion, should be fully and voluntarily followed in both the States. Those who thought that they could haughtily impose their will on the minority were foolish and were vastly mistaken. If, therefore, they wanted to consolidate the prevailing goodwill, they would see to it that they acted on the square under all circumstances.

Calcutta, 20-8-'47

The prayer was held at Khengrapati, Barrackpore, which was a unique scene in fraternization. More than four lakhs of people of all classes and communities attended the meeting. People failing to go near the venue of the meeting thronged round on the roofs of the adjoining buildings. Hundreds of people were seen even climbing on all the available trees in the area.

## CHITTAGONG

Then Gandhiji drew attention to Chittagong and said that it was their duty to collect funds, distribute food and clothings and medical necessities. Enough volunteers should be sent to afford relief. He was glad to find that the Marwadi Relief Society as also the Friends' Service under Mr. Muirhead had already sent workers to the scene.

## THE PUNJAB

Referring to the Punjab, Gandhiji said that he had received letters to the effect that now that there was peace in Calcutta, he should proceed to the Punjab. He said that when God called him, he would most certainly go there. But the two Prime Ministers of the two Dominions had announced that their major preoccupation would be to restore complete peace in the Punjab. They would use every resource at their disposal to establish peace

and they would mobilize the public opinion of the Punjab. This should be enough for them to hope that things in the Punjab would be as good as in Calcutta. The two Prime Ministers of the Punjab and Master Tara Singh and Master Giani Kartar Singh have said likewise.

Mentioning about the Central Peace Committee, Gandhiji said that it should consolidate the results so far achieved. They had to see that poor Muslims were rehabilitated just as the Hindus had to be rehabilitated in the areas from which they had been evacuated. Local peace committees should be set up in each *mohalla*; and they must find at least one Hindu and one Muslim of clean heart to work together. These committees must tour the areas under their jurisdiction. They should work to create the feeling of friendliness wherever it was lacking. For the purpose of rehabilitation they would have to go into details. Food, shelter and clothings had to be found for the evacuees returning to their homes. It would be a great day indeed for Calcutta if its men and women co-operated in this manner to consolidate their good feelings which had been so much in evidence during the last few days. In this task all the parties were to co-operate. For, now that all the parties concerned had come to an agreement with regard to the division of India into two dominions, there was no longer any reason to quarrel and they could join hands in the task of restoring peaceful conditions.

#### NATIONAL FLAGS

Gandhiji then referred to the question of flags. Personally he was of opinion that as the two States were on friendly terms with one another, there was no reason why they could not display each other's flag in the two dominions just as England and America could do.

#### THE COW

Gandhiji then referred to the proposal of stopping cow slaughter by means of legislation in the Indian Union. He said that he was of opinion that if they tried to do so through law, it would be a great mistake. He had been a devotee of the cow for over half a century. She had a permanent place in the economy of India. The cow can indeed be saved if they could steal into the hearts of the Muslims in such a way that they voluntarily undertook the responsibility out of deference to the feelings of their Hindu friends. This had been abundantly demonstrated during the Khilafat days. Now that India was free, the same old relation could be restored if they behaved towards one another correctly.

Hinduism, he lastly said, would be wrongly served if compelling legislation was resorted to in such matters. Hinduism could only be saved by doing unadulterated justice to man to whatever religion he might belong.

Park Circus, Calcutta, 21-8-'47

#### JOINT FLAGS

Gandhiji drew attention to the flying of the joint flags of Pakistan and the Indian Union that were being prominently flown in the audience and hoped that

that pleasing sight would be universal in India. He was glad too that Shaheed Sahab had suggested the revival of the slogan 'Hindu-Muslim ki Jai', for it was started during the palmy Khilafat days. He recalled the memory of the old days when a Muslim fellow prisoner used to sing Iqbal's *sare jahanse achcha*. He used to have it sung equally sweetly by the late Saraladevi Chowdharani. The third time was this evening when he heard it sung with equal sweetness and force. The words of the poem were as sweet as the tune. And among them what could be sweeter than that religion never taught mutual hatred? He hoped and prayed that the beginning thus auspiciously made would last for ever and that they would never appeal to the sword for the solution of their difficulties. If that was to be so, they would see that no untoward incidents were allowed to happen and flimsy things were not exaggerated so as to make them look like a communal disturbance as had come to his notice even that very day. He pleaded, too, that a strong rehabilitation committee would collect funds enough to give aid where it was required.

#### IMPARTIALITY

Absolute impartiality was needed to bring all the evacuees to their places. There was a complaint that certain Muslims, who used to supply carts for transfer of goods from place to place, were displaced during the direct-action days. They had not found any other occupation. He was clear that if the statement was true, they should be reinstated. What was then to be done with the substitutes who were imported from other provinces? It was a ticklish question. But it was not beyond the wit of merchants. Where there was a will, there was a way. In scrupulous attention to such matters lay the foundation for permanent unity. There was, too, the question of landlords taking an undue advantage of the evacuees who were eager to return. They must not expect payment for the days that the *busties* were unoccupied or think of charging higher rents. He added that if they were quite honest in all their dealings and both the communities were true to one another, he was sure that the union of hearts would act unfailingly on the Punjab and help the good work that was being done by the ministers of the two dominions.

#### THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION AWARD

He then came to the award of the Umpire in the Boundary Commission. The Umpire was chosen by all the parties to the dispute. It would be unjust and unworthy to impute motives to the Umpire. He was specially invited by the parties to the thankless task. The parties and the public they represented, were loyally to abide by the award. No award that he knew and he had to do with many arbitrations—completely satisfied the parties. But having made the choice they were bound to carry out the terms of the award. No doubt the best way was for the parties to adjust differences themselves. This royal road was open to them any time as Khwaja Sahab Nazimuddin and Dr. Ghosh, the two Premiers had wisely pointed out.

(Continued on p. 303)

# HARIJAN

August 31

1947

## HOW TO SAVE THE COW ?

( By M. K. Gandhi )

There is serious ignorance about the place of the cow in Hinduism and in the economy of Indian life. At the same time that India has become independent of foreign rule, by common consent it has been cut into twain so as to induce the untenable belief that one part is popularly described as Hindu India and the other part as Muslim India. Like all superstitions, this of Hindu and Muslim India will die hard. The fact is that the Indian Union and Pakistan belong equally to all who call themselves and are, sons of the soil, irrespective of their creed or colour.

Nevertheless, a large number of vocal Hindus have begun to believe the superstition that the Union belongs to the Hindus and that, therefore, they should enforce their belief by law even among non-Hindus. Hence an emotional wave is sweeping the country, in order to secure legislation prohibiting the slaughter of cows within the Union.

In this state, which I hold, is based on ignorance, claiming to be a knowing lover and devotee, second to none in India of the cow, I must try in the best manner I can to dispel the ignorance.

Let us at the outset realize that cow worship in the religious sense is largely confined to Gujarat, Marwad, the United Provinces and Bihar. Marwadis and Gujaratis being enterprising merchants, have succeeded in making the greatest noise without at the same time devoting their business talent to the solution of the very difficult question of conserving the cattle wealth of India.

It is obviously wrong legally to enforce one's religious practice on those who do not share that religion.

In so far as the pure economic necessity of cow protection is concerned, it can be easily secured if the question was considered on that ground alone. In that event all the dry cattle, the cows who give less milk than their keep and the aged and unfit cattle would be slaughtered without a second thought. This soulless economy has no place in India, although the inhabitants of this land of paradoxes may be, indeed, are guilty of many soulless acts.

Then how can the cow be saved without having to kill her off when she ceases to give the economic quantity of milk or when she becomes otherwise an uneconomic burden? The answer to the question can be summed up as follows :

1. By the Hindus performing their duty towards the cow and her progeny. If they did so, our cattle would be the pride of India and the world. The contrary is the case today.

2. By learning the science of cattle breeding. Today there is perfect anarchy in this work.

3. By replacing the present cruel method of castration by the humane method practised in the West.

4. By thorough reform of the *pinjrapoles* of India which are today, as a rule, managed ignorantly and without any plan by men who do not know their work.

5. When these primary things are done, it will be found that the Muslims will, of their own accord, recognize the necessity, if only for the sake of their Hindu brethren, of not slaughtering cattle for beef or otherwise.

The reader will observe that behind the foregoing requirements lies one thing and that is *ahimsa*, otherwise known as universal compassion. If that supreme thing is realized, everything else becomes easy. Where there is *ahimsa*, there is infinite patience, inner calm, discrimination, self-sacrifice and true knowledge. Cow protection is not an easy thing. Much money is wasted in its name. Nevertheless, in the absence of *ahimsa* the Hindus have become destroyers instead of saviours of the cow. It is even more difficult than the removal of foreign rule from India.

Calcutta, 22-8-'47

[Note : The average quantity of milk that the cow in India yields is said to be roughly 2 lbs. per day, that of New Zealand 14 lbs., of England 15 lbs., of Holland 20 lbs. The index figure for health goes up in proportion to the increase in the yield of milk.  
23-8-'47 —M. K. G.]

## IS HARIJAN WANTED ?

( By M. K. Gandhi )

It occurs to me that now that freedom from British rule has come, the *Harijan* papers are no longer wanted. My views remain as they are. In the scheme of reconstruction for Free India, its villages should no longer depend, as they are now doing, on its cities, but cities should exist only for and in the interest of the villages. Therefore, the spinning wheel should occupy the proud position of the centre, round which all the life-giving village industries would revolve. But this seems to be receding into the background. The same thing can be said of many other things of which I used to draw a tempting picture. I can no longer dare to do so. My life has become, if possible, more tempestuous than before. Nor can I at present claim any place as a permanent habitation. The columns are predominantly filled by my after-prayer speeches. In the original I contribute on an average, only one and a half columns per week. This is hardly satisfactory. I would like, therefore, the readers of the *Harijan* weeklies to give me their frank opinion as to whether they really need their *Harijan* weekly to satisfy their political or spiritual hunger. They should send their answers to the Editor of the *Harijan*, Ahmedabad, in any of the languages in which they get their weekly, telling me very briefly at the same time, why, if they need it. In the left hand upper corner of the envelope containing the answer, the writer should state, "About Harijan".

Calcutta, 24-8-'47

## ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE

Since the miraculous 15th of August, when the sundered communities in Calcutta suddenly woke up to the fact that they were friends, everyone has been asking "How can this great emotional change be consolidated? How can the peace, that has been established, be made permanent?"

Gandhiji has himself provided the first part of the answer. He did not bring peace to Calcutta merely by preaching peace to Hindus and Muslims. He set a great example. He took to his heart the man whom the Hindus most hated and distrusted. Whether Shaheed Saheb Suhrawardy deserved that hatred, that mistrust, is not the point. Perhaps the dreadful allegations made against him by the Hindu community were not justified. But Gandhiji did not stop to consider whether Suhrawardy Saheb was guilty or guiltless. In any case, he was the outstanding Muslim leader in Calcutta and he had once been a young disciple of the Mahatma. So, taking him as he was, Gandhiji made the offer of heart unity, of complete political identification. Neither was to have any political secret from the other.

Cynics say that Suhrawardy Saheb responded only because this was a sudden and unexpected means to his political rehabilitation just when his party had rejected him. As to that, it may be said that most men's motives for their actions are mixed; often they themselves may not be quite sure which of several motives predominated. But the main point is that he did respond and that, after ten days, this startling partnership seems to be firmly established. Who knows where it may lead?

One of the first things that have been done to consolidate peace has been the establishment of a Central Peace Committee in Calcutta, and a number of local committees are being set up. Perhaps it is a pity that they are called "Peace Committees". For the previous peace committees in Calcutta, as also in Bihar and perhaps elsewhere, have been singularly futile and ineffective. Some people seem to think that where Hindus and Muslims have been killing each other, you can establish peace simply by preaching peace. You cannot. The man who has lost his home or his relatives is not comforted by being told that his cruel neighbours are now willing to live in peace with him. He wants some tangible proof of their will for peace. Are they trying to rebuild his home? Are they prepared even to invite him and his family to live under their roofs and let his own land be ready for him? Are they offering him seed for his crops, ploughs, cattle, implements for his trade, or whatever else he needs to re-establish himself? These are the things the peace committees must attend to. In Calcutta, rightly, they are beginning with house-building. But this is only the first step. Gandhiji, Suhrawardy Saheb, the West Bengal Ministers and the City Fathers are working out plans for re-establishing the refugees in their homes and their trades.

The help of social agencies, of political parties (especially those that have contact with Calcutta's

industrial population), of all people of goodwill, must be secured. In the end, the peace of Calcutta, of Bengal, of all India, must rest on a firm foundation of social security and economic justice. Here lies the first responsibility of freedom.

Calcutta, 23-8-'47

H. G. ALEXANDER

## NON-VIOLENCE AND FREE INDIA

There was a small gathering of local students the other day in Gandhiji's camp at Baliaghata. Gandhiji first asked them if any of them had taken part in the riots, to which they replied in the negative. Whatever they had done was in self-defence; hence it was no part of the riot.

This gave Gandhiji an opportunity of speaking on some of the vital problems connected with non-violence. He said that mankind had all along tried to justify violence and war in terms of unavoidable self-defence. It was a simple rule that the violence of the aggressor could only be defeated by superior violence of the defender. All over the world, men had thus been caught in a mad race for armaments, and no one yet knew at what point of time the world would be really safe enough for turning the sword into the plough. Mankind, he stated, had not yet mastered the true art of self-defence.

But great teachers, who had practised what they preached, had successfully shown that true defence lay along the path of non-retaliation. It might sound paradoxical; but this is what he meant. Violence always thrived on counter-violence. The aggressor had always a purpose behind his attack, he wanted something to be done, some object to be surrendered by the defender. Now, if the defender steeled his heart and was determined not to surrender even one inch, and at the same time to resist the temptation of matching the violence of the aggressor by violence, the latter could be made to realize in a short while that it would not be paying to punish the other party and his will could not be imposed in that way. This would involve suffering. It was this unalloyed self-suffering which was the truest form of self-defence which knew no surrender.

Someone might ask that if through such non-resistance the defender was likely to lose his life, how could it be called self-defence? Jesus lost his life on the Cross and the Roman Pilate won. Gandhiji did not agree. Jesus had won, as the world's history had abundantly shown. What did it matter if the body was dissolved in the process, so long as by the Christ's act of non-resistance, the forces of good were released in society?

This art of true self-defence by means of which man gained his life by losing it, had been mastered and exemplified in the history of individuals. The method had not been perfected for application by large masses of mankind. India's *satyagraha* was a very imperfect experiment in that direction. Hence, during the Hindu-Muslim quarrel it proved a failure on the whole.

Two or three days ago, before this meeting with the students, Gandhiji unburdened his heart in



this respect to Professor Stuart Nelson, who had come to see him before he left for his college in America. Professor Nelson asked him why it was that Indians who had more or less successfully gained Independence through peaceful means, were now unable to check the tide of civil war through the same means? Gandhiji replied that it was indeed a searching question which he must answer. He confessed that it had become clear to him that what he had mistaken for *satyagraha* was not *satyagraha* but passive resistance—a weapon of the weak. Indians harboured ill-will and anger against their erstwhile rulers, while they pretended to resist them non-violently. Their resistance was, therefore, inspired by violence and not by regard for the man in the British, whom they should convert through *satyagraha*.

Now that the British were voluntarily quitting India, apparent non-violence had gone to pieces in a moment. The attitude of violence which we had secretly harboured, in spite of the restraint imposed by the Indian National Congress, now recoiled upon us and made us fly at each other's throats when the question of the distribution of power came up. If India could now discover a way of sublimating the force of violence which had taken a communal turn, and turning it into constructive, peaceful ways, whereby differences of interests could be liquidated, it would be a great day indeed.

Gandhiji then proceeded to say that it was indeed true that many English friends had warned him that the so-called non-violent non-co-operation of India was not really non-violent. It was the passivity of the weak and not the non-violence of the stout in heart who would never surrender their sense of human unity and brotherhood even in the midst of conflict of interests, who would ever try to convert and not coerce their adversary.

Gandhiji proceeded to say that this was indeed true. He had all along laboured under an illusion. But he was never sorry for it. He realized that if his vision were not covered by that illusion, India would never have reached the point which it had today.

India was now free, and the reality was now clearly revealed to him. Now that the burden of subjection had been lifted, all the forces of good had to be marshalled in one great effort to build a country which forsook the accustomed method of violence in order to settle human conflicts whether it was between two States or between two sections of the same people. He had yet the faith that India would rise to the occasion and prove to the world that the birth of two new States would be, not a menace, but a blessing to the rest of mankind. It was the duty of Free India to perfect the instrument of non-violence for dissolving collective conflicts, if its freedom was going to be really worth while.

## THE NATIONAL FLAG

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru replying to the criticisms of the design of India's National Flag says

"I have read a number of letters that have appeared in the *Hindustan Times* in the feature 'Thanks for the Flag'. I am afraid I am unconvinced by any of the criticisms made of the design and I think that the Flag, as adopted, successfully, represents both artistically and symbolically what it is meant to represent.

"The Flag is above all a symbol. This Flag of ours with the three colours and with the *charkha* has been a symbol to us, for many years, of freedom and unity as well as the labouring masses of India. It would have been quite impossible for us to vary the Flag essentially without doing violence to that sentiment and the symbolism that has grown around it. The Flag was originally adopted after very careful consideration and the choice and arrangement of the colours was and is, I think, very artistic and beautiful. The *charkha* added a certain beauty of conception to the Flag. Because the full *charkha* is not there now, it must not be imagined that we have given up the *charkha* or what it meant. In the resolution of the Constituent Assembly it was stated clearly that the wheel in the centre represented the *charkha*. This symbolic representation of the *charkha* retains in its entirety the conception behind the *charkha* and is, in fact, a continuation of that idea in a somewhat more feasible and artistic form more suited to the Flag.

"That form was not casually chosen but was taken from the wheel from Ashoka's Capital. That wheel, of course, was no invention of Ashoka; it was older than Ashoka. But the fact that it was connected with Ashoka and is to be seen on his columns was an additional incentive for us to adopt that particular form.

"The suggestion that the wheel should have been bigger and should have covered part of the saffron and green stripes shows a lack of appreciation of the artistry of the entire design. That would have spoilt the Flag.

"The Flag, thus, as adopted, fulfils all the requirements that we demand from it. It is beautiful and artistic, it is essentially the Flag of our struggle for freedom and our triumph, it is the Flag representing the common man and the masses of India, and at the same time, modern as it is, it takes us back to the great cultural traditions of ancient India which have continued in some measure throughout the ages. It is a Flag thus both of the permanence of Indian culture and the dynamic quality of India today, which, we hope and trust, will be directed towards the betterment and liberation of the masses of this country."

## NOTICE

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## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

(Continued from p. 299)

He knew that the Muslims of Murshidabad and Malda were severely disappointed as the Hindus in Khulna or Gopalganj and the Buddhists in the Chittagong Hill tracts. The latter had gone to East Bengal. He would say to all these parties that it was not only foolish but unbecoming to quarrel over the award. It should not matter that on the 15th, the day was celebrated according to the national division. If he had been consulted he would have advised non-celebration because of the state of uncertainty. But having by mistake flown in the respective places the wrong flag, there should be no hesitation whatsoever in replacing the wrong flag by the right one. But as he had already said, there was no flag wrong in their dominion for the simple reason that there was no quarrel left between the parties. Both the dominions had sincerely professed mutual friendship and mutual regard. Therefore, he would advise the parties to fly both the flags of both the dominions or be equally respectful whichever flag was flown for the time being.

He could not understand the misgivings of the Mussalmans in that Murshidabad and Malda went to West Bengal, nor could he understand the misgivings of the Hindus in Khulna and Gopalganj and of the Buddhists in the Chittagong Hill tracts. For, in view of the friendship professed by all the parties, there was not the slightest occasion for entertaining any fear. Surely, there would be no compulsion used against the minorities in either part of Bengal. The minorities will enjoy equal rights with the majorities.

*Desh Bandha Park, Calcutta, 22-8-'47*

## THE MILITARY POWER

Though the meeting consisting of several lakhs was silent for a long time, when Gandhiji began to speak, the people became restive and began to disperse. Gandhiji, therefore, cut short his speech. He drew attention to the fact that while some men in the audience responded and kept time, the women hardly responded. He said that those who had some experience knew the power that the *Ramadhun*, meaning recital of God's name from the heart, meant. He knew the power that lakhs of soldiers marching in step to the tune of their band meant. The desolation that the military prowess had wrought in the world, he who ran could see. Though the war was said to have ended, the aftermath was worse than actual warfare. Such was the bankruptcy of military power.

## RAMADHUN

Without the slightest hesitation he was there to contend that the power exerted by the *Ramadhun* recited by millions of mankind with true beat of time, was different in kind from and infinitely superior to the display of military strength. And this recital of God's name from the heart, would produce lasting peace and happiness in the place of the present desolation, they witnessed. That brought him to what was going on in the Punjab. If there was lasting peace in Calcutta, it must have

its effect on the Punjab. But it was not so as yet. He felt sorrow and shame to learn that the Hindus were leaving Lahore and the Muslims were leaving Amritsar. It was deplorable that the Hindus and the Sikhs should distrust the Muslims and the Muslims should distrust the former. He hoped that the Muslim and the Hindu and the Sikh leaders would stop the reported exodus.

## KHARAGPUR

Gandhiji referred then to the visit he had from some Muslims from Kharagpur. Though now there was comparative quiet there, there was no assurance that it would last. They complained that the Hindu officer was partial. He hoped this was not so. He must warn all the officers and their men in the police force that in their work they were neither Muslims nor Hindus nor Sikhs. They were Indians bound by oath to give full protection to the afflicted without regard to their religion. Thereby they did not cease to be less Muslims, Hindus or Sikhs, but became better.

## RELIGION

Religion was a personal matter and if we succeeded in confining it to the personal plane, all would be well in our political life. The manifestation of brotherhood which was being witnessed today would prove a passing show if we did not consolidate it by suitable acts in the social and political spheres. If officers of the Government as well as members of the public undertook the responsibility and worked wholeheartedly for the creation of a secular State, then only could we build a new India that would be the glory of the world.

*Woodlands, Ahpore, 23-8-'47*

## ALLAH-O-AKBAR

Gandhiji first referred to the cry of *Allah-o-Akbar* to which some Hindus had objected. He held that it was probably a cry than which a greater one had not been produced by the world. It was a soul-stirring religious cry which meant, God only was great. There was nobility in the meaning. Did it become objectionable because it was Arabic? He admitted that it had in India a questionable association. It often terrified the Hindus because sometimes the Muslims in anger come out of the mosques with that cry on their lips to belabour the Hindus. He confessed that the original had no such association. So far as he knew, the cry had no such association in other parts of the world. If, therefore, there was to be a lasting friendship between the two, the Hindus should have no hesitation in uttering the cry together with their Muslim friends. God was known by many names and had many attributes. Rama, Rahim, Krishna, Karim were all names of the one God. *Sat Shri Akal* was an equally potent cry. Should a single Muslim or Hindu hesitate to utter it? It meant that God was and nothing else was. The *Ramadhun* had the same virtue.

## VANDE MATARAM

He then came to *Vande Mataram*. That was no religious cry. It was a purely political cry. The Congress had to examine it. A reference was made to Gurudev about it. And both the Hindu and the Muslim members of the Congress Working Committee

had to come to the conclusion that its opening lines were free from any possible objection, and he pleaded that it should be sung together by all on due occasion. It should never be a chant to insult or offend the Muslims. It was to be remembered that it was the cry that had fired political Bengal. Many Bengalis had given up their lives for political freedom with that cry on their lips. Though, therefore, he felt strongly about *Vande Mataram* as an ode to Mother India, he advised his League friends to refer the matter to the League High Command. He would be surprised if in view of the growing friendliness between the Hindus and the Muslims, the League High Command objected to the prescribed lines of the *Vande Mataram*, the national song, and the national cry of Bengal which sustained her when the rest of India was almost asleep and which was, so far as he was aware, acclaimed by both the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal. No doubt, every act, as he pointed out the previous evening, must be purely voluntary on the part of either partner. Nothing could be imposed in true friendship.

#### SHAHEED SAHEB

The third thing he referred to, was about his friend Shaheed Suhrawardy. He was receiving verbal complaints and complaints by letters that Shaheed Saheb was not to be trusted and that the Hindus had suffered a lot during the tenure of his ministry. The complaint was not new. He knew it before they embarked on the joint mission which seemed to be bearing unexpectedly good fruit. It was due to the givers of the warning that he should deal with it. He had not had the time even to discuss the matter with his friend. He was in no hurry. His was a trusting nature. He had never lost anything by trusting in good faith. Just as he would expect others to believe his word, unless he was proved untrue, he would likewise believe the word of another. That, he held, was the only honourable way of living among men. He held that man never lost by trusting and that the deceiver ever lost. He would have to answer for his crime before his Maker. He could say that during the few days they were together, he had found no occasion to regret the friendship. This he could tell them, that without his association in the work, he (the speaker) would have been able to do nothing.

#### THE PUNJAB

He referred next to a deputation he had from the Punjabi friends, who had drawn a terrible picture of what was said to be going on in the Punjab and who on the strength of the information asked him immediately to proceed to the Punjab. They had informed him that before the killing and arson in the Punjab, what had happened in Bengal was nothing. They added that Lahore was almost denuded of the Hindus and the Sikhs as was Amritsar of the Muslims. He hoped that the information was highly coloured. The Punjabis of Calcutta could not know the true situation in the Punjab. Be that as it may, he was sure that if the Hindus, the Sikhs

and the Muslims of Calcutta were sincere in their professions of friendship, they would all write to their fellows in the Punjab and ask them to desist from mutual slaughter. The declarations of the Dominion Premiers could not go in vain. He could not believe that the Punjab leaders would not like any non-Muslims in the Pakistan part and non-Hindus and non-Sikhs in the other part. The logical consequence would be that there would be no *gurudwaras* and *man hrs* in the West Punjab and no mosques in the East Punjab. The picture was too gruesome to be ever true.

#### NATIONALIST MUSLIMS

Lastly, he came to the Nationalist Muslims who were good enough to see him. They twisted him for giving importance and life to the Muslim League and neglecting the Nationalist Muslims. He could not plead guilty to either charge. The League had gained importance without his or the Congress aid. It became great because, rightly or wrongly, it caught Muslim fancy. The Congress and he had to deal with and recognize the fact that faced them. He was not sorry for having visited Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah eighteen times in Bombay. His friends should also know that he alone could have done nothing without Shaheed Saheb and Osman Saheb and the other League members. There was no question of neglect of the Nationalist Muslims. Nationalism of a man was its own merit. It demanded no recognition. He would advise his friends to remain what they were and exhibit in their every act courage, self-sacrifice and true knowledge born of study and he was certain that whether they were few or many, they would make their mark on India's future. He would even advise them to join the League and oppose it from within, whenever they found it to be reactionary. Whilst he said all this, he would advise his League friends to approach the Nationalist Muslims in a friendly spirit, whether they remained out or came in. True friendship did not admit of exclusion without the soundest reason.

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(In Two Volumes)

By Satish Chandra Das Gupta

With Gandhiji's Foreword

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- Dine out *v.* باہرے کھانا کھانا | کھانے کے باہر کھانا
- Dining car *n.* ریلوے میں کھانے کے گاڑی کا کمرہ |  
ریل میں کھانے کے گاڑی کا کمرہ
- Dining hall or room *n.* کھانے کا کمرہ | کھانے کا کمرہ
- Dining table *n.* کھانے کی میز | کھانے کی میز
- Dine with Duke Humphrey *v.* ڈیوک ہمفری کے ساتھ کھانا کھانا | ڈیوک ہمفری کے ساتھ کھانا کھانا
- Ding-dong *n.* پتیلی کی دھڑکن | پتیلی کی دھڑکن
- Dingle *n.* پتیلی، پتیلی میں کھانا کھانا | پتیلی، پتیلی میں کھانا کھانا
- Dingy *adj.* ہلکا، ہلکا-پھلکا | ہلکا، ہلکا-پھلکا
- Dinky *adj.* خوبصورت، خوبصورت | خوبصورت، خوبصورت
- Dinner *n.* کھانا، کھانا (کھانا) | کھانا، کھانا
- Dinner jacket *n.* کھانے کے کپڑے | کھانے کے کپڑے
- Dinner set *n.* کھانے کے کپڑے | کھانے کے کپڑے
- Dinner wagon *n.* کھانے کے گاڑی | کھانے کے گاڑی
- Dinosaur *n.* پتھر کے دور کا جانور | پتھر کے دور کا جانور
- Dinothere *n.* پتھر کے دور کا جانور | پتھر کے دور کا جانور
- Dint or dint of, by *n., adv.* زور، زور | زور، زور
- Diocese *n.* کاتھولک کلیسا کا علاقہ | کاتھولک کلیسا کا علاقہ
- Dip *v.* ڈوبنا، ڈوبنا | ڈوبنا، ڈوبنا
- Dip one's pen in gall *v.* پتھر میں لکھنا | پتھر میں لکھنا
- Dip one's pen in gall *v.* پتھر میں لکھنا | پتھر میں لکھنا
- Dip *n.* ڈوبنا، ڈوبنا | ڈوبنا، ڈوبنا

- Diphtheria *n.* پتھر کے دور کا جانور | پتھر کے دور کا جانور
- Diphthong *n.* دو آوازیں | دو آوازیں
- Diploma *n.* سرکاری سرٹیفکیٹ | سرکاری سرٹیفکیٹ
- Diplomacy *n.* سفارت کاری | سفارت کاری
- Diplomat or diplomatist *n.* سفارت کار | سفارت کار
- Diplomatic *adj.* سفارت کاری | سفارت کاری
- Dipsomania *n.* شراب پیونے کی عادت | شراب پیونے کی عادت
- Dire *adj.* خطرناک، خطرناک | خطرناک، خطرناک
- Direct *adj.* سیدھا، سیدھا | سیدھا، سیدھا
- Direct action *n.* سیدھا سیدھا | سیدھا سیدھا
- Direct hit *n.* سیدھا سیدھا | سیدھا سیدھا
- Direct speech or oration *n.* سیدھا سیدھا | سیدھا سیدھا
- Direct tax *n.* سیدھا سیدھا | سیدھا سیدھا
- Direction *n.* سیدھا سیدھا | سیدھا سیدھا
- Directly *adv.* سیدھا سیدھا | سیدھا سیدھا
- Directly *conf.* سیدھا سیدھا | سیدھا سیدھا





# HARIJAN

Editor PYARELAL

VOL. XI. No. 32

AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1947

TWO ANNAS

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

Calcutta, 24-8-'47

### DR. RAY

In thanking the Corporation for the address, Gandhiji said he could not help recalling the late Dr. P. C. Ray under whose roof he had lived for one month in 1901. When he was with the late Deshbandhu, he used to see him with a few scientific friends engaged in lively but strictly scientific conversation under the shadow of the Orchelony Monument near which they had met. That was their recreation. He asked him whether they had any drinks or eatables. He emphatically said, "No." Their food and drink consisted of their instructive as distinguished from idle conversation.

### THE CORPORATION ADDRESS

Referring to the address Gandhiji said that this was the third time he was receiving an address from the Corporation. The first was given to him by the Deshbandhu when he was the Mayor. Then at the hands of Nalini Babu when he was the Mayor. He recalled the fact that the caskets were then auctioned in the interest of the Harijans. He hoped that this casket too would be sold in the same interest by the Mayor.

### A GENTLE REBUKE

He would repeat what he had said in answer to the first address that he could not be satisfied till Calcutta had become the premier city in the world for sanitation. He included in this the sanitation of the streets in Calcutta which was absent today. The citizens should have healthy minds in healthy bodies. Then they would have no goondas, no vagabonds, no drunkards. If the mortality in Calcutta was to be reduced, Calcutta should be flowing with clean milk. Today it was a most difficult commodity to procure. Then he would expect the corporators, by honest application, to put the friendship between the Hindus and the Muslims on a permanent footing in the manner Shaheed Sahab had pointed out.

### CHITTAGONG

Gandhiji said that he had a message from Khwaja Sahab Nazimuddin that he (Gandhiji) should help in procuring at least 500 tons of rice out of the shipment that was coming from Burma. The need was so urgent that the ship with the rice should be diverted to Chittagong to deliver the 500 tons. He gladly associated himself with the request and he hoped that Dr. Rajendra Prasad would, if it was at all possible, allow 500 tons of the precious cargo to be delivered at the Chittagong port.

In this connection he could not help mentioning the complaint that petty officials in

charge of flood relief confined the distribution to Muslim sufferers only. He hoped the news was not true. If unfortunately it was, he had no doubt that the ministers and high rank officials would redress the wrong. If the two dominions were to live creditably and as friends, the communal spirit would be wholly purged. It was up to the Hindu and Muslim leaders to see that the seeds of poison that were sown, while they were fighting, would be removed forthwith. Then he said he deplored the fact that the Muslims in Government services, when the choice was offered to them, preferred Pakistan and the Hindus, the Indian Union. The choice was made, he did not doubt, in haste. He would be sorry to find that the communal virus had entered the services. He advised that the two Premiers should confer with each other and if it was at all honestly possible, the services should be given the opportunity to reconsider their choice. It would be a sorry thing for India if Hindu officials could not be trusted by Muslims and vice versa. Much would depend upon the leaders who influenced the services and the public.

Lastly, he had heard that Kaulna was to celebrate its entry into Pakistan. He deplored such celebration after the award. But he was consoled by Shaheed Sahab that the celebration would be joint and that the Hindus were associating with it. Nevertheless, he could not regard the example with happiness. The jubilant parties ought to restrain themselves, as the aggrieved ones should accept the award with perfect resignation. It must be regarded as final except to the extent that the ministers of the two dominions agreed to vary it for the mutual satisfaction of the parties concerned. There was no other worthy or gentlemanly way.

Calcutta, 25-8-'47

### FRIENDSHIP

"I am sorry that today being my silence day I cannot speak to you. I have, therefore, to write out what I wish to say to you. I have been speaking every day about the vital duty of the Hindus in Western Bengal, who are the majority community, towards their Muslim brethren. This duty they will perform truly, if they are able to forget the past. We know how all over the world enemies have become fast friends. The example of the Britons and the Boers who fought one another strenuously, becoming friends we all know. There is much greater reason why the Hindus and the Muslims should become friends. We cannot do that if we are not great enough to shed all malice.

## SYLHET

"This evening I wish to devote to Sylhet. I have received frantic telegrams from Sylhet about the serious riots that have broken out there. The cause is not known. I am sorry that I am unable to go just now to Sylhet, nor am I vain enough to think that my presence would immediately abate the mob fury I know, too, that one should not without peremptory cause abandon his present duty, however humble it may be, in favour of one which may appear to be higher. To adopt the salvation army language, we are all soldiers of God to fight the battle of right against wrong, by means which are strictly non-violent and truthful. As His soldiers, ours is "not to reason why", ours is "but to do and die". Though, therefore, I am unable to respond to the urgent call of the sufferers of Sylhet, I can appeal, not in vain, to the authorities in East Bengal in general and Sylhet in particular, to put forth their best effort on behalf of the sufferers and deal sternly with the recalcitrants. Now that there is peace between the Hindus and the Mussalmans, I am sure the authorities do not relish these ugly outbreaks. It would be wrong and misleading to underestimate the trouble by calling it the work of goondas. The minorities must be made to realize that they are as much valued citizens of the State they live in, as the majority. Let the Premiers of the two divisions of Bengal meet often enough and jointly devise means to preserve peace in the two States and to find enough healthy food and clothing for the inhabitants and enough work for the masses in East and West Bengal. When the masses, Hindu and Muslim, see their chiefs acting together and working together honestly, courageously and without intermission, the masses living in the two States will take the cue from the leaders and act accordingly. To the sufferers I would advise bravely to face the future and never to give way to panic. Such disturbances do happen in the lifetime of a people. Manliness demands there should be no weakness shown in facing them. Weakness aggravates the mischief, courage abates it."

The above message was written out in English in order to enable Nirmal Babu easily to render it in Bengali. But as owing to heavy rains Gandhiji and party reached the meeting at 6 p. m. instead of 5 p. m. and as there were only a few minutes left to break the silence and as Shaheed Saheb was to speak, Gandhiji was able to speak at the meeting.

## A GENTLE REBUKE

He first apologized to the vast audience for having to stand or sit on the wet and muddy ground. He then referred to the insult that was done to Shaheed Saheb at a meeting held in honour of Major General Shah Nawaz in Howrah. The General had gently rebuked the men who were guilty of discourtesy.

Gandhiji said that the past must be forgotten and whilst they two were acting together for a common cause without mental reservations, the insult done to one was done to the other also. And as they together tried to represent Hindu-

Muslim unity, the insult done to a Hindu or a Muslim was an insult done to the two partners.

## CALL FROM THE PUNJAB

He then referred to the visit of Punjabi friends who pressed him to visit the Punjab as early as possible. He assured them that he was in constant correspondence with Panditji. After all, the Punjab was as much his as any other part of India; for, he claimed to be the servant of the whole of India. Moreover, he had passed six months in that Province during the Martial Law days. He would hasten to the Punjab as early as necessary. Indeed, he was wanted in Sylhet, Malda, Murshidabad and other places. It was not given to any one man to cover all calls upon his time nor was it healthy to depend upon man's assistance in times of trouble. It was manly and dignified to rely upon God for the dissolution of all troubles. He was the only infallible help, guide and friend.

## AN APPEAL TO THE LANDLORD CLASS

He then pointed out that rehabilitation was not going on smoothly. The landlords seemed also to be in the way. They were in duty bound to invite and receive evacuees with open arms. He expected them not to charge or expect rents for months or days of enforced absence.

## A PLEA FOR UNDERSTANDING

The last thing he referred to was a letter from a Muslim who described himself as a *sufi*. He had sent this communication through Shaheed Saheb. The purport was that in his opinion there was nothing common between Hinduism and Islam and that the two could not be as if they were one. For, he argued that the Hindus did not believe in one and only God but held cows and goats as superior to man and believed in high and low, whereas Islam was a brotherhood in which there was no hierarchy and which believed in one God as Allah. In this there was a caricature of Hinduism. There was no Hindu who put animals, the cow and the goat, before man. But he submitted that if anyone like him believed himself to be the lowest in God's creation, there was nothing wrong. It was a sign of true humility. He held that every Hindu believed in one and only God. He admitted that excrescences had grown round Hinduism and that its votaries had not always been true to Hinduism undefiled. It was, therefore, up to an impartial man to understand Hinduism as its votaries like him understood it, just as it was the duty of an impartial Hindu to understand Islam as a good Muslim understood it. That, he held, was the safest rule of interpretation for any faith. Then it would be found that all great religions sprung from the same source and the fundamentals were common to them all.

Calcutta, 26-8-'47

## TOO SLOW

There was a huge crowd at the meeting and the audience was talking among themselves, creating a noise which, Gandhiji said, disabled him from speaking as he wanted to. As, however, a large part of the audience was patient, he said he would say a few words. He referred first to the fact that rehabilitation

was not proceeding as rapidly as could be wished. If the process was not completed in time and the evacuees did not return to their places, the peace in spite of the very large meetings every day, would prove transitory. He drew pointed attention to the fact that the Lake Area was inhabited by rich men. If they made up their minds to do their duty, it was possible for them to make their contribution to the rehabilitation scheme. If the police but did their duty without fear or favour, he said, half the work would be done.

#### FUTURE OF THE ANGLO-INDIANS

He next referred to the visit he had from Anglo-Indian sisters and brothers. While he was not able to address them at a meeting, he would gladly mention them at one of his prayer meetings. During the foreign regime, they were a favoured community. He could not hold out any hope that the favoured treatment would be continued during independence. But they are entitled to the full justice that was the right of every citizen. The Anglo-Indians were as much citizens as any other group in India. It was the duty of both the Hindus and the Muslims to regard them as fully their equals and as brothers and sisters.

#### DANGER OF PAROCHIALISM

He then referred to the provincial spirit that seemed to be infecting the provinces. Thus, he saw in the papers that some Assamese thought that Assam belonged exclusively to the Assamese. If that spirit fired every province, to whom could India belong? He held that the people of all the provinces belonged to India and India belonged to all. The only condition was that no one could go and settle in another province to exploit it or rule it or to injure its interest in any way. All were servants of India and they lived only in the spirit of service. The same exclusive spirit was reported from Bihar against the Bengalis. The extreme instance reported was from Darjeeling. It was said that there was a Gurkha League whose business it was to resent the entry into Darjeeling of the plainsmen. They were reported to be resorting to force for the prosecution of their purpose. He hoped that the poison was confined to a very few young men who lacked imagination and love for India. He had the pleasure of meeting distinguished Gurkha officials who took pride in considering themselves part of India. He had provided the golden rule of conduct. No one could dare migrate to any province to its injury and no force should be used to attain one's end.

Calcutta, 27-8-'47

#### LABOUR

Gandhiji said that the present was his second visit to Motiabuz. The first was when Maulana Sahab Abul Kalam Azad and he visited them years ago because there was a fight between Hindu and Muslim workmen. Fortunately when they reached the scene of trouble, it was almost over but they got undeserved credit. The present was a happy occasion. The Hindus and the Muslims had adjusted their differences and had become friends. He hoped that this was a lasting friendship. He wanted to say a few words to the workmen in the working

men's locality. He hoped that there was no distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims in labour. They were all labourers. If the communal canker entered the labour ranks, both would weaken labour and therefore, themselves and the country. Labour was a great leveler of all distinctions. If they realized that truth, he would like them to go a step further. Labour, because it chose to remain unintelligent, either became subservient or insolently believed in damaging capitalists' goods and machinery or even in killing capitalists. He was a labourer by conviction and a *blangi*. As such his interests were bound with those of labour. As such he wished to tell them that violence would never save them. They would be killing the goose that laid golden egg. What he had been saying for years was that labour was far superior to capital. Without labour gold, silver and copper were a useless burden. It was labour which extracted precious ore from the bowels of the earth. He could quite conceive labour existing without metal. Labour was priceless, not gold. He wanted marriage between capital and labour. They could work wonders in co-operation. But that could happen only when labour was intelligent enough to co-operate with itself and then offer co-operation with capital on terms of honourable equality. Capital controlled labour because it knew the art of combination. Drops in separation could only fade away; drops in co-operation made the ocean which carried on its broad bosom ocean greyhounds. Similarly, if all the labourers in any part of the world combined together, they could not be tempted by higher wages or helplessly allow themselves to be attracted for, say, a pittance. A true and non-violent combination of labour would act like a magnet attracting to it all the needed capital. Capitalists would then exist only as trustees. When that happy day dawned, there would be no difference between capital and labour. The labour will have ample food, good and sanitary dwellings, all the necessary education for their children, ample leisure for self-education and proper medical assistance.

#### NATIONALIST MUSLIMS

Then he came to the Nationalist Muslims who had sent him the following note:

"You have expressed the opinion that the Nationalist Muslims should join the League. Then, does it imply that the Congress has now become a communal organization?"

Gandhiji said that he was not guilty of asking them to discard nationalism or of expecting the Congress to be another Hindu Sabha. He hoped that the Congress would never commit suicide by being a communal organization. When the Congress ceased to represent all who were proud to call themselves Indians, whether prince or pauper, Hindus, Muslims or any other, it will have destroyed itself. Therefore, he could not advise a Muslim Congressman to join the League if the condition of joining the League was to discard or suppress his Congress membership. He would vote for those resolutions of the League which were in the

(Continued on p. 314)

# HARIJAN

September 7

1947

## ABOUT STUDENTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent says:

"You have begun writing in time about the student world of India. Your opinion was highly necessary. The late H. G. Wells has somewhere described the students as 'Undergraduate Intelligence'. The exploitation of the half-baked student world is highly dangerous. It tears the students under exploitation from the essential work of study and its assimilation. In these critical times the harm done by the exploitation of 'Undergraduate Intelligence' recoils upon the exploiters. Your writing referred to above gives rise to one question. Was it not Gandhiji who first drew the students to politics? I know that this is not true. But it is necessary for you to reiterate your position."

"The second thing is: what should students' organizations do? What should be their objective? Today as you know, students' organizations are considered as stepping stones to entrance into political life. Some exploit them for that purpose."

Only during this week I had the misfortune to experience what harm 'Undergraduate Intelligence' can do. I was invited by the Vice-Chancellor to address a students' gathering. Sad to say, they indulged in a hostile demonstration against Shaheed Saheb. Afterwards they came to reason and they repented. And they gave a demonstration of how half-baked intelligence could do right under wise guidance. This would be apparent from the report of my post-prayer speech in the current issue of the *Harijan*.

Let me hope that the rendering into Gujarati in the columns of the *Harijanbandhu* will be quite in keeping with the original in English. The English rendering is the translation of the speech that was delivered in Hindustani. But it has not been possible to give properly edited Hindustani and its authorized English translation. Who could shoulder that burden? I have deprived myself of the assistance of Pyarelalji and Dr. Sushila Nayyar, who are engaged in better work. Rajkumari's services have been unavailable for several months. Now she has become a Minister.

If there is one compact students' organization, it can become a mighty instrument of service. Their objective can only be one: never for the purpose of finding a lucrative career but fitting themselves for the service of the motherland. If they were to do so, their knowledge would attain a great height. Agitation is only for those who had completed their studies. While studying, the only occupation of students must be to increase their knowledge. The education, as it is prescribed today, is detrimental, conceived in terms of the masses

of India. It is possible to show that the present education has been of some use to the country. I regard it as negligible. Let no one be deceived by it. The acid test of its usefulness is this: Does it make, as it should, an effective contribution to the production of food and clothing? What part does the student world play in allaying the present senseless slaughter? All education in a country has got to be demonstrably in promotion of the progress of the country in which it is given. Who will deny that education in India has not served that purpose? Hence, one purpose of the organization should be to discover the defects of the present education and seek to remove them, so far as possible in their own persons. By their correct conduct they will be able to convert to their view the heads of education. If they do so, they will never be entangled in party politics. In the revised scheme, constructive and creative programme will naturally have its due place. Indirectly, their action will keep the politics of the country free of the spirit of exploitation.

Now for the first question: What I said in the matter of students' education at the time of the country's battle for freedom is evidently forgotten. I did not invite the students to devote themselves to politics while they were in schools and colleges. I had inculcated non-violent non-co-operation. I had suggested that they should empty these educational institutions and throw themselves in the battle for freedom. I had encouraged national universities and national schools and colleges. Unfortunately, the trap of the education given in our schools and colleges was too strong for the students. Only handful were able to disengage themselves from it. Thus, it is not proper to say that I drew the students to the politics of the country. Moreover, when after 20 years of exile in South Africa, I returned to India in 1915, the students, while they were engaged in their studies, had already been drawn to the political life. Probably, there was no other way. Our foreign rulers had so devised the whole life of the country that nobody could engage in politics suitable for the delivery of the country from bondage. The foreign rulers had so devised and controlled the education of the youth of the country that they remained under their control and millions were kept in comparative darkness. This was the way in which foreign control was rendered as permanent as possible. Therefore, apart from the colleges and schools controlled by foreign rulers, patriotic workers were not to be found. To what extent this foreign education was misused need not be considered here.

Calcutta, 30-8-'47

(Adapted from the original in Gujarati)

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## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q You have often stated while you were in Noakhali that failure of your mission there, would be the failure of your own *ahimsa* and not of *ahimsa* itself. In the light of what has been achieved here (Calcutta), do you think that your *ahimsa* has succeeded or is on the way to success?

A. It is a correct statement that has been attributed to me. *Ahimsa* is always infallible. When, therefore, it appears to have failed, the failure is due to the inaptitude of the votary. I have never felt that my *ahimsa* has failed in Noakhali, nor can it be said that it has succeeded. It is on its trial. And when I talk of my *ahimsa* I do not think of it as limited to myself. It must include all my co-workers in Noakhali. Success or failure would, therefore, be attributable to the aggregate of the activities of my co-workers and myself.

What I have said about Noakhali applies to Calcutta. It is too early to state that the application of *ahimsa* to the communal problem in this great city has succeeded beyond doubt. As I have already remarked, it is wrong to contend that the establishment of friendliness between the two communities was a miracle. Circumstances were ready and Shaheed Saheb and I appeared on the scene to take the credit for what has happened. Anyway it is premature to predicate anything about the application. The first thing naturally is that we, the two partners, have one mind and are believers in *ahimsa*. That being assured, I would say that if we know the science and its application, it is bound to succeed.

Calcutta, 31-8-'47

## THE NATIONAL FLAG

The *Chakra* figuring in India's National Flag has been widely described as the *Ashoka-Chakra*. But this description is not historically quite correct. It was not Ashoka who invented this *Chakra*. It was first conceived by his great Guru, the Buddha, who called it the *Dhamma-Chakka* in his first teaching at Sarnath which is known in Pali as the *Dhamma-Chakka-Pabattana-Sutta*. The meaning of this term is the inauguration of the Kingdom (*Chakka*) of Righteousness, the Rule of Right as against Might—what Gandhiji would call *Rama Rajya*, the ideal for which India stands. The Buddha's *Dhamma-Chakka*, again, is the successor of Vishnu's *Sudarshana Chakra*, the Cosmic Circle, within which is comprehended all that is, animate or inanimate (*Akhanda mandalakaram vyaptam yena characharam—अक्षरानन्दलोककारं व्याप्तं येन चराचरम्*). Thus the *Chakra* is possessed of a deep spiritual meaning. It was Ashoka's part to translate into stone in terms of visible form the Buddha's great ideal of *Dhamma-Chakka* at the place where it was first presented by him. Finally, the *Chakra* may be taken in Gandhiji's sense as a *Charkha*, the symbol of India's traditional economic system through the ages.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI

[ Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji brought the above note personally and on my drawing attention to the popular meaning of the *Sudarshana Chakra* as a symbol of violence, he said it was wholly wrong. Calcutta, 31-8-'47

—M. K. G.]

## WITH THE KASTURBA TRAINEES

The Kasturba trainees came to meet Gandhiji from their camp in Saheb nagar the other day. They were twentythree in number and were accompanied by three of their teachers. Gandhiji invited them to ask questions. One of the teachers had submitted a statement about her experiences with regard to the method of training itself. But Gandhiji did not wish to enter into the actual details of the training course; he was sure this had to be adjusted to the conditions and needs of rural Bengal and the details must naturally be worked out by the teachers from their own experience.

The question which Gandhiji took up for discussion was asked by one of the trainees: In view of the resistance encountered from the rural people and the numerous disappointments which they had to face, how would Gandhiji advise them to proceed, so that success could be ensured? Gandhiji began by saying that he was glad that a very fundamental question had been raised. He had, however, only one answer for it.

The education through which India had passed for over a century was essentially designed for a particular purpose. In order to feed the interests of capitalism, the entire economic life of India had been changed, the city had become the centre of gravity and not the village; the village had been dethroned from its position of supremacy and virtually been converted into a slum, kept as far away from the city as practicable. The educational system had been planned to supply the needs of this lop-sided economy. If, now, we wanted to create a new India, our outlook must be changed altogether. Democracy has to be built up inch by inch in economic, social and political life. Considering the magnitude of the task, it would naturally require a very stout heart to grapple with the problem.

To the trainees, his advice was one. They must be brave, intelligent and persevering. The villagers might not readily respond. They might even prove hostile. Many interests would have to be disturbed before the necessary change could be effected. But non-violent workers should choose the line of least resistance. They should suffer in their own person before they could aspire to gain the co-operation of the inert or hostile villagers. Day in and day out, they must persevere at their chosen task, whether it was village sanitation or the imparting of education to a few children, whom perhaps nobody else would care to touch. They might not have the resources to supply their own bread. But even then, through hunger, they must persist without resentment, without bitterness. Then only will their conduct strike the imagination of the villagers, and this element of surprise will open the way into their hearts. Once the inert mass has begun to yield, work will make rapid progress.

Another trainee then said that there were no signs of response from the villagers even after a year of patient work. Gandhiji comforted her by saying that one year's work was not enough. We had to sweep aside the accumulated debris of

centuries of subjugation. Even a life-time might not prove enough. If our education had been otherwise, we might not have perhaps yielded so readily to despondence. We had to steel our hearts and look towards the bright future to enable us to get out of the slough of despond. So long as we persevered, the struggle itself was victory. It was only courage of this kind which could lead India to the New Age. Calcutta, 25-8-'47 N. K. BOSE

### GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

(Continued from p. 311)

nation's interest and against those which were contrary to the nation's interest. He had several Muslims of staunch faith in mind who were neither in the Congress nor in the League. He advised the Nationalist Muslim friends to join the League if they wanted to affect the Muslim masses. Real nationalists needed no encouragement from him or anyone else. Nationalism, like virtue, was its own reward. His one warning was that they should never think of power or bettering their worldly prospects by joining the one or the other organization. A nationalist would ever think of service, never of power or riches. There could be one President of the Congress or the League. Presidentship came by merit and strength of service. The League had become what it was, not by his or Congress cajoling. The Qaid-e-Azam was an able President, whom neither riches nor titles could buy. He was a front rank barrister and a rich man. Being the son of a merchant, he knew how to multiply his earnings as a lawyer by wise investments. This acknowledgment did not mean that Gandhi liked all his ways or that the latter had led the Muslims in the right way. He had his differences with the Qaid-e-Azam and the League. But he could not withhold merit where it was due. It was, he hoped, clear to the Nationalist Muslims under what conditions he advised them to join the League.

Gandhi then came to the question addressed to him by some members of the Azad Hind Fauj. But as rain began to pour heavily at the time and there was noise and restlessness in the meeting, he postponed dealing with the question for the next meeting.

Calcutta, 28-8-'47

### STUDENTS

Gandhi addressed after prayer the students of Calcutta. He said that he had done teaching in his own way from his early youth and probably the very first meeting he addressed after his return to India in 1915 was that of students. Since then he had addressed numerous student-meetings throughout his many wanderings in India. He was not new to them nor were they new to him. But of late years he had ceased to address meetings as he used to do before. He was, therefore, glad that he was able to address the students. Their Vice-Chancellor was good enough to see him about the evening's proceedings. He was nervous about the students' behaviour towards Shaheed Sahab. He said that he would have only the prayer and

his usual after-prayer speech. It should not have been so. Everywhere there appeared to be anarchy in the student world. They did not tender obedience to their teachers and their Vice-Chancellor. On the contrary, they expected obedience from their teachers. It was a painful exhibition on the part of those who were to be the future leaders of the nation. They gave an exhibition of uncivility that evening. He was faced with placards in the foreign tongue depicting his comrade Shaheed Sahab in unbecoming language. He suggested to them that in as much as they had insulted Shaheed Sahab, they had insulted the speaker. Shaheed Sahab could not be insulted by the language used against him. But the speaker could not take up that attitude. The students should be, above all, humble and correct. They had an object lesson in their Vice-Chancellor. The Chief Minister, Shaheed Sahab and he sat on the platform provided for them but the Vice-Chancellor sat among the rest of the visitors. His humility reminded him of Krishna who, when Raja Yudhishtira performed his yagna, chose the menial work of washing the feet of the guests. Thereby he showed his innate nobility. The greatest to remain great had to be the lowliest by choice. If he could speak from his knowledge of Hindu belief, the life of a student was to correspond to the life of a *sannyasi* up to the time his studies ended. He was to be under the strictest discipline. He could not marry nor indulge in dissipation. He could not indulge in drinks and the like. His behaviour was to be a pattern of exemplary self-restraint. Had they lived at all up to the pattern, they would not have done what they did at the prayer meeting.

He then invited Nirmal Babu to translate that part of the speech if the audience wanted the translation in spite of the rain. They wanted it. The rain happily stopped during the translation. After it Gandhi, at the instance of the meeting, delivered the second part of his speech.

### NETAJI

The evening before he had a note from some members of the Azad Hind Fauj as to his opinion about them. He said that he had come in close contact with some of the officers of the Fauj. In referring to the Fauj he felt constrained to refer to Netaji who, he was of opinion, was dead in the body but lived in the servants of India. He had the pleasure of coming in touch with Subhas Babu when the latter had just returned from England with the determination to sacrifice a lucrative career that was open to him. He preferred selfless service to selfish ambition and placed himself under the Deshbandhu. Therefore, he was able to come in close touch with the speaker. Though Subhas Babu became a non-violent non-co-operator, he never saw eye to eye with the speaker in his unadulterated non-violence. His was a life full of perilous adventure and romance. His daring was unequalled. He scraped together an army composed of Indians drawn from all provinces, belonging to all religions and by his glorious example he had

infused into them the spirit of willing discipline and obedience. It was not a small thing for his handful of army which his genius had scraped together to offer battle to the mightiest empire of modern times. Gandhiji was told by the officers of the Azad Hind Fauj that Subhas Babu had advised the members of the army to carry out what he (Gandhiji) might suggest; for the struggle in India was of a different conception as the struggle outside India was of Netaji's. His answer to the question asked was that the members of the Azad Hind Fauj were not to expect to be absorbed in the current military ranks nor to be a separate unit of the army in any of the two parts of India. He held it to be impracticable at least for some time to come. The best thing for them was to work as a separate compact body of servants of India. It would be best for them to hold together on a plot of land, to turn their swords into ploughshares and grow more food for the hungry millions. If they did not like the suggestion, they should be absorbed into the civil life and serve the country. 'Once a soldier, always a soldier' would be a dangerous doctrine in free India. He had lived in South Africa for 20 years where every Boer was a first-class soldier when soldiering was necessary, otherwise he was a wonderful farmer. Such was General Botha. Such is Field Marshal Smuts. He is a great lawyer, a great farmer, owning a magnificent farm and everyone knew him to be a distinguished soldier. What was Netaji himself? Was he less than Field Marshal Smuts? Soldiering was never his profession. Today when India was shaking with communalism and fratricidal disturbances, let the members of the Fauj set a noble example of what they were under Netaji, who evoked such affection from his men that he (the speaker) had known his officers being unable to think of him without tears. Let them translate that affection into action. That in spite of all his affection and respect for Netaji, they had differences of opinion was a matter of no consequence. Such divergence would exist between the best of friends. Let the students too, whether they believed in violence or non-violence, understand that strictest discipline was common to both.

Calcutta, 29-8-'47

#### THE VANDE MATARAM SONG

At the meeting *Vande Mataram* was sung and the audience including Shabeed Sahib and the other Muslims on the platform stood up. Gandhiji alone keeping seated in the proper posture. Gandhiji, therefore, commenced his speech by congratulating Shabeed Sahib and the other Muslims on standing. He purposely kept seated because he had learnt that their culture did not require standing as a mark of respect when any national song or *bhajan* was sung. It was an unnecessary importation from the West. A respectable posture on such occasions was the correct attitude. After all, it was the mental attitude that mattered, not the superficial appearance. He then suggested that there should be one universal notation for *Vande Mataram*, if it

was to stir millions; it must be sung by millions in one tune and one mode. After all, national songs could only be two or three. But they should all have their common notation. It was up to the Shantiniketan authorities or some such authoritative society to produce an acceptable notation.

#### INDIAN CHRISTIANS

Gandhiji then referred to the Christians. He had the pleasure of receiving them the day before. They said that the major communities had taken care of themselves but what was to happen to the Christian Indians? Were they to have no seats in the Governments or the legislatures? He told the friends that the poisonous favouritism of the foreign rule was dead and gone. Merit should now be the sole test. In a well-ordered society there should be no minority. Why should they not feel that they were of the forty crores, but not a mere handful in the forty crores? Whatever their religion, all born in India and proud of their birth were equal in the eye of the law. On the strength of merit i.e., intellectual capacity, self-sacrifice, courage and incorruptibility, a Christian could be the Chief Minister without exhibiting greater merit than a Hindu or Muslim. Religion was a purely personal matter. He expected that what was true of the Union was equally true of Pakistan. He asked his Christian brethren also not to take their Christianity as it was interpreted in the West. There they knew that they fought with one another as never before. After all Jesus was an Asiatic depicted as wearing the Arabian flowing robe. He was the essence of meekness. Gandhiji hoped that the Christians of India would express in their lives, Jesus, the crucified of the Bible, and not as interpreted in the West with her blood-stained fingers. He had no desire to criticize the West. He knew and valued the many virtues of the West. But he was bound to point out that Jesus of Asia was misrepresented in the West except in individuals.

#### ROLE OF THE MINORITIES

Then he answered the question whether the minorities would have recognition as religious minorities had. Thus, whether Bengalis of Bihar, though a minority, would have recognition? This was a ticklish question. In his opinion an Indian was a citizen of India enjoying equal rights in every part of India. Therefore, a Bengali had every right in Bihar as a Bihari. But he wished to emphasize that a Bengali must merge in the Bihari. He must never be guilty of exploiting Biharis or feeling a stranger or behaving as a stranger in Bihar. If the speaker brought his Gujarat manners in Bengal and imposed himself on the province, he would expect the Bengalis to expel him. He could not then claim the rights of an Indian as against Bengalis. All rights flowed from duties previously and duly performed. One thing he must stress that in both the Dominions of India, the use of force for the assertion of rights must be eschewed altogether if they were to make any progress. Thus, neither the Bengalis nor the Biharis could assert themselves at the point of the sword, nor could



the Boundary Commission Award 'similarly' be changed. It was the first lesson to be learnt in a democratic independent India. Their independence was yet only a fortnight old. Liberty never meant the licence to do anything at will. Independence meant voluntary restraint and discipline, voluntary acceptance of the rule of law in the making of which the whole of India had its hand through its elected representatives. The only force at the disposal of democracy was that of public opinion. *Satyagraha*, civil disobedience and fasts had nothing in common with the use of force, veiled or open. But even these had restricted use in democracy. They could not even think of them whilst the Governments were setting down and the communal distemper was still stalking from one province to another.

Calcutta, 30-8-'47

#### TEST OF AMITY

Gandhiji said that this was Shaheed Saheb's constituency. He was, therefore, glad that he was expected to visit Barasat. He noticed the absence of the Pakistan flag or the Muslim League flag. Why did not the Hindus of Barasat go out of their way to invite their Muslim brethren to fly the Pakistan flag side by side with the tricolour? That never meant that the Muslims were to impose the Pakistan flag or the League flag on the Hindus. He would apply the same rule where the Muslims were in a majority. If a Hindu girl was in their midst, they would encourage the solitary girl to unfurl the tricolour and recite *Ramadhun*. That was the sure sign of Hindu-Muslim friendship which then would be capable of bearing the severest strain upon it. No doubt, they learnt the daily tale of family strife in the Punjab. It had become difficult for the Muslims to live in the East and the Hindus and Sikhs in the West. Was there to be a transfer of crores of population? The way to stem the tide of this savagery and inhuman conduct was for the Hindus and Muslims of the two divisions of Bengal to preserve their equanimity intact and to demonstrate by their unbreakable friendship the way for all the communities to live. The way of mutual strife and exclusiveness was the way to perdition and slavery. If there was heart friendship, he could not understand the objection of Muslims, wherever they were in a majority, to be included in Western Bengal as in Murshidabad and Malda or for the Hindu majority, to be included in Pakistan. This was a sign not of friendship but of unworthy and mutual distrust.

#### THE GURKHA LEAGUE

He then referred to a letter he had received from the local Gurkha League saying that he was misinformed by his correspondent on the strength of whose letter he had issued his advice to the Gurkhas of Darjeeling. They contended that they claimed to be as much Indians as any. They could have no repugnance towards the Bengalis or the Marwadis who had settled in Darjeeling. But they

expected Gandhiji to share their apprehension if they found the Bengalis or the Marwadis to be lording over them. Let them not be too proud of their learning or riches and treat the Gurkhas as if they were born to be bearers of burden. Would he not expect perfect equality among them and expect the Bengalis to lift them up by giving them a knowledge of letters and the Marwadis to share with them the secret of conducting honest trade? Gandhiji said that he had no hesitation in endorsing the Gurkha position and hoped that the Bengalis, Marwadis and others who had settled on that beautiful hill, would share with their Gurkha brothers their best and show them that they were their friends and servants, in no sense exploiters.

#### BREAD AND CLOTH LABOUR

He then came to refer to a question which Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose had prepared for him as a result of discussions with him by visitors. What did he mean by bread labour and what was its application to the present state? The economics of bread labour were the living way of life. It meant that every man had to labour with his body for his food and clothing. If he could convince the people of the value and necessity of bread labour there never would be any want of bread and cloth. He would have no hesitation in saying to the people with confidence that they must starve and go naked if they would neither work on the land nor spin and weave. They read in the papers that the whole of India was on the brink of starvation and nakedness. If his plan was accepted, they would soon find that India had enough food and enough *khadi* which the masses would produce for themselves. No doubt, they should be assisted in the matter of using the land wisely and should also be supplied with spinning and weaving accessories, and instructors. He added that he had not hesitated even to discuss his method with Mr. Casey who was taking keen interest in the water supply of Bengal. No doubt, Mr. Casey's was a gigantic scheme requiring years and tons of money. His was an efficient but unambitious and inexpensive programme.

#### Hindustani Prachar Examinations

Hindustani Examinations in 111 centres of Gujarat and Kathiawad will take place on Sept. 13, 14, 1947. In all the four examinations 4952 examinees will appear. This is an increase of 789 over the number which appeared in the last examination held in Feb. 1947. Last year, in 1946, 5381 examinees appeared in these examinations, while this year the number goes up to 9015.

#### Gujarat Vidyapith

#### GIRI RAJ KISHORE

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#### HINDUSTANI PRACHAR EXAMINATIONS

GIRI RAJ KISHORE 316

# HARIJAN

Editor PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## IN CALCUTTA

After a period of nearly six months I had the privilege of seeing once again the old, familiar face, of hearing the sound of his old familiar voice when with my friend and colleague Shri Charubhushan Chowdhary I came down to Calcutta to apprise Gandhiji of the situation that was developing in Noakhali and to seek his advice. Although Calcutta was apparently in an ecstasy of communal amity, his mind, uncannily sensitive to the hidden lie in the soul, was anything but restful. After some hesitation he decided to go to Noakhali in spite of the alarming news which continued to pour from the Punjab. "Shall I start tomorrow morning or the day after tomorrow?" he asked those around him and the latter day was fixed for departure. That evening, He who keeps watch when humanity's vision fails, gave the warning signal. "My resolve to go to Noakhali has collapsed after this evening's happenings," he told me when I saw him that night. "I cannot go to Noakhali or for that matter anywhere when Calcutta is in flames. Today's incident to me is a sign and a warning from God. You have for the time being, therefore, to return to Noakhali without me. You can tell the people of Noakhali that if my colleagues for any reason cannot be there, they will find me, surely, in their midst."

And then casually he hinted that if the conflagration spread, he would have no alternative but to fast. "Have I not often said that there is yet another fast in store for me?" The next day was his day of silence. Ugly news continued to pour in. Several deputations waited on him in the course of the day to consult him as to what they should do to quench the fire. "Go in the midst of the rioters and prevent them from indulging in madness or get killed in the attempt. But do not come back alive to report failure. The situation calls for sacrifice on the part of top rankers. So far the unknown, nameless rank and file alone have been the victims of the holocaust with the one exception of the late Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi. That is not enough."

Even as he uttered these words, he was cogitating within himself, as to where he came into the picture which he was presenting to them. For he added, "Of course, I cannot do today what I have told them to do. I will not be permitted to. I saw that yesterday Everybody will protect me from harm if I went in the midst of the maddened crowd. I may drop down from sheer physical exhaustion - that is nothing. It won't do for a

soldier to be exhausted in the midst of battle." But inaction in a crisis is not in Gandhiji's nature. When a dear old friend saw him that night his mind was already made up. "You don't expect me to approve of your proposed step," remarked the friend with his usual affectionate banter as he perused Gandhiji's statement setting forth his reasons for going on a fast which the latter had kept ready against his arrival. Together they took stock of the situation thrashing out the question in the minutest detail.

"Can you fast against the goondas?" argued the friend.

"The conflagration has been caused not by the goondas but by those who have become goondas. It is we who make goondas. Without our sympathy and passive support, the goondas would have no legs to stand upon. I want to touch the hearts of those who are behind the goondas."

"But must you launch your fast at this stage?" finally argued the friend. "Why not wait and watch a little?"

To this Gandhiji's reply was that the fast had to be now or never. "It would be too late afterwards. The minority Muslims cannot be left in a perilous state. My fast has to be preventive if it is to be any good."

"I know I shall be able to tackle the Punjab too if I can control Calcutta," he continued. "But if I falter now, the conflagration may spread and soon, I can see clearly, two or three Powers will be upon us and thus will end our short-lived dream of independence."

"But supposing you die, the conflagration would be worse," argued the friend.

"At least I won't be there to witness it. I shall have done my bit. More is not given a man to do," replied Gandhiji.

The friend capitulated.

"But why add sour lemon juice to water, if you are to put yourself entirely in God's hands?" he (the friend) permitted himself to think aloud as he read that part of the statement where Gandhiji had allowed himself that latitude.

"You are right," quickly replied Gandhiji. "I allowed it out of my weakness. It jarred on me even as I wrote it. A satyagrahi must hope to survive his conditional fast by a timely fulfilment of the condition."

And so the portion referring to the addition of sour lime juice to water to be taken during the fast was scored out and the unadulterated venture of faith commenced.

This was on Monday night. Two days later a prominent member of the Calcutta Muslim League

wanted on him to plead with him to give up the fast. "Your very presence in our midst is an asset to us. It is the guarantee of our safety. Do not deprive us of it," he added.

"My presence did not check the rowdies the other day. My word seemed to have lost all efficacy so far as they were concerned. My fast will now be broken only when the conflagration ends and the pristine peace of the last fifteen days returns. If the Muslims really love me and regard me as an asset, they can demonstrate their faith by refusing to give way to the instinct of revenge and retaliation even if the whole of Calcutta goes mad. In the meantime, my ordeal must continue."

The friend retired with a heavy heart. Addressed Gandhi after he had left, "Let the evil-doers desist from evil, not to save my life, but as a result of a true heart change. Let all understand that a make-believe peace cannot satisfy me, I do not want a temporary lull to be followed by a worse conflagration. In that event I shall have to go on an unconditional fast unto death."

Then the miracle happened. As the leaden hours crept by and drop by drop strength ebbed out of the frail little man on the fasting bed, it caused a deep churning up in the hearts of all concerned, bringing the hidden lie to the surface. People came to Gandhi and confessed to him what they would not have uttered to any living ear. Hindus and Muslims combined in an all-out effort to save the precious life that was being offered as ransom for disrupted peace between brother and brother. Mixed processions, consisting of all communities, issued forth and paraded through the affected parts of the city to restore communal harmony. A group of about fifty people, credited with the power to control the turbulent elements in the city, saw Gandhi on the 4th instant and gave an undertaking that they would immediately bring the trouble-makers under check. They told Gandhi that they had already traced and put under restraint the ringleaders who had organized the rowdyism in his camp on Sunday last, including the person who had hurled the stick that had narrowly missed hitting him. They would all surrender themselves to him and take whatever punishment might be meted out to them. Would not Gandhi on the strength of that assurance now break his fast, so that they might be able to go to work unburdened by the oppression of the fast? they asked. If not, what was his condition for breaking the fast? In reply Gandhi told them that he would break his fast only when they could assure him that there would never again be recrudescence of communal madness in the city even though the whole of West Bengal and, for that matter, India might go forth into a blaze and the Muslims themselves would come and tell him that they now felt safe and secure and, therefore, he need not further prolong his fast. He did not expect, he proceeded to explain, to be able to control all the *goondas* in the city, though he would love to, as he had not the requisite degree of purity detachment and steadfastness of mind. But if he could not even make them purge themselves of the communal virus,

he would feel that life was not worth living and he would not care to prolong it. They had referred to the oppression of his fast. He could not understand that. Why should they have a feeling of oppression if what they had told him came right from their hearts? If a single step is taken under pressure of the fast, not from conviction, it would cause oppression, but there should be no oppression if there was complete co-operation between the head and the heart. "The function of my fast is to purify, to release our energies by overcoming our inertia and mental sluggishness, not to paralyse us or to render us inactive."

"My fast isolates the forces of evil; the moment they are isolated they die, for evil by itself has no legs to stand upon. I expect you therefore," he concluded, "to work with even greater vigour under the instigation of my fast, not to feel its oppression."

The deputation went back realizing that it was not fair to ask him to give up his fast unless they could deliver the goods. Later in the afternoon a number of those who had led the disturbances in his camp on Sunday night, came to him and made their surrender with what to all intents appeared to be genuine contrition.

That evening, another deputation of prominent citizens of Calcutta representing all communities, including Shabeed Saheb, Shri N. C. Chatterjee and Sardar Niranjan Singh Talib, waited on him. They told him that they had been to all the affected parts of the city and there was quiet everywhere. They had every reason to hope that there would be no recrudescence of trouble which was not communal really but was the work of the *goondas*. They requested him to break his fast. Gandhi mildly rebuked them for the habit of taking refuge behind moral alibis by blaming it all on the *goondas*. It was a dangerous expedient. He showed by citing personal experiences of the days of his boyhood how it is the cowardice or passive sympathy of the average citizen or the "man with a stake" that gives the so-called *goondas* the power to do mischief. "My fast should make you more vigilant, more truthful, more careful and precise in your speech," he remarked.

Taking up next their request to break his fast, he asked them two straight questions. Could they in all sincerity assure him that there would never be any more recrudescence of communal madness in Calcutta? Could they say that there was a genuine change of heart among the citizens of Calcutta so that they would no longer foster or tolerate communal frenzy? They should let him continue his fast if they could not give him that guarantee for, in the event of the present communal outbreak being followed by another, he would have to undertake an irrevocable fast unto death. "But supposing there is another communal outbreak in spite of your assurances, since you are not omniscient," he resumed, "would you give your word of honour that you would in that event suffer to the uttermost before a hair of the minority community is injured, that you would die in the attempt to put out the conflagration but not return alive to report failure? And, I want this from you in writing." If they could

give that guarantee, he would break his fast. "But mind you," he added, "My blood will be upon your head if you say one thing and mean another; rather than thoughtlessly hurry let me prolong my fast a little longer. It would not hurt me. When a man fasts it is not the gallons of water he drinks that sustains him, but God."

He spoke with deep passion. A pin-drop silence followed. Shaheed Saheb broke the ice. Gandhiji had said that he would break the fast when Calcutta would return to sanity. That condition had been fulfilled. Was he not imposing fresh conditions by asking them to sign that declaration? To this "legal argument" Gandhiji replied that there was no fresh condition imposed. All that was there implied in the original terms of the fast. "What I have spoken now is only a home truth to make you know what is what. If there is complete accord between your conviction and feeling, there should be no difficulty in signing that declaration. It is the acid test of your sincerity and courage of conviction. If, however, you sign it merely to keep me alive, you will be encompassing my death."

Everybody realized the solemnity of the warning. Rajaji and Acharya Kripalani, who had arrived during the latter part of the discussion, proposed that they might leave Gandhiji alone a little while and retire to the adjoining room to confer together. Shaheed Saheb endorsed the suggestion. They were about to retire when an appeal signed by about 40 representatives of the Hindus and Mussalmans, residents of Narkel Danga, Sitlatola, Manicktola, and Kankirgathi areas was brought in. In that appeal, the signatories swore that they would not allow any untoward event or incident in that locality which was the worst affected during the previous riots and earnestly prayed to Gandhiji to break his fast. "It may also be reported," continued the signatories, "that no incident occurred in this mixed area since 14th of August 1947." "So our effort has not been in vain," remarked Shaheed Saheb, as he read out the appeal. "Yes, the heavens are at work," Gandhiji added.

Shaheed Saheb resumed, "Now that even the Muslims have joined in the appeal, won't you break your fast? This shows that they have fully accepted your peace mission although they are the aggrieved party in the present riots. It is all the more strange because at one time they looked upon you as their arch enemy. But their hearts have been so touched by the services you have rendered them that today they acclaim you as their friend and helper."

It was a graceful thing, gracefully uttered. Rajaji, not to be beaten in a tournament of chivalry, quickly added, "If I may vary the language, I would say that he is safer today in the hands of the Muslims than in those of the Hindus."

Crowds followed with interest this contest of chivalry and picked out for his comments only the portion of Shaheed Saheb's remarks in which he had referred to the Muslims as the aggrieved party. He did not like the "aggrieved party" language. "Do not think of Muslims as the aggrieved party," he remarked, "The essence of our present peace mission is that we are to forget the past. I do not want the Muslims to feel that in West Bengal they are the underdog. Unless we can forget the distinction, we will not have done solid work."

They then all retired to the next room and Gandhiji who had an attack of weakness and nausea during the latter part of the talk was left alone to rest.

In the deliberations that took place in the adjoining room Shaheed Saheb was cautious and circumspect, which only showed his sincerity and sense of responsibility. Acharya Kripalani was cynical and full of sardonic humour as ever; Rajaji tactful and persuasive and full of practical wisdom, concealing his emotion under a mask of ratiocination. The discussion was brief but unhurried. Rajaji dictated the draft of the pledge which was signed by Shri N. C. Chatterjee first, then by Shri Deven Mukerjee followed by Shaheed Saheb Shrivardiy, Shri R. K. Jaidka, and Sardar Nuranjan Singh Talib to be followed later by others. A car load of hand grenades and arms had in the meantime arrived to be surrendered to Gandhiji as a token of repentance on the part of those who had taken part in the savagery of reprisals and counter-reprisals. Without any loss of time the signatories then returned to Gandhiji with the document.

"But sir, is it any good my signing this document?" remarked Shaheed Saheb to Gandhiji, "I may any time be called to Pakistan and then what happens to my pledge?"

"You must in that event have confidence that those whom you leave behind will deliver the goods," replied Gandhiji. "Moreover, you can come back."

"I have no desire to hoodwink you and I never will do so deliberately," remarked Shaheed Saheb.

His words were greatly appreciated.

"Well, I will break this fast now," said Gandhiji at last, "and leave for the Punjab tomorrow. I shall now go there with far greater strength and confidence than I could have three days back."

Shaheed Saheb interposed, "You cannot leave tomorrow. Your presence is necessary here at least for a couple of days yet to consolidate the peace. Others supported him. They did not tell him what was uppermost in their minds besides, that they were deeply concerned at his undertaking a railway journey in his present state of health. The untidy crowds in Bihar and all along the line would treat him to pieces in their blind adoration.

So, Saturday was provisionally fixed for his departure.

Dr. Dmshah Mehta had in the meantime hurried away to get orange juice ready. Before breaking the fast Gandhiji, according to his usual practice, had prayer recited. But neither I nor my friend Shri Charubhushan Chowdhary could stay on to witness the final happy scene. We had our assignment with which Gandhiji had charged us to fulfil at Dacca. "We shall be blown sky high if we miss our train," I whispered to my friend who was still tempted to linger on. And so we hurried to the car that was waiting to take us to Sealdah Station as the singing of the Poet's song:

"When life is dry and parched up,  
Descend Thou in a shower of mercy" . . .

followed by *Ramadhan* filled the air  
Calcutta and Dacca,  
5 and 6 September, 1947

PYARLAL

# HARIJAN

September 14

1947

## RIGHT OR WRONG ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Among my correspondence there is a typical letter in Gujarati from which I give below the following summary:

"In the *Young India* of 15th September, 1927 A. D., in your Madras speech reported the you have said that that which is opposed to true economics is not religion and that economics which are inconsistent with religion are not true and should, therefore, be denounced.

"I am aware that you have held the view for many years, but it has not commanded universal acceptance. Therefore, it seems to me that your devoting your time and energy to the abatement of atrocities being committed in the name of religion is not proper. Where is your constructive programme today? The National Congress has the reins of Government in the best part of India. Complete political independence is in our hands. The British power has quitted. In such a case, is it not well that you should devote your energy to the prosecution of the constructive programme and through it demonstrate to the country that religion and economics are not two opposites? You write nothing against the unnormal economics of India. The consequence is that arduous people have begun to believe that you are behind the present economic policy of the Congress Government. I have begun to believe that you, who are the creator of constructive programme, are now destroying it. So far as I know there is not a single institution about *khadi* or village industries which are based on true economics and on principles of self-sufficiency."

This writer has written in a moment of excitement. Therefore, he has not been able to express the whole truth. The main fact is that communal unity is a vital part of my being. It was so when *khadi* and all the village industries were not even conceived by me. At the time communal unity possessed me, I was a lad twelve years old, just a beginner in English. It was then that I had realized that all Hindus and Muslims and Parsis were sons of the same soil and, as such, were pledged to complete brotherhood. This was before 1885 when the Congress was born. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that communal unity is itself an integral part of the constructive programme. For it I have run many a risk. It is my conviction that if that unity is not achieved, the constructive programme cannot make substantial progress, at least not at my hands. For, I should not know how to prosecute it in the midst of communal disturbances. The logical consequence of my correspondent's argument will be that I should not have hastened to Noakhali and thence to Bihar. That is to say,

the work that I know how to tackle and which I have been doing for years, I should neglect in the nick of time. Surely, this is impossible for me to do. To neglect it for the sake of the other items of the constructive programme would be tantamount to neglect of immediate duty. The result would be, I would have given up what was in my hands and got nothing for the manifest breach of duty.

Those who are in charge of the Congress Government are my fellow workers. It is possible to say that they flourished in company with me in the Congress and now occupy top places. If I have failed to convince them of the soundness and feasibility of the economics referred to by the correspondent, how should I expect to convince others? They do not feel that they would be able to carry the people of India with them in the prosecution of what may be summed up as the '*Khadi Economics*' and to renovate the villages of India through village industries.

He (the correspondent) rather suggests that I should prepare Shri Jajaji, Shri Kumarappa and such like to take the reins of Government in their hands. What hallucination is this? What right have I so to prepare people? Government of the people, by the people and for the people cannot be conducted at the bidding of one man, however great he may be. Again, who are more capable or penetrating than the present holders of the reins of Government? When more capable men are found, I am sure they will give place to their betters. As far as I know them they are not place hunters. Therefore, without being told by anybody they will of their own accord give place to abler hands and feel grateful for what will amount to a relief for them.

Let no one make the mistake of thinking that I can replace any one of them. I know that they will welcome me if I was ready to shoulder the burden. But I must confess that I have not unlimited capacity in me. That belongs to God, whom I love to invoke as Rama. But I am only His humble devotee. His devotees cannot claim to be He. They have got to dance to His tune.

It is worthy of note, too, that they themselves are giving the best part of their time to the very work of communal harmony, which I try to do. I in my own way try in theirs. For, they, too, believe with me that so long as this question is not satisfactorily settled and peace does not reign in India, nation-building works can make little or no progress.

Finally those who think like my correspondent should realize that the constructive programme, to be of any use, has to be reduced to practice by the millions of India. For that purpose we need thousands of workers. It is of little consequence that it was conceived by one brain. It has been before the country for years. The All India Spinners' Association, the Village Industries Association, the Goseva Sangh, the Talim Sangh, the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, the Adivasi Seva Sangh, the Harijan Sevak Sangh and such others which might have escaped my memory, came into being for that very

purpose and are still working according to their capacity. All of them have realised the necessity and beauty of the relation between religion and economics. Whilst I am doing communal work, my interest in other constructive activities has not flagged. Whenever I can, I take part in their deliberations too. More should not be expected of me. I dare not leave the work in hand, being tempted to run after another, probably better. Hence, the warning that the correspondent has given me should really be taken to heart by himself and those who think alike and they should wholeheartedly devote themselves to the service of the nation in which they may be engaged.

I have repeated times without number that for national work it is not necessary that national workers should have political power. But it is necessary for the people to keep in constant touch with those whom they put in power. These can easily be counted. They are too few. But if the people were to realize their power and use it wisely and well, things would right themselves. Our independence is a new born baby eighteen days old. It is inconceivable that things would of themselves be arranged harmoniously. Moreover, those who have been placed in power are themselves new to this vast administrative work. They are assiduously adapting themselves to it.

Calcutta, 4-9-'47

(Adapted from the original in Gujarati)

### SMRITISH BANERJEE

Peace has taken its toll, and it is good that men have not been found wanting who gave their lives to it.

Shri Smritish Banerjee with a few friends was returning from some work on the 3rd of September when they came across a peace procession of school boys and girls who were proceeding towards Park Circus. Smritish sensed danger, for the atmosphere all over Calcutta was still very tense. He preceded the procession in a car and reached the junction of Circular Road and Park Street a few minutes ahead of the school children. Smritish and his friends got down, spoke to some Muslims assembled there; and finding that the atmosphere was hostile, sent word to the boys and girls across the street not to proceed any further.

At about this time the procession was attacked and the boys and girls began to run away. Smritish and Sushil Dasgupta tried to protect the girls. The last that was seen of him was that he was trying to hurry away a few girls to some place of safety and on his shirt there was an ugly patch of blood. Later on Smritish's body was brought back to hospital, while Sushil was found with five stab wounds, which have left him in a precarious condition till today.

Smritish was 38 years when he died. He had been in the political movement ever since he was 18 years of age. He was actively connected with the peasant movement in Bengal and was a member of the Peasant Sub-Committee of the B. P. C. C.

Smritish had been imprisoned twice, but the height of his sacrifice was reached when peace and communal harmony exacted from him the heaviest sacrifice of which he was capable.

Calcutta, 7-9-'47

N. K. BOSE

### A PURE SACRIFICE

Communal frenzy in Calcutta has exacted the first toll of pure sacrifice, so far as I am aware, in Shri Sachin Mitra, who dared to live up to the creed of non-violence and pay the price.

With his record of peace activity as a member of the Gandhi Shanti Seva Dal during the upheavals that shook Calcutta in August and November last year, he could not sit still during the present disturbances and on Friday last, he set forth with three Hindu colleagues with the determination to do his bit to put out the conflagration. They took along with them a number of Muslim friends whom they met on the way and at their invitation proceeded in the direction of Nakhuda Masjid which was reported to be a danger spot. At the crossing of the Chitpur Road and Canning Street, however, the peace party was surrounded by a hostile crowd of Muslims. Sachin Mitra and his other Hindu colleagues were pulled out of the peace party. Sachin Mitra was stabbed and his colleagues severely assaulted by the maddened crowd. Their Muslim colleagues tried to protect them. They were overpowered. Some of them even received injuries. Sachin Mitra was removed by the Muslim friends in a police jeep car to the hospital where he was reported to be progressing satisfactorily. But yesterday in the afternoon his condition began to deteriorate. This morning (the 3rd instant) Gandhi had asked the two girls who have accompanied him to Calcutta to go and see him in the hospital; but before they could do so the news arrived that the patient had succumbed to his injuries.

He was only 38. He had dedicated himself wholly to service. An M. A. of the Calcutta University, he was an active member of the 'Congress Sahitya Sangha', an association for the production of Congress literature. In 1942 he plunged into the 'Quit India' movement and on his release helped to found the 'Bangiya Chhatra Sansad', a students' organization for promoting the constructive activity of the Congress. He often held spinning demonstrations in bustees. Till April last he was working in Thakkar Bapa's camp at Haimchar in Tippera District. He was gifted with a keen aesthetic sense. By nature amiable, he had endeared himself to all his friends whom he loved to render the meanest service.

Sachin Mitra's sacrifice reminds one of the sacrifice of the late Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi. Many more shall have to offer such sacrifice if Indian independence is to live.

As Gandhiji remarked in a Hindustani message that he sent to his widow, Sachin Mitra has become immortal. "Such a death," ran the note, "should not be an occasion for sorrow, but rather of joy."

"You can demonstrate your affection for him by following in his footsteps."

This example should open the eyes of those who, in their ignorance, murdered their own friend and helper; it shows how blind fury never does the slightest good to anybody and often results in irreparable harm as in the present case.

Calcutta, 3-9-47

PYARELAI

### GANDHIJI'S PRESS STATEMENT

I regret to have to report to you that last night some young men brought to the compound a handicapped man. He was reported to have been attacked by some Muslims. The Prime Minister and him examined and the report was that he had no marks of stabbing, which he was said to have received. The seriousness of the injury, however, is not the chief point. What I want to emphasize is that these young men tried to become judges and executioners.

This was about 10 p.m. Calcutta time. They began to shout at the top of their voices. My sleep was disturbed but I tried to lie quiet, not knowing what was happening. I heard the window panes being smashed. I had lying on either side of me two very brave girls. They would not sleep but without my knowledge, for my eyes were closed, they went among the small crowd and tried to pacify them. Thank God, the crowd did not do any harm to them. The old Muslim lady in the house endearingly called Bi Amma and a young Muslim stood near my matting I suppose to protect me from harm.

The noise continued to swell. Some had entered the central hall and began to knock open the many doors. I felt that I must get up and face the angry crowd. I stood at the threshold of one of the doors. Friendly faces surrounded me and would not let me move forward. My vow of silence admitted of my breaking it on such occasions and I broke it and began to appeal to the angry young men to be quiet. I asked the Bengali grand-daughter-in-law to translate my few words into Bengali. All to no purpose. Their ears were closed against reason.

I clasped my hands in the Hindu fashion nothing doing. More window panes began to crack. The friendly ones in the crowd tried to pacify the crowd. There were police officers. Be it said to their credit that they did not try to exercise authority. They too clasped their hands in appeal. A lathi blow missed me and everybody round me. A brick aimed at me hurt a Muslim friend standing by. The two girls would not leave me and held on to me to the last. Meanwhile the Police Superintendent and his officers came in. They too did not use force. They appealed to me to retire. Then there was a chance of their saving the young men. After a time the crowd melted.

What happened outside the compound gave I do not know except that the police had to use tear gas to disperse the crowd. Meanwhile, Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Ananda Bala and Dr. Nripen walked in and after some discussion left. Happily, Shamsud Sahab had gone home to prepare for tomorrow's proposed departure for Noakhali. In view of the above ugly incident, which no one could tell where it would lead to, I could not think of leaving Calcutta for Noakhali.

What is the lesson of the incident? It is clear to me that if India is to retain her dearly won independ-

ence all men and women must completely forget lynch law. What was attempted was an indifferent imitation of it. If Muslims misbehaved, the complainants could, if they would not go to the ministers, certainly go to me or my friend, Shamsud Sahab. The same thing applies to Muslim complainants. There is no way of keeping the peace in Calcutta or elsewhere if the elementary rule of civilized society is not observed. Let them not think of the savagery of the Punjab or outside India. The recognition of the golden rule of never taking the law into one's own hands has no exceptions.

My Secretary, Dev Prakash, in Patna, wires, 'Public agitated Punjab happenings. Feel statement necessary impressing duty of public and the Press.' Shri Dev Prakash is never unduly agitated. There must be some unguarded word by the Press. If that is so, at this time when we are sitting on a powder magazine, the Fourth Estate has to be extra-wise and reticent. Unrestrainedness will act as a lighted match. I hope every editor and reporter will realize his duty to the full.

One thing I must mention. I have an urgent message coming me to the Punjab. I hear all kinds of rumours about resurgence of trouble in Calcutta. I hope they are exaggerated, if not quite baseless. The citizens of Calcutta have to reassure me that there would be nothing wrong in Calcutta and that peace, once restored, will not be broken.

From the very first day of peace, that is August 14th last, I have been saying that the peace might only be a temporary lull. There was no miracle. Will the foreboding prove true and will Calcutta again lapse into the law of the jungle? Let us hope not, let us pray to the Almighty that He will touch our hearts and ward off the recurrence of insanity.

Since the foregoing was written, i.e., about 4 o'clock, during the day, I have come to know fairly well the details of what has happened in various parts of the city. Some of the places which were safe till yesterday have suddenly become unsafe. Several deaths have taken place. I saw two bodies of very poor Muslims. I saw also some wretched looking Muslims being carted away to a place of safety. I quite see that last night's incidents so fully described above, pale into insignificance this flare-up. Nothing that I may do in the way of going about in the open conflagration could possibly arrest it.

I have told the friends who saw me in the evening

What part am I to play in order to stop it? The Sikhs and the Hindus must not forget what the East Punjab has done during these few days. Now the Muslims in the West Punjab have begun the mad career. It is said that the Sikhs and the Hindus are enraged over the Punjab happenings.

I have adverted above to an urgent call for me to go to the Punjab. But now that the Calcutta bubble seems to have burst, with what face can I go to the Punjab? The weapon which has hitherto proved infallible for me is fasting. To put an appearance before an yelling crowd does not always work. It certainly did not last night. What my word in person cannot do, my fast may. It may touch the hearts of all the warring elements in the Punjab if it does in Calcutta. I therefore, begin fasting from 8.15 to-night to end only if



and when sanity returns to Calcutta I shall, . . . permit myself to add salt and soda breath to the water I may wish to drink during the fast.

If the people of Calcutta wish me to proceed to the Punjab and help the people there, they have to enable me to break the fast as early as may be.

Calcutta, 1-9-'47

## THE FAST

Gandhiji began his fast for allaying the communal frenzy and restoration of sanity in Calcutta at 8-15 p. m. on the 1st of September, 1947, and broke it at 9-15 p. m. on the 4th instant with a glass of sweet lime juice which Mr. Suhrawardy served to him.

It is necessary to go back into the history of the fast, in order to prepare the background of the story as to how and under what conditions it was finally broken.

From the 14th of August till the 31st, peace reigned. That evening there was a demonstration against Gandhiji's peace mission. On the following morning communal frenzy, in a very intense form, once more swept over several parts of the city. There were already indications in the morning that Gandhiji might fast; but the final decision was taken at eleven in the evening when, according to him, friends had failed to show any satisfactory reason why he should not take the contemplated step. The last sweet drink was taken at 7 p. m. He made the provisional decision at 8-15 p. m.

Any way, the fast was taken and perhaps partly on account of it and partly also because the common citizen, who had tasted peace after one year's life in the trenches, did not want the recrudescence; the riots rapidly cooled down, so that on the 4th the Government as well as the public could come and report to Gandhiji that not one incident had taken place during the last twentyfour hours. Parties after parties came to Gandhiji either with reports or with promises, and in spite of his weak state, he insisted on speaking in his feeble voice to every batch of interviewers. Dr. Sunil Bose, the celebrated physician and brother of Netaji, came to Gandhiji with a request that he must take plenty of rest and not talk at all. But Gandhiji told him he could not exclude relevant talk. Such necessary loss of energy was inevitable. He was certainly desirous of living, but not at the cost of work that duty demanded. "I can't interrupt the work," he said to Dr. Bose, "which has made me fast and which makes me live. If my life ebbs away in the process, I would feel happy."

This was at half past eleven in the morning. A few minutes afterwards a batch of twentyseven friends belonging to Central Calcutta came to see him. During the communal disturbance of the last year, resistance groups had grown up here and there, and the present party represented such a group in Central Calcutta which had become the focus of the recrudescence on Monday. They had come to Gandhiji with the promise that henceforth there would be no more incidents in their part of the city and he should, therefore, break his fast

now, otherwise all of them were prepared to go on a sympathetic fast with him. Gandhiji argued long with them, and what he said in substance was this. The present occasion was not one in which there was scope for a sympathetic fast. Hindus and Mussalmans had fought for one whole year, at the end of which the major parties had agreed that India should be divided into two States. Both had Hindu and Muslim subjects. It was now time for every one to create the sense of common citizenship, to rebuild the land so that men might taste the fruits of freedom. To this end all should work. Gandhiji said that if the friends had come to him only for the sake of saving his life, it was nothing.

Referring to the Poona Fast which ended with the desired amendment of the Communal Award, it was suggested by some that though the amendment was not to their desire, they accepted it for the sake of saving his life. This was a wholly wrong approach. Such fasts were intended to stir the conscience and remove mental sluggishness. Truth could not be sacrificed even for the sake of saving a life, however precious it was. Gandhiji, therefore, warned the present company that they should create real Hindu-Muslim unity by educating the people in a sense of common citizenship of the State, where every single man enjoyed perfect equality of rights which flowed from duty performed. If they worked with this aim in view, and succeeded after a few days' effort in making the Muslims in Calcutta feel safe where they now did not, it would be time for him to break the fast. Gandhiji was clearly of opinion that although his work was now confined to Calcutta, yet his one aim with respect to the Hindu-Muslim question was that the solution would be complete only when the minority, whether in the Indian Union or in Pakistan felt perfectly safe even if they were in the minority of one. There would be no favoured and no depressed community anywhere. All should forget their religious affiliations. He was working to this end. He was working in such a manner that the majority community in each State should go forward and create the necessary conditions of freedom.

Some one asked him: Was it possible that his fast would have any effect on the anti-social elements in society? Today, i. e., during the present recrudescence, it was this element which had gained the upper hand. Could their hearts be converted by Gandhiji's crucifixion? Gandhiji's answer was very clear and emphatic. He said that goondas were there because we had made them so. During one year of past anarchy, it was understandable how these elements in society had gained respectability. But the war between Pakistanis and those for Undivided India had ended. It was time for peace-loving citizens to assert themselves and isolate goondarism. Non-violent non-co-operation was a universal remedy. Good was self-existent, evil was not. It was like a parasite living on and round good. It would die of itself when the support that

good gave was withdrawn. The heart of the antisocial elements may or may not be changed; it would be enough if they were made to feel that the better elements of society were asserting themselves in the interests of peace and in the interests of normality.

To the interviewers from Central Calcutta Gandhiji's advice, therefore, was that they should desist from a sympathetic fast, go forth among the oppressed in each quarter, assure them that they were safe, and rebuild life so that safety would be a permanent feature of the new State of India. He would personally have loved to move about from quarter to quarter in Calcutta in order to place his views before the various bodies, but his physical condition would not permit it. If others worked, how could he rest? Yet he was bound to make his contribution. He felt that it should be in the shape of a fast.

The friends from Central Calcutta were followed by others. There came a deputation from the Bar Association of Calcutta with the promise that its members would do all that lay within their power to restore peace. Friends from Bellaghata, who had a few weeks back looked upon Gandhiji's peace mission with suspicion, had been electrified by the fast. They had appreciated now the full significance of the mission and had, with all their energy, set about the task of rehabilitating the deserted Muslim *bustees*. Pressmen who had met the evacuees who had returned home testified to the sincerity and solicitude with which those who had driven them away a few weeks back, now treated them. All this was good news for Gandhiji, but yet he did not reach the point when the fast could be broken.

Towards evening, Sjt. N. C. Chatterjee, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, Debendra Nath Mookerjee, its Secretary, Sirdar Naranjan Singh Talib, Editor of the *Dash Darpan*, Dr. G. Jilani of the Muslim League, Dr. Abdur Rashid Chowdhury and Mohibur Rahman of the Pakistan Seamen's Union came accompanied by some other friends to report on the quiet and with their request to Gandhiji to break his fast. Rajaji, the Governor of West Bengal, Acharya Kripalani, Dr. P. C. Ghosh and Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy were also there. They had a long discussion with Gandhiji which left him rather worn out. Gandhiji heard what they said and did most of the talking. This is what he had to say.

He said that ever since the 14th of August, although he had relished the fraternization between the Hindus and the Mussalmans, yet he looked on the ebullition of emotion with caution and reserve. If the feeling was due entirely to friendship new found, to the sense of brotherhood through common citizenship newly attained, there would be more signs of it e.g., in intensified efforts for rehabilitation. That sign was lacking. The recrudescence had then come. Therefore, Gandhiji felt he must fast. God had at least given him the capacity to work and

die for communal peace. If there were anti-social elements in society, where a rowdy or a *goonda* plundered or killed a man whether Hindu or Muslim, his fast might not affect him. He knew his limitations. He fasted for the restoration of communal harmony. The sanity that had been a evidence for the last twentyfour hours was not enough for him. If the present company was going to assure him that it was a sincere affair and was going to be permanent, he would expect them to give him something in writing. It must state that supposing Hindu-Muslim riots broke out once more in Calcutta, they should assure him that they would give their lives in the attempt to quell the riots. If they agreed, that would be enough. They must so work from tomorrow that real peace and common citizenship was created as a feature of Calcutta life, no matter what happened elsewhere. Communal peace should be their prime occupation. Their other occupations or avocations must henceforth occupy a second place.

There was another matter, but that was a condition which automatically attached itself to the situation. As in Bihar, as in Noakhali, so also in Calcutta, he wanted to tell the friends who were making themselves responsible for the break of his fast, that if communal frenzy broke out in Calcutta again, Gandhiji might have to go on an irrevocable fast. The present fast was meant to activate the better, peace-loving and wise elements in society, to rescue them from mental sluggishness and make goodness active.

Realizing their responsibility, the friends retired to another room. Free and frank discussions took place between them. Suspicions were freely expressed, fears that the signatories might not rise to the heights demanded of them were discussed in an atmosphere of frankness, and finally came the decision to sign the document with all its implications.

Gandhiji felt glad. He took the signatories at their word, prayed that God might give them the courage and strength to implement their promise in daily life from the following morning; and with that prayer on his lips, he broke his fast last night. A heavy responsibility now lies upon the people of Bengal who have to implement the promise made sacred in Gandhiji's presence. May we have the requisite wisdom, strength and perseverance to see it through.

Calcutta, 5-9-47

N. K. BOSE

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**Disengage** *v.* अलग करना या होना, छूटना, छुड़ाना, आकाश करना, डीना करना ।

الک کرنا، یا حرا، جھڑنا، آزاد کرنا، ڈھل کرنا

**Disengagement** *n.* छूट, छुटकारा, आजादी, डैंगली या वगावरी हट जाना ।

جھوٹ، جھکارا، آزادی، مکی یا سنگی ٹوٹ جانا

**Disentangle** *v.* घुड़ाना, बचाना, जानना, सुलझाना, सुलझाने निकल आना ।

جھڑانا، بچانا، کھولنا، سلیمان، الجھن سے نکل آنا

**Disenthrall or disenthral** *v.* गुलामीसे छुड़ाना ।

حالی سے جھڑانا

**Disentomb** *v.* कब्रसे निकालना, खोद कर निकालना, खोब लगाना ।

قبر سے نکالنا، کھود کر نکالنا، کھج لگا لیا

**Disestablish** *v.* सरकारसे रिहता या सम्बन्ध काट देना (विशेष कलोनियाका) ।

حکومت سے رشتہ یا सम्बन्ध काट देना (विशेष कलोनियाका)

**Disfavour** *v.* असह न आना, पसन्द न करना ।

अपना न करना, पसन्द न करना

**Disfigure** *v.* बह-भुरही, कुहरना ।

कुहरना, बह-भुरही, कुहरना

**Disfranchise** *v.* सार्वभौम हक या अधिकार छीन देना; हक, राय या वोटका हक छीन देना ।

सर्वभौम हक या अधिकार छीन देना; हक, राय या वोटका हक छीन देना

**Disgorge** *v.* सुगमना, निकाल कर देना; दरियाका समुन्द्रमें गिरना ।

अकल, निकाल कर देना; दरियाका समुन्द्रमें गिरना

**Disgrace** *n.* बेभिरहती, अपमान; पतन, कलक, धन्ना, शर्मकी बात ।

बेभिरहती, अपमान; पतन, कलक, धन्ना, शर्मकी बात

**Disgrace** *v.* अपमान या बेभिरहती करना, गिराना, सुंद काना करना, साज में देना, नाम दुबोना ।

अपमान या बेभिरहती करना, गिराना, सुंद काना करना, साज में देना, नाम दुबोना

**Disgraceful** *adj.* बुरा, काराख, कमीना, नीच, अपमान या बेभिरहती लानेवाला ।

बुरा, काराख, कमीना, नीच, अपमान या बेभिरहती लानेवाला

**Disgruntled** *adj.* नाबुख, दुखान, अव्युष्ट, बिड़बिड़ा ।

नाबुख, दुखान, अव्युष्ट, बिड़बिड़ा

**Disguise** *v.* छिपाना, मेह बदलना, सबको छिपाना, गुलत रंगमें दिखाना ।

छिपाना, मेह बदलना, सबको छिपाना, गुलत रंगमें दिखाना

**Disguise** *n.* मेह, बदलना, रंग; धावा, फरेब ।

मेह, बदलना, रंग; धावा, फरेब

**Disgust** *n.* घिन, घृणा, नफरत, कराहना ।

घिन, घृणा, नफरत, कराहना

**Disgust** *v.* घिन या नफरत पैदा करना, दुखाना, दुखाव होना; जीनना, बिजाना ।

घिन या नफरत पैदा करना, दुखाना, दुखाव होना; जीनना, बिजाना

**Dish** *n.* धान, वाली, बोगा, रक्षाही; काना, भोजन, खाद्य वस्तुका भाजन या काना ।

धान, वाली, बोगा, रक्षाही; काना, भोजन, खाद्य वस्तुका भाजन या काना

**Dish up** *v.* काना लगाना या परोचना; सुन्दर बयान देना ।

काना लगाना या परोचना; सुन्दर बयान देना

**Disharmony** *n.* अनमेल, बेसुवास ।

**Dishearten** *v.* निराश या नाश्वर्मीद करना, जी या दिल या हिम्मत तोड़ना ।

जी या दिल या हिम्मत तोड़ना

**Dishevelled** *adj.* बाल बिखरे हुए, झुलट-मुलट ।

बाल बिखरे हुए, झुलट-मुलट

**Dishonest** *adj.* छद्म, बेभीमान, कपटी, कोटा, मक्कार ।

छद्म, बेभीमान, कपटी, कोटा, मक्कार

**Dishonesty** *n.* छद्म, धोखा, बेभीमानी, कपट, अपमर्ग, मक्कारी ।

छद्म, धोखा, बेभीमानी, कपट, अपमर्ग, मक्कारी

**Dishonour** *n.* *v.* देखो Disgrace; (हुम्मी) न बिकारना, मोदना या फेर देना ।

देखो Disgrace; (हुम्मी) न बिकारना, मोदना या फेर देना

**Dishonourable** *adj.* देखो Disgraceful

देखो Disgraceful

**Disillusion** *v.* भ्रमोंसे खोख देना, भ्रम मिटाना, भवली या सचची बात दिखाना ।

भ्रमोंसे खोख देना, भ्रम मिटाना, भवली या सचची बात दिखाना

**Disinclination** *n.* निवृत्ति या मारपी (किसी काम करनेकी) न होना, बुरा लगना ।

निवृत्ति या मारपी (किसी काम करनेकी) न होना, बुरा लगना

**Disincline** *v.* सुंद फेर देना, रुचि या मन हटाना ।

सुंद फेर देना, रुचि या मन हटाना

**Disinfect** *v.* शुद्ध करना, धुल्ले पाक करना, बीमारीके कीड़े दूर करना ।

शुद्ध करना, धुल्ले पाक करना, बीमारीके कीड़े दूर करना

**Disinfectant** *n.* धुल्ले पाक करनेवाला, बीमारीके कीड़े मारनेवाला ।

धुल्ले पाक करनेवाला, बीमारीके कीड़े मारनेवाला

**Disingenuous** *adj.* कपटी, धोखेबाज, बालबाज, मक्कार, दुस्मा ।

कपटी, धोखेबाज, बालबाज, मक्कार, दुस्मा

**Disinherit** *v.* विरसे या सत्ता-पिताके धनसे रहित या सदकम करना ।

विरसे या सत्ता-पिताके धनसे रहित या सदकम करना

**Disintegrate** *v.* अलग-अलग करना या होना, टुकड़े-टुकड़े करना या होना ।

अलग-अलग करना या होना, टुकड़े-टुकड़े करना या होना

**Disintegration** *n.* टूट, बिटे हुए भाग या हिस्सोंका अलग-अलग हो जाना ।

टूट, बिटे हुए भाग या हिस्सोंका अलग-अलग हो जाना

**Disinter** *v.* गद्दी या दबी हुई चीजको निकालना, खबरसे निकालना ।

गद्दी या दबी हुई चीजको निकालना, खबरसे निकालना

**Disinterested** *adj.* अलग-अलग, बेतल, बेतरफ, निरपेक्ष, अलगाववादी ।

अलग-अलग, बेतल, बेतरफ, निरपेक्ष, अलगाववादी

**Disjoin** *v.* अलग-अलग करना, तोड़ना, जोड़ काटना ।

अलग-अलग करना, तोड़ना, जोड़ काटना

**Disjoint** *v.* जोड़ अलग करना, सम्बन्ध या सिलबिली तोड़ना ।

जोड़ अलग करना, सम्बन्ध या सिलबिली तोड़ना

**Disjointed** *adj.* बेजोड़ ।

बेजोड़

**Disjunctive** *adj.* अलग करनेवाला ।

अलग करनेवाला

**Disk** *n.* देखो Disc ।

देखो Disc

**Dislike** *v.* नापसन्द करना, बुरा समझना ।

नापसन्द करना, बुरा समझना

**Dislocate** *v.* जोड़ अलग कर देना, गोंठ या जोड़का हलक होना; हलका ।

जोड़ अलग कर देना, गोंठ या जोड़का हलक होना; हलका

**Dislocation** *n.* सरकाव, हलका, जोड़ या गोंठका हलक होना ।

सरकाव, हलका, जोड़ या गोंठका हलक होना

**Dislodge** *v.* हटा देना, निकाल देना, मोचेसे हटा देना (दुश्मनको) ।  
 مٹا دینا، نکال دینا، موڑنے سے مٹا دینا (دشمن کو)

**Disloyal** *adj.* बेवफा, नमकहराम, पापी, फिरा हुआ ।  
 بے وفا، نمک حرام، پاپی، پھرا ہوا

**Dismal** *adj.* बराबरा, सुनसान, सुदास, दिगम्बर, चोर, भँबेरा ।  
 اڑواڑا، سبانا، اڈاس، دلگیر، گھبرا، اندھرا

**Dismantle** *v.* मंग करना, कचड़ा धुनार देना; सामान धुतार देना, कल-पुर्तें मलग करना या कोतना ।  
 ٹکا کرنا، کچرا اٹار دینا، سامان اڑا لیا، کل پورے الگ کرنا یا کوٹنا

**Dismay** *n.* डर, भय, घबराहट, परेशानी, निराशा ।  
 ڈر، بے، گھبراہٹ، پریشانی، نراشا

**Dismay, fill with** *v.* बराना, चबरा देना, परेशान करना, निराश होना ।  
 اڑانا، گھبرا دینا، پریشان کرنا، زاری کرنا

**Dismember** *v.* बँद-बँद तुड़ा करना, मोड़-मोड़ मलग करना, बँटवारा करना ।  
 بڈ بڈ جدا کرنا، جوڑ جوڑ الگ کرنا، ٹوڑا کرنا

**Dismiss** *v.* भेज देना, बिदा करना, छुटी देना, भग्न करना, निकाल या हटा देना, कयालसे धर करना, बिछड़े निकाल देना; टालना ।  
 بھیج دینا، واپس کرنا، چھٹی دینا، الگ کرنا، نکال یا مٹ دینا، خیال سے دھر کرنا، دل سے نکال دینا، ٹالنا

**Dismount** *v.* बँड़ेसे तुलना या धुतारना, बँड़ेसे गिरा देना; तोपको गड़्ढेसे धुतारना ।  
 گھڑے سے اڑنا یا اڑانا، گھڑے سے گرا دینا، توپ کو گڑی سے اٹارنا

**Disobedience** *n.* आज्ञाभंग, हुकमखूली, नाकरमानी, हुकम या आज्ञा न मानना ।  
 آگیا بھگ، حکم عدول، نافرمانی، حکم یا آگیا نہ ماننا

**Disobedient** *adj.* हुकम या आज्ञा न माननेवाला, कड़ना न माननेवाला ।  
 حکم یا آگیا نہ ماننے والا، کہا نہ ماننے والا

**Disobedience, civil** *n.* विविध नाकरमानी, सत्याग्रह, कानून-भंग ।  
 سول نافرمانی، سبکدوش، قانون بھگ

**Disobey** *v.* हुकम, आज्ञा या कड़ना न मानना ।  
 حکم، آگیا یا کہا نہ ماننا

**Disorder** *n.* गड़बड़, गोलमाल; झुलट-पुलट; हुलसड़, बँगा, चोर, हड़बोल; बीमारी, रोग ।  
 گڑبگڑ، گول مال، الٹ پلٹ، خلل، ہنگامہ، شور، جھوڑ، بیماری، روت

**Disorderly** *adj.* झुलट-पुलट, बेकायदा, गड़बड़ करनेवाला, बेईना, बेसंगम, हंगामी ।  
 الٹ پلٹ، بے قاعدہ، گڑبگڑ کرنے والا، بے ٹھکانا، بے لکام، طغیان

**Disorganize** *v.* भिन्नताम या सगठन तोड़ना, तितर-बितर करना, गड़बड़ करना, बिछेरना ।  
 انتظام یا سنگٹھن ٹوڑنا، تتر بتر کرنا، گڑبگڑ کرنا، بکھیرنا

**Disown** *v.* स्वीकार या संबंध न करना, न मानना, तज देना, त्याग या तरक करना ।  
 سویکار یا ربط نہ کرنا، نہ ماننا، تاج دینا، ترک کرنا

**Disparage** *v.* तुम्हारी करना, तुच्छ या नीचा दिखाना, निन्दा करना, बदायें दिखाना ।  
 رانی کرنا، تحقیر یا بچا دکھانا، تنقید کرنا، دکھانا

**Disparity** *n.* असर, भेद, फर्क, असमता, बेसौद, होना ।  
 اثر، بید، فرق، استاء، بے سواد ہونا

**Dispassionate** *adj.* ठण्डा, बेलास, शान्त, सुमिश्र, अपक्षी, बेमरकरार ।  
 ٹھنڈا، بے لاش، شانت، سلف، اپکشی، بے طرفدار

**Dispassionately** *adv.* भिन्नाक्षरे, ठण्डे दिासे ।

انصاف سے، لپکے دل سے

**Dispel** *v.* धर करना, निकालना, निकाल देना, भगाना, छुड़ाना ।  
 دور کرنا، نکالنا، نکال دینا، بھگانا، اڑانا

**Dispensable** *adj.* छोड़ने योग्य, वैयक्तिक, जिसके बिना काम चल सके ।  
 چھوڑنے योगی، غیر ضروری، جس کے بیکام چل سکے

**Dispensary** *n.* दवाघर, लकाबाग, औषधान्न (बिछेद कर एरीवाके लिये नहीं दवायी सुन्नमें मिले) ।  
 دوا گھر، شفا خانہ، اوتھما لہ، (دشمنی کر غریبوں کے لئے)

جہاد دوائی صنف میں ملے

**Dispensation** *n.* बौद्ध, वैद्यवार; आज्ञा, विमत्त, लक्ष्मीर; मुभाको, क्षमा, (किसी कास करनेका) महदधी या धार्मिक कानून या दस्तूर ।  
 بابت، بشارت، بھاگ، قسم، تخفیر، ممان، کشتا، (کسی خاص)

(مافے کا) مضمی یا دھرمک قانون یا دستور

**Dispense** *v.* बँटना, देना, तुच्छा बनाना, दवा बनाना, मुभाकर रखना (किसी कामसे) ।  
 بانٹنا، دینا، لٹچ بانٹنا، دوا بنانا، دوا बनाना، मुभाकर रखना (किसी कामसे)

بانٹنا، دینا، لٹچ بانٹنا، دوا بنانا، دوا बनाना (کسی کام سے)

**Dispense justice** *v.* भिन्नाक्षर या न्याय करना ।  
 انصاف یا بابت کرنا

**Dispense with** *v.* बँधन या एखन्दीसे आकाह करना; भग्न करना, छोड़ना; किसी चीजके बँधेर काम बनाना ।  
 بندن یا باندی سے آزاد کرنا، الگ کرنا، چھوڑنا، کسی چیز کے بے کام چھلانا

**Dispenser** *n.* दवा या औषधि बनानेवाला ।  
 دوا یا اوتھمی بنانے والا

**Disperse** *v.* फैलना या फैलाना, बिकरना या बिखेरना, तितर-बितर करना या होना, अधि-मुषर करना या हा जान, तीन हाह करना, छिन्नाना ।  
 फैलना یا بکھیرنا، بکھیرنا یا بکھیرنا، تتر بتر کرنا یا ہونا، ادر ادر کرنا یا ہر کرنا، تین تیر کرنا، چھڑانا

**Dispersion** *n.* फैलाव, छिन्नान ।  
 بکھار، چھڑا

**Dispersion, the** *n.* यहूदियोंका क्रैदके बाद छैर यहूदियोंमें बँदवों का फँद ।  
 یہودیوں کا فند، یہودیوں کے بعد یہودیوں میں چھلنا

**Dispirit** *v.* मन तोड़ना, सुदास करना, निराश या भासुम्मीद करना ।  
 من ٹوڑنا، اوتس کرنا، زاری یا ناامید کرنا

**Dispirited** *adj.* निराश, सुदास, हिम्मत हारा हुआ ।  
 زاری، ادا، صحت خوار ہوا

**Displace** *v.* सरकना, जगह बदलना, ओहदे या पदमे हटाना, निकाल बाहर करना; जगह देना, भेक चीजकी जगह दूसरी चीज रखना ।  
 سرکانا، جگہ بدلنا، عہدے یا پد سے مٹانا، نکال باہر کرنا، جگہ لینا، ایک چیز کی جگہ دوسری چیز رکھنا

**Displacement** *n.* हटना या हटाया जाना, सरकना, सरकाना; भेक चीजकी जगह दूसरी चीजका आना या रखा जाना; ठेस चीजके हुबनेसे पानीके हटाव का नाप या बखन ।  
 مٹنا یا مٹایا جانا، سرکانا، سرکانا، بھک چیز کی جگہ دوسری چیز کا آنا یا رکھا جانا، ٹھس چیز کے ہونے سے پانی کے مٹاؤ کا ناپ یا بکن

**Display** *n.* दिखाव, दिखावा, सजावट, धूमधाम, नुमाशिर, प्रदर्शन, रसावा, खेल ।  
 دکھانا، دکھانا، سجاوٹ، دھوم دھام، لاش، پردش، لٹک، کھیل

**Display** *v.* दिखाना, प्रकट करना, चलाना, नुमाशिर या प्रदर्शन करना, दिखावा करना, सजावट दिखाना, सजा कर रखना या दिखाना ।  
 دکھانا، پرکٹ کرنا، چلانا، لاش یا پردش کرنا، دکھانا کرنا، سجا دکھانا، سجا کر رکھنا یا دکھانا

# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL



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TWO ANNAS

## NOTES

### My Statue !

There is a talk in Bombay of spending ten lacs of rupees on erecting my statue on a public site. I have received several letters criticizing, some even fiercely, the proposal as if I were guilty of making any such extravagant proposal ! It is perhaps human nature to make a mountain out of a mole hill. Only the wise sift the grain from the chaff. In the present case there seems to be a foundation for the criticism. I must say that I have a dislike even for being photographed, nevertheless, photographs have been taken of me. I have let artists make models more than once. Notwithstanding this inconsistency, I must dissent emphatically from any proposal to spend any money on preparing a statue of me, more especially at a time when people do not have enough food and clothing. In Bombay the beautiful, insanitation reigns. There is so much overcrowding that poor people are packed like sardines. Wise use of ten lacs of rupees will consist in its being spent on some public utility. That would be the best statue. Money thus wisely spent will make an "adequate return. Imagine how many hungry mouths would be filled if the amount was spent on growing more food crops !

New Delhi, 13-9-47

(From the original in Gujarati)

### Task before Ministers

I have before me quite a number of letters fiercely criticizing what they consider to be their luxurious life. They accuse them too of favouritism, even nepotism. I know that much criticism comes from ignorance. Ministers should not be sensitive. They would take in good part even carping criticism. They would be surprised if I were to send them the letters I receive; probably, they receive worse. Be that as it may, the moral I draw from them is that the critics expect much more from these chosen servants of the people than from others in the way of simplicity, courage, honesty and industry. In this matter we cannot imitate the English rulers of the past, except perhaps in industry and discipline. The whole purpose of this note will be served if on the one hand the ministers profit by valid criticism and the critics learn to be sober and precise about their facts. Inaccuracy or exaggeration spoils a good case.

On the train to Delhi, 8-9-47

M. K. G

## DR. JOSHI

Dr. Joshi, the famous surgeon of Delhi, fell a victim to communal frenzy on the 8th instant. Delhi is today sheltering nearly two lacs of Hindu and Sikh refugees from the Pakistan areas. There are camps also for Muslim refugees from shattered areas seeking shelter from maddened Hindu and Sikh crowds. The tales of horrors have poisoned the atmosphere. The sufferers are full of anger and a desire for revenge. Gandhiji has been crying himself hoarse to impress upon the minds of the people that true revenge lies in returning good for evil. It is utterly wrong to make the Muslims of Hindustan pay for the sins of their brethren in Pakistan.

The mob fury broke out in Delhi on the 5th of this month. Dr. Joshi had his hospital in Karol Bagh — a Muslim locality, where he had been serving Hindus and Muslims for the last 16 years. Patients came to him from all over North India. He was a brilliant surgeon and had plenty of rich clinical material at his hospital. He was anxious that it should be used for post-graduate training. His ambition was to have in India an institution like the Mayo Clinics of America, where he had his surgical training. He had even bought land for that purpose at Dehra Dun. "Why should the credit for all research and vital discoveries go to the West?" he used to say. "How did they learn? We can do the same." And if God had given him a longer lease of life, he would have done it.

His one passion in life was surgery and, as he put it, the study of human nature and character, of which he had ample opportunities in his profession. He used to work from 8 a. m. till 6 p. m. or later without a break. And after that he studied medical literature. He was a great humanitarian and not only treated the poor free of charge, but provided them with free food and money for return fare from his own pocket. Last year I had occasion to visit the hill tribes in Jaunsar Bawar near Dehra Dun in connection with the medical work of the Kasturba Trust. I found in that distant corner poor hill folk making anxious enquiries about Dr. Joshi. He had come to a nearby State on a professional visit sometime before my visit. Finding some interesting surgical cases among the poor people, he had brought them with him to Delhi, treated them and sent them back at his own cost. This had naturally made the hill tribes of that locality look upon him as a friend and saviour.

When the trouble broke out in Karol Bagh in the neighbourhood of his hospital, a brave man that



he was, he came out and went round comforting his patients. During his visits he received a bullet in his forehead. There are several versions, but the likelihood is that it was a deliberate murder. A second bullet went through his heart and a third through his thigh. Three men were shot dead in attempting to remove the dead body. Dr. Joshi's loss is a loss to the nation and to humanity. Let us hope that with Dr. Joshi's death his project for the advancement of surgery in India will not be dropped. Able men should come forward and work out his plan. That will be a worthy memorial to that worthy son of India.

New Delhi, 13-9-'47

S. N.

## GANDHIJI'S PRESS STATEMENTS

### I

#### MAN PROPOSES, GOD DISPOSES

"Man proposes, God disposes" has come true often enough in my lifetime as it must have done in many others'. I knew nothing about the sad state of things in Delhi when I left Calcutta on Sunday last. On reaching Delhi, I have been listening the whole day long to the tale of woe that is Delhi today. I saw several Muslim friends who recited their pathetic story. I heard enough to warn me that I must not leave Delhi for the Punjab until it had regained its former self.

I must do my little bit to calm the heated atmosphere. I must apply the old formula "Do or Die" to the Capital of India. I am glad to be able to say that the residents of Delhi do not want the senseless destruction that is going on. I am prepared to understand the anger of the refugees whom fate has driven from West Punjab. But anger is short madness. It can only make matters worse in every way. Retaliation is no remedy. It makes the original disease much worse. I, therefore, ask all those who are engaged in the senseless murders, arson and loot to stay their hands.

The Central Government, the ablest, the most courageous and the most self-sacrificing team that the Union could produce, have not been in the saddle for even a month after the declaration of Indian independence. It is criminal and suicidal not to give them a chance to set the house in order. I am fully aware of the shortage of food. Mob rule is dislocating everything making distribution of foodstuffs all but impossible. May God restore peace to distracted Delhi.

I would close with the hope that Calcutta will fulfil the promise made on my departure and which sustains me in the midst of the surrounding madness.

New Delhi, 9-9-'47

### II

#### SANITATION IN REFUGEE CAMPS

During the day Rajkumari Amrit Kaur took me and Dr. Sushila Nayyar to the Irwin Hospital which devotes its energies only to the treatment of injured persons, irrespective of caste or creed. Among the patients was a child, hardly five years old, who

had received a bullet wound. The doctors and nurses were working under great stress. The majority of patients were Muslims, as the Hindus and Sikhs were transferred to other hospitals.

I understand from Rajkumari that it was well-nigh impossible to supply refugee camps with *lhangis* for attending to the cleaning of the latrines and general sanitation. Any infectious disease like cholera might break out. I have no doubt whatsoever that the refugees should look after sanitation, including latrine cleaning in their own camps and should do some useful work with the approval of the camp superintendent. There can be no exception to this rule, save for persons who are incapable of physical exertion. All camps should be models of cleanliness, simplicity and industry.

During the day I had a visit from the Pakistan High Commissioner, who is an enthusiastic believer in communal peace and friendship. I had a visit too from Sikh friends twice during the day. They were sore about the *kurpan* order of the Government of India. They have promised to give me their requirement in writing before I speak to the Government. They further said that allegations made against them were highly coloured. They said they could have no quarrel with the Muslims or any other communities living in the Union. They were anxious to be law-abiding citizens of the State.

New Delhi, 11-9-'47

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

Calcutta, 31-8-'47

#### DUTY OF THE RICH

Gandhiji and Shaheed Saheb first met the wealthy men — Hindus, Muslims and Europeans at the Grand Hotel and appealed to them to find the money required for rebuilding the destroyed *bustees* and other buildings. After being there for nearly one hour they came to hold the prayer meeting at Baghmari Park. In his speech before the moneyed men he said that he went to them as a beggar. Somehow or other when he began life after his studies he found that he had the gift of begging from the rich and the poor alike. He hoped that his appeal would not go in vain. There were two ways of rebuilding and rehabilitation — either the Government or the rich men of Calcutta had to find the money. He held that if the Government found the funds, it would carry no merit. But if the moneyed men took up the duty, it carried double merit. They as citizens, would have of their own free will discharged their duty and it would be a substantial proof of real friendship between the communities.

The spectacular meetings were, no doubt, necessary, but they were not all. That which led to permanent friendship was contented rehabilitation. All parties, all groups had to do their duty in the direction. For the purity of hearts it was necessary to all to forget the past. Forgetfulness properly cultivated was a great gift. It was a rich gift bestowed upon man by the Maker. The rich men would not be able to put their hands into their

pockets if they had not the faculty for forgetting the past. He asked the rich men, after Shaheed Saheb and he had withdrawn, to sit together and not to leave the hotel till they had come to a wise decision.

#### MUSLIMS' GOOD WORK

Then the party drove to Baghmari Park where the prayer meeting was to be held. After prayer Gandhi said that as he had addressed the meeting of the wealthy men, he did not propose to say much to the audience. He was glad to be informed by Kamal Babu, their M. L. A., that there was now perfect friendship between the two communities and that the evacuees were ready to return. The great obstacle was that the factories where they were earning their livelihood had not started working. The Muslim neighbours had undertaken to renovate the evacuated premises. If all the information was cent per cent true, the truth will work its way into the whole of the affected parts of Calcutta. He informed the audience that he proposed to leave for Noakhali on Tuesday. If Shaheed Saheb too could accompany him at the same time, he would do so. He did not propose to stay in Noakhali for long and hoped to return to Calcutta to finish the work that had begun under happy auspices. Meanwhile, he hoped that the work of rehabilitation would be continued with double speed. It did not admit of delay if there was to be lasting peace.

Calcutta, 6-9-'47

Gandhi referring to the Deputy Mayor's speech said that the word farewell was misapplied. He had made his home in Calcutta among the Muslim friends in Beliaghata and not in Sodepur Khadi Pratishthan which was his permanent home. He would not even allow Hemproba Devi and her co-workers to come to his new abode for looking after him. He said that he would be satisfied with what Muslim friends gave him in the shape of service. He had made no mistake. He was in the habit of living comfortably in Muslim homes in South Africa.

#### SHAHEED SAHEB

He then referred to the martyrdom of Sachin Mitra and Smritish Banerjee. He was not sorry. Such innocent deaths were necessary to keep the two communities together. Let them not make the mistake that such martyrs were to be found among Hindus only. He could cite several instances of Muslims who had lost their lives in the act of protecting Hindus. He had similar personal experiences in life. There was evil and good among all communities and climes. That brought him to Shaheed Saheb about whom he had many Hindus coming to him, and many letters from them to the effect that he was a fool to have accepted Shaheed Saheb as his associate in the task. He must say that he was no fool. He knew what he was doing. He had nothing to do with what Shaheed Saheb had done in the past. But he (Gandhi) was there to testify that he (Shaheed Saheb) had given his full co-operation all the precious days they were together. He was free to confess that without his valuable help they would not have found him (Gandhi) working

in their midst. It was an insult to intelligence to think that there could be any base motive behind the work into which he had thrown himself with his whole heart. He had a palatial house and a brother whom he regarded as superior to him in talent. He had another whom Gandhi had the pleasure of knowing in London at the Round Table Conference and who was Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University. His uncle Sir Abdulla was the author of the *Sayings of the Prophet*. If they distrusted the motives, they would be vastly mistaken. Neither they nor anybody else had any right to question a man's motives. The speaker said that he would not like his motives to be judged against his action to the contrary. That was the only right way to get on with people. They should know that he had been condemned to their knowledge as enemy No. 1 of Islam and that in spite of his protestations to the contrary. Would the audience, therefore, like the Muslims never to accept his actions at their worth?

Lastly, let them consider the awful consequence of such distrust. It might ruin the present unity and thus jeopardize what probably was the only chance of saving the Punjab from fratricidal strife.

He then referred to the *Shanti Sena* and other organizations which were doing strenuous work to preserve peace. Women had come forward to do their bit. The students had excelled themselves in their devotion to the cause of communal unity. Some young men had brought their unlicensed arms including sten guns, hand-grenades and other less destructive weapons. He thanked them for their courage in bringing them to him. He hoped that the good example would be copied by all possessors, Hindus and Muslims, of unlicensed arms. It would be a proof of mutual trust and trust in God. He was assured by the Chief Minister that those who delivered up such arms within a given date (the shorter the better) would be thanked for their open help in the work of peace and that no punishment would be inflicted on them, now or hereafter for what was undoubtedly an offence. He asked, therefore, all such possessors to deliver these to the authorities or to their friends, to be delivered to the authorities.

He congratulated the Corporation staff which the Deputy Mayor told him, had worked the whole night for completing the arrangements for the meeting which was so well attended in spite of the rains.

Last of all, he told them that by breaking the fast only after one day's absence of strife, on the strength of the pressure of friends drawn from all communities in Calcutta and outside, he threw the burden on them of preservation of peace at the cost of their lives. Let them not be guilty of having though unwittingly, brought about his death by the abrupt end of the fast. He could have, as they might have, waited for some days to enable him to gauge the situation for himself; but he could not properly do so in the face of the earnestness of friends, say like Shri N. C. Chatterjee,

(Continued on p. 333)

# HARIJAN

September 21

1947

## TAKE CARE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Unless the Governments and their Secretariats take care, the English language is likely to usurp the place of Hindustani. This must do infinite harm to the millions of India who would never be able to understand English. Surely, it must be quite easy for the provincial governments to have a staff which would carry on all transactions in the provincial languages and the inter-provincial language, which, in my opinion, can only be Hindustani written in *nagari* or *urdu* script.

Every day lost in making this necessary change is so much cultural loss to the nation. The first and foremost thing is to revive the rich provincial languages with which India is blessed. It is nothing short of mental sluggishness to plead that in our courts, in our schools and even in the Secretariats, some time, probably a few years, must lapse before the change is made. No doubt a little difficulty will be felt in multi-lingual Provinces, as in Bombay and Madras, until redistribution of Provinces takes place on the linguistic basis. Provincial Governments can devise a method in order to enable the people in those Provinces to feel that they have come into their own. Nor need the Provinces wait for the Union for solving the question, whether for inter-provincial speech it shall be Hindustani written in either *nagari* or *urdu* script or mere Hindi written in *nagari*. This should not detain them in making the desired reform. It is a wholly unnecessary controversy likely to be the door through which English may enter to the eternal disgrace of India. If the first step, that is, revival of provincial speech in all public departments takes place immediately, that of inter-provincial speech will follow in quick succession. The Provinces will have to deal with the Centre. They dare not do so through English, if the Centre is wise enough quickly to realize that they must not tax the nation culturally for the sake of a handful of Indians who are too lazy to pick up the speech which can be easily common to the whole of India without offending any party or section. My plea is for banishing English as a cultural usurper as we successfully banished the political rule of the English usurper. The rich English language will ever retain its natural place as the international speech of commerce and diplomacy.

New Delhi, 11 9-47

## BIHAR FOR BIHARIS AND INDIA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Bihar is undoubtedly for Biharis but it is also for India. What is true of Bihar is equally true of all the provinces in the Union. No Indian can be treated as a foreigner in Bihar as he may be treated in Pakistan of today and vice versa. It is necessary to bear this difference in mind if we are to avoid difficulties and heart-burn.

Though then every Indian of the Union has a right to settle in Bihar, he must not do so to oust the Biharis. If the qualification was not actively operated, it is possible to conceive such an influx of non-Bihari Indians as to flood out the Biharis. We are thus forced to the conclusion that a non-Bihari who settles in Bihar must do so to serve Bihar, not to exploit it after the manner of our old masters.

This way of examining the proposition brings us to the question of the zamindars and the ryots. When a non-Bihari enters Bihar for the sake of making money, he will in all probability do so to exploit the ryot in league with the zamindars. If the zamindars really became the trustees of their zamindari for the sake of the ryots, there never could be an unholy league as has been here conceived. There is the difficult zamindari question awaiting solution in Bihar. What one would love to see is proper, impartial and satisfactory understanding between the zamindars, big and small, the ryots and the Government so that when the law is passed it may not be a dead letter nor need force be used against the zamindars or the ryots. Would that all changes, some of which must be radical, take place throughout India without bloodshed and without force! So much for the new-comer from the other provinces of India.

What about the services? It seems that if the provinces are all to make equal progress in all directions, the services should be largely confined to the inhabitants of the province concerned for the sake of India as a whole. No province and no tribe or clan can be kept backward if India is to stand up erect before the world. It will never do so through its arms of which the world is sick. It must shine through its innate culture expressed in every citizen's life and in the socialism I have recently described in these columns. That means elimination of all force for the sake of popularizing one's doctrines or schemes. A thing which is truly popular rarely, if ever, requires force save that of public opinion to make itself acceptable to all. Therefore, the ugly scenes of violence by individuals witnessed in Bihar and Orissa and Assam should never have been. Popular governments are functioning to redress any irregularity or encroachment by persons from other provinces. The provincial governments are bound to give full protection to all the comers from outside their provinces. "Use what you consider yours so as not to injure others," is a famous maxim of equity. It is also a grand moral code of conduct. How apposite today?

Hitherto I have dealt with the question of new arrivals. What of those who were on the 15th of August in Bihar - some in Government employment and some otherwise employed? So far as I can see, they should be on the same footing as the Biharis unless they make another choice. Naturally, they should not form a separate colony as if they were foreigners. "Live in Rome as the Romans do," is a sound commonsense maxim so long as it does not apply to Roman vices. The process of progressive blending must be one of rejecting the bad and absorbing the good. As a Gujarati in Bengal, I must quickly absorb all that is good in Bengal and never touch that which is bad. I must ever serve Bengal, never selfishly exploit it. The bane of our life is our exclusive provincialism, whereas my province must be co-extensive with the Indian boundary so that ultimately it extends to the boundary of the earth. Else, it perishes.

On the train to Delhi, 8-9-'47

## PROHIBITION OF INTOXICANTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

This is the fittest time for this reform. There is a people's Government. Both parts of India including the Indian States are ready for the reform. All over the two parts there is a shortage of foodstuffs and clothing. Dare one think of indulging in intoxicants—drinks or drugs—when people are on the borderland of starvation and nakedness? The money spent on wines and opiates is not only a waste, but it adds to it loss of self-control. One labouring under the influence of intoxicants will do things which he will never do in a sober state. Thus from every point of view prohibition is a vital necessity.

We cannot eradicate the evil merely by passing laws. The addict will manage to satisfy his craving anyhow. Those carrying on the black trade will not readily give it up.

Therefore, the following steps will have to be taken simultaneously in order to make a success of the reform

1. Passing of the requisite law.
2. Educating public opinion.
3. Opening at the same place as grog shops refreshment rooms selling harmless drinks and providing innocent entertainment in the form of books, newspapers, games etc.
4. The income from the sale of intoxicants should be spent on cultivating public opinion in favour of prohibition.

It is criminal to spend the income from the sale of intoxicants on the education of the nation's children or other public services. The Government must overcome the temptation of using such revenue for nation-building purposes. Experience has shown that the moral and physical gain of the abstainer more than makes up for the loss of this tainted revenue. If we eradicate the evil, we will easily find other ways and means of increasing the nation's income.

On the train to Delhi, 8-9-'47

(From the original in Gujarati)

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

(Continued from p. 331)

the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, Shaheed Sahab and others too numerous to mention, but he threw all the greater weight on the shoulders of all Calcutta citizens and sojourners. What they wanted was not peace imposed by the Government forces but by themselves. If unfortunately it was broken, there would be no alternative but a fast unto death. He could not, like a child, play with them and each time say, he was going to break his fast if they resumed sanity. He made that solemn declaration for Bihar, then for Noakhali and now for Calcutta. As his life was made, he had no other alternative. If God willed that he should still do some service, He would bless all with wisdom to do the right thing in the matter. Consider the consequence of Calcutta remaining sane. It must mean the automatic sanity of all Bengal, East and West. It meant also Bihar and consequently the Punjab where God was sending him, and if the Punjab came to its senses, the rest of India was bound to follow. So may God help them all.

New Delhi, 10-9-'47

### CITY OF THE DEAD

Though the audience owing to the curfew was small, Gandhiji spoke for the whole of Delhi. He said that when he reached Shahadra he found Sardar Patel, Rajkumari and others to receive him. But he missed the usual smile on the Sardar's lips and his apt jokes. The police and the public whom he met on alighting from the train reflected the gloom he noticed around him. Had jovial Delhi suddenly become a city of the dead? Another surprise was in store for him. He was taken not to the Bhangi Colony where he delighted to stay, but to the palatial Birla House. Though the cause of it hurt him, he was glad to find himself in the house where he had often stayed before. Whether he stayed among the Valmiki brethren or in the Birla House, he was the guest of Birla Brothers. Their men looked after him in the Bhangi Colony with single-minded devotion. The cause of the change was not the Sardar. He could never be guilty of weakness so as to fear for his safety in the Valmiki Colony. It was his delight to live in the midst of the *bhangis*, though through the New Delhi Committee's fault he could not live actually in the houses in which the *bhangis* were packed like sardines.

### THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

The cause of the change this time was the fact that the premises he occupied were being used for the refugees whose need was infinitely greater than his. Was it not to their shame as a nation that there should be any refugee problem at all? Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah, Liaquat Sahab and other Pakistan leaders had proclaimed in common with Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel that the minorities would be treated in the respective dominions with the same consideration as the majorities. Was this said by each to tickle the world with sweet words

or was it meant to show the world that we meant what we had said and that we would die in the attempt to redeem the word. If so, he asked why were the Hindus and Sikhs and the proud Amils and Bhaibunds driven to leave Pakistan which was their home? What had happened in Quetta, Nawabshah and Karachi? The tales that one heard and read from Western Pakistan were heart-breaking. It would not do for either party to plead helplessness and say that it was all the work of *goondas*. Each dominion was bound to take full responsibility for the acts of those who were living in either dominion. "Theirs was not to reason why, theirs was but to do and die." No longer did they work willynilly under the crushing weight of imperialism. But it could never mean that there was now to be no rule of law if they were to face the world squarely in the face. Were the Union ministers to declare their bankruptcy and shamelessly own to the world that the people of Delhi or the refugees would not cheerfully and voluntarily obey the rule of law? He would like the ministers to break in the attempt to wean the people from their madness rather than bend. The speaker's voice was very low throughout but he went on to give an account of his tour through Delhi which looked like a city of the dead. He incidentally mentioned that even in the house he lived in, there was neither fruit nor vegetables to be had. Was it not a shame that no vegetables were to be had in Subzi mandi because some Muslims had opened fire with a machine-gun and otherwise? In his wanderings he heard complaints that the refugees were without rations. What was issued was not worth eating. If the fault was of the administration, it was equally of the refugees who had paralysed even necessary activities. Why did they not realize that they harmed themselves? If they trusted the Government to secure redress for all their legitimate grievances and acted as law-abiding citizens, he knew, as they should know, that most of their difficulties would be over.

He paid a visit to the Meo Refugee Camp near the Humayun Tomb. They said that they were driven out from Alwar and Bharatpur States. He was told that they had no food save what was sent to them by Muslim friends. He knew that the Meos were easily excitable and could cause trouble. The remedy was certainly not to pack them off to Pakistan unless they wanted to go there, but to treat them as fellow human beings demanding treatment for their weaknesses like any other disease.

He then went to the Jamia Millia in whose shaping he had played a vital part. Dr. Zakir Hussain was his dear friend. The doctor described his experiences certainly in sorrow but without bitterness. Just a short time ago he had to go to Jullunder. He would have been done to death by angry Sikhs for the crime of being a Muslim but for the timely aid of a Sikh Captain and a Hindu railway employee. He gratefully related this experience. Imagine the fact that this national institution where several Hindus had studied was in fear of receiving

attention from angered refugees and their abettors. He saw over 100 refugees accommodated somehow in the Jamia premises. He hung his head in shame as he heard the sorry recital of the refugees' difficulties. He then went to the Diwan Hall Refugee Camp, the Wavell Canteen Camp and King's Way. He met there Sikh and Hindu refugees. They could not quite forget his past services to the Punjab. But some pardonably angry faces were in all these camps. He was accused of hardness of heart towards the Hindus. He had not suffered as they had. He had not lost his dear ones as they had, nor had he, like them, been rendered homeless and penniless. How could he console them by saying that he had stayed in Delhi to do what he could in assisting to make the Capital of India return to normality? He could not bring back the dead ones. But death was a blessing bestowed by the Creator on all life, human and sub-human. The difference lay in the time and the manner. Right conduct was the only right way of life which made it bearable and even lovely.

#### A TRUE SIKH

A Sikh friend had seen him during the day. He said that though he was born a Sikh, he could not claim to be one in the light of the *Granth Sahib*. The speaker asked him whether he knew any such claimant. The friend could not think of any. Then Gandhiji quietly put in his claim. He claimed to be attempting to live as a Sikh in terms of the *Granth Sahib*. Time was when in the Nankana Sahib he was accepted as a true friend of the Sikhs. Guru Nanak made no distinction between a Muslim and a Hindu. For him the whole humanity was one. Such was his (Gandhi's) Sanatan Hindu Dharma. As such he claimed also to be a Muslim. He recited the great Muslim prayer on the oneness of God and His all-protecting power day and night.

He asked all the refugees to live truly, fearlessly and at the same time without malice or hatred towards anybody. Let them not throw away the golden apple of dearly-won freedom by hasty and thoughtless action in the moment of anger.

New Delhi, 12-9-'47

#### NEWS FROM N. W. F. P.

Gandhiji began his prayer address this evening by expressing his infinite sorrow at the disturbing news that was coming through from the Frontier Province. He knew that province well. For weeks he had toured there and lived under the roof of the Khan Brothers in perfect safety. It pained him beyond measure, therefore, to have been shown a telegram during the day from Shri Girdhari Lal Puri, an ex-minister, saying that he and his wife, both good workers, should be rescued at once. Such news made him hang his head in shame and it was up to the Government today in power and the Qaid-e-Azam to see to it that all the Hindus and the Sikhs were as safe there as the Muslims.

#### ANGER IS SHORT MADNESS

While deploring the sad happenings in the N. W. F. P., however, Gandhiji impressed on the audience that anger was not going to lead them

anywhere. Anger bred revenge and the spirit of revenge was today responsible for all the horrible happenings there and elsewhere. What good will it do the Muslims to avenge the happenings in Delhi or for the Sikhs and the Hindus to avenge cruelties on their co-religionists in the Frontier and West Punjab? If a man or a group of men went mad, should everyone follow suit? Gandhiji warned the Hindus and the Sikhs that by killing and loot and arson they were destroying their own religions. He claimed to be a student of religion and he knew that no religion taught madness. Islam was no exception. He implored them all to stop their insane actions at once. Let not future generations say that you lost the sweet bread of freedom because you could not digest it. Remember that unless you stop this madness the name of India will be mud in the eyes of the world.

#### FORGET THE PAST

Gandhiji talked of his visit to the beautiful Jumma Masjid—second to no mosque in the world. It pained him to see Muslim men and women there in deep distress. He tried to comfort the sufferers by saying that death had to come to all. It was no good weeping for the dead. It would not bring back the dead. It was up to everyone to save the future of this great land. Many Muslim friends came to see him daily. He advised them to state their position frankly and fully. He was sorry that the lives of Muslims should be in danger in Delhi or any part of India. It was a big tragedy. Gandhiji implored them to listen to an old man who had been through many experiences during his long life. He was absolutely convinced that to return evil for evil led nowhere. To return good for good was no virtue. The true way was to return good for evil. Many Muslim friends would like to help. But it was impossible to requisition their active services in Delhi today.

In soul-stirring words Gandhiji appealed to the Sikhs, the Hindus and the Muslims to forget the past, not to dwell on their sufferings but to extend the right hand of fellowship to each other and determine to live at peace with each other. Muslims must be proud to belong to the Indian Union, they must salute the Tri-Colour. If they were loyal to their religion no Hindu could be their enemy. Similarly the Hindus and the Sikhs must welcome peace-loving Muslims in their midst. He had been told that the Muslims here were in possession of arms. They should surrender these at once and the Government here should take no action against them. The Hindus and the Sikhs must do likewise. He had also been told that the West Punjab Government was arming the Muslims. If this was true, it was wholly wrong and would in the long run lead to their own destruction. It should cease forthwith. No one anywhere should have unlicensed arms.

Gandhiji begged of them all to bring about peace quickly in Delhi so that he might be able to proceed to both East and West Punjab. He had only one mission and his message was the

same for everyone. Let it be said of them that the inhabitants of Delhi had gone mad temporarily but that sanity had now returned. Let them allow their Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister to hold up their heads again. Today they were bowed in shame and sorrow. They had a priceless heritage. Let them remember that it was a joint one. It was their duty to guard it and keep it unsullied.

#### RASHTRIYA SEVA SANGHA

In conclusion Gandhiji referred to his and Dr. Dinshaw Mehta's talk with the Guru of the Rashtriya Seva Sangh. He (Gandhiji) had been told that the hands of this organization too were steeped in blood. The Guruji assured him that this was untrue. Their organization was enemy to no man. It did not stand for the killing of Muslims. All it wanted to do was to protect Hinduism to the best of its ability. It stood for peace and he had asked Gandhiji to make his views public.

New Delhi, 13-9-'47

#### TRUST THE GOVERNMENT

At the outset, Gandhiji referred to the days in 1915 when he lived under the late Principal Rudra's roof. He was as staunch a Christian as he was a son of India. It was he who brought Gandhiji in contact with the late Hakim Sahib and Dr. Ansari, both of whom looked upon Hindus, Muslims and other Indians with even affection and regard. He knew that thousands of poor Hindus received free treatment from Hakim Sahib. He was without doubt the loved Sardar of all Delhi. Were these men to be classed as unworthy? It was a matter of shame that Dr. Ansari's daughter Zohra and her husband Dr. Shaukatullah Khan should have to abandon their home and live in a hotel for fear of the Hindus and the Sikhs. He was free to confess that he would lose all interest in life if Muslims who had produced such men could not live with perfect safety in the Union. It was suggested to him that the Muslims were all fifth columnists in the Union. He declined to believe in that sweeping condemnation. There were four and a half crores of Muslims in the Union. If they were all so bad, they would dig the grave of Islam. The Qaid-e-Azam had asked the Muslims of the Union to be loyal to it. Let people trust their Government to deal with traitors. They must not take the law into their own hands.

#### GOD IS THE REFUGE OF ALL

Gandhiji then reported to the prayer audience that he was able to visit only one refugee camp and that in the Old Fort. It contained many Muslim refugees. As his car passed through the crowd, many more refugees seemed to be coming. Though the crowd was large and the commandant was absent, Gandhiji insisted on saying a few words of cheer to the refugees. The Muslim workers requested the crowd to sit down and give a patient hearing to the speaker. They sat down and only those on the fringe kept standing. There was anger in their looks. The Muslim volunteers reasoned those into silence who were insistent on ejaculations.

He had not much to say. He rested on Chamanlal's shoulders and asked him to repeat in his loud voice the few sentences he pronounced in his feeble voice. He urged them to be calm and shed anger. He said that God was the refuge of all, not man, however highly placed he may be. God would make right what man spoiled. On his part he promised not to rest till peace again ruled Delhi as it did before many men of both the communities had gone mad.

#### DUTY OF THE TWO DOMINIONS

During day he had seen many Muslim and Hindu friends. It was the same sad tale of woes whether recited by Hindu sufferers or Muslim. It was a shame for both. He claimed to be the equal servant of all. He wished they could unitedly make up their minds that transfer of population was a fatal snare. It meant nothing but greater misery. The solution lay in both living in peace and friendship in their own original homes. It would be madness to make the present estrangement into permanent enmity. It was the bounden duty of each Dominion to guarantee full protection to their minorities. Let the two thrash the question out among themselves or if need be fight it out and make of themselves the laughing stock of the world.

Gandhiji missed, therefore, in the Qaid-e-Azam's fervent appeal for funds for the Muslim evacuees from the Union, any reference to the misdeeds of the Muslims in Pakistan. He pleaded for a frank and bold acknowledgment by the respective Governments of the misdeeds of their majorities.

#### ASAF ALI SAHEB

Lastly, Gandhiji wished to refer to a vague insinuation against Asaf Ali Saheb, their Ambassador in America. He had been a Congressman ever since he had known him. He was a friend of the late Hakim Saheb and Dr. Ansari, as he is of the Maulana Saheb, who was Congress President for many years and had always been known as a staunch nationalist. He knew that Asaf Saheb was not recalled from America, but that he had come to consult the Prime Minister on many important questions. It was a matter of shame that such Muslims should not feel at ease with every Hindu and Sikh. It was wrong that a single Muslim should feel unsafe in Delhi, his Capital.

New Delhi, 14-9-'47

#### OUR DEGRADATION

Gandhiji said that he went to two Muslim refugees' camps in Idgah and opposite. No Muslim bore an angry look. They seemed to be poor. There was a very old man who was mere skin and bone. Every rib was to be seen. He was stabbed in several places. By his side was a woman equally injured. Though not so old, she was in a dilapidated condition. He hung his head in shame when he saw them. For him all men and women were the same, no matter what religion they professed.

#### SANITATION OF REFUGEE CAMPS

Then he observed the insanitation of the camps. They were filthy beyond description. In the Idgah

camp as in the other, the latrines where the refugees could get their water from. The inmates performed natural functions anyhow. If he was the camp commandant and the military and the police were under him, he would take up the shovel and the pickaxe himself and ask the help of the military and the police to do likewise and then ask the refugees to follow suit so that the camps would be in a perfectly sanitary condition. As it was, the ground itself was a rubbish heap on which no human being should be asked to live before it was thoroughly cleaned out. It required no money, it required a little forethought and the possession of a sanitary sense which would refuse to tolerate insanitation. The Hindu camps were no better on this score. Insanitation was a national defect or better still a vice of which as a free nation the sooner they got rid the better it was for them.

#### DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENTS AND THE PEOPLE

From these camps his thoughts turned to the cause of this dislocation on a scale which arrested the progress of the nation. Why were so many Hindus and Sikhs coming away from the Western Pakistan provinces? Was it a crime to be a Hindu or a Sikh? Or were they coming away out of sheer cussedness? Or was it a punishment for what their confreres had done in the East? Then he thought of the Union. Why were the Muslims of Delhi frightened into leaving their homes? Had both the Governments broken down? Why did the populace ignore its Government? The Muslims had unlicensed arms. There was the Government to see to it that those arms were taken away from the unlawful possessors. If they were incompetent, they were to give place to better men. The Government was what they, the people, made it. It was wholly wrong and undemocratic for individuals to take the law into their own hands. This lawlessness boded no good for India whether it was rampant in Pakistan or the Union. He was in Delhi to 'do or die'. He had no desire to witness the mad fratricide, this national suicide, their betrayal of their own Government. May God help them to regain their lost sanity!

#### WOMEN AND SOCIAL INJUSTICE

[Third enlarged Edition]

By Gandhiji

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

Gandhiji visited Wah Camp near Rawalpindi on his way back from Kashmir on the 5th of the last month. The refugees there were insistent that they should be removed to the Indian Union before the 15th of August when Pakistan would be a reality. They were convinced that they could not live in safety and honour in Pakistan. Gandhiji pleaded with them to be calm and not to give way to panic. He was of the opinion that once Pakistan was a reality, repetition of lawlessness would be unlikely. What had happened in Rawalpindi, Lahore and other places was dreadful, but at that time there was no popular ministry in the Punjab. He said that he would have liked to stay with them himself till the 15th of August, but he was under promise to reach Bengal before that date. Therefore, he asked me to stay there instead of him. I could leave the camp any day after the 15th and join him.

I stayed there fully convinced that it was wrong for the Hindus and Sikhs to flee from Pakistan. They had inhabited that land from generations and were entitled to live there. If Indians could fight for their rights in South Africa, were they to relinquish their homes in Pakistan?

I placed my ideas before the refugees. Some appreciated them, some were resentful. They were not prepared to live the life of hostages, they said. They would rather be beggars in the Indian Union than be big landlords in Pakistan, where even the honour of their womenfolk was not safe. I tried to impress upon them that the right thing for us would be to die in defence of our honour rather than be bullied out.

I visited a few villages from where the people had fled. In one village the Muslim landlord had given protection to the minority community and had nipped the trouble in the bud. There had been only three deaths and a few houses had been burnt. I was told that the Hindus would be welcome if they came back. But in some other villages they were not wanted back. I was puzzled as to what to say to the people under the circumstances. The Deputy Commissioner came and assured me that the refugees would be quite safe and soon rehabilitation would become possible.

But the trouble started again in spite of the efforts of the Deputy Commissioner to control the situation. East Punjab was reported to be avenging Rawalpindi and the whole of West Punjab flared up to avenge the happening in East Punjab. The vicious circle has been going on for the last one year. Trouble broke out in Calcutta on the 16th of

August last year. Noakhali, we were told, was the revenge of Calcutta, Bihar avenged Noakhali with a vengeance. As a result came the massacre and untold brutalities of Rawalpindi and N. W. F. P. Thus did the circle of revenge continue to grow wider. If it is not stopped at some stage, it might engulf the whole of India.

By the time I was to leave Wah Camp, life had become most uncertain there. It was not possible to leave them then. More refugees started pouring in. They were attacked on the way and many of them including women and children arrived in a terrible condition. My faith was shaken. No longer could I tell the refugees in the camp that they must not think of leaving Pakistan. There were stories about the partisan behaviour of the police and the military and a young Muslim officer of nationalistic views told me that there was much truth in that. I had to acknowledge defeat and write to responsible quarters in the Indian Union pleading for speedy evacuation of the Wah Camp.

Towards the end of August, one refugee train which had gone full of Muslim evacuees to Rawalpindi brought away 1700 non-Muslim refugees from Wah Camp and aeroplanes started bringing away a few hundreds everyday.

In the meantime Gandhiji had been working the miracle in Calcutta and had apparently established peace there. Our only contact with the outside world at Wah Camp was the radio. It gave news of happenings of East Punjab only. Not a word was said about the happenings in West Punjab. It distressed the non-Muslim refugees. The news of Gandhiji's fast perturbed everybody, and induced the refugees to permit me to leave the camp, particularly in view of the fact that evacuation of the camp had already started.

I left West Punjab by an aeroplane bringing refugees to Delhi, and from there proceeded to Calcutta. Gandhiji's fast had come to an end by the time I reached there. I was seeing him after a month. He was weak but cheerful, and there was an atmosphere of hope and goodwill between the two communities all around him in contrast to the bitterness and despair in the Punjab. The Hindus and the Muslims had both become sick of the strife that had been going on off and on for over a year in Calcutta and it was sweet to be in peace once again. There were many sceptics who felt it was just a temporary phase. It was only the Hindus who had surrendered their weapons to Gandhiji, they said. Not a single Muslim had surrendered arms. That showed that they were not sincere. Gandhiji brushed aside these arguments

'Trust begets trust' is the maxim he always acts upon. Human nature is essentially good. It wants peace. The Muslims would surrender arms, he said. Moreover the Government was there to punish law-breakers. Let one side at least be correct.

He had said that he would fast unto death if there was a repetition of insanity in Bihar. When he delayed his departure for Noakhali and stayed on in Calcutta at the request of Muslim friends, he said the same thing for Noakhali. And now he repented the pledge with regard to Calcutta. If the peace in Calcutta proved short-lived and there was a flare up of communal frenzy once again, he would undertake a fast unto death, wherever he was, he said. All this made friends anxious. Will he survive all this? But he has always lived for peace and has placed himself entirely in the hands of God. He does not wish to live in the midst of the hatred one sees everywhere. "Either I quench the flames or perish in the attempt," he has solemnly declared.

I had the feeling that on hearing the news that I brought him from West and East Punjab, he would agree that there was no way to avoid exchange of population. But I was disillusioned. He was unshaken in the belief that it was an utterly wrong step. The division of India had been a wrong step. It could not be righted by another wrong step. The minorities should stay where they were and bravely face death if it became inevitable. In the meantime it was the duty of the Governments on both sides to ensure the protection of the minorities. It was no use saying they had no control over the people. They should perish in the attempt, if need be. He left Calcutta for the Punjab on the 7th September to help to put a stop to anarchy there if he could possibly do so.

On his way to the Punjab, he came to Delhi, to find it enveloped in the flames of communal frenzy. And as is his wont, he has decided to stay here till peace is established in the city. He has been visiting the Hindu and Muslim refugee camps in Delhi almost everyday. The Hindus are angry with him because they feel that he is partial towards the Muslims. Most of the Muslims, on the other hand, feel that he is a Hindu after all and must be partial towards them. He quietly puts up with the angry looks and words of both and calmly tells them their duty. They must not take the law into their own hands. They should give a chance to their Governments to right the wrong. If retaliation and violence must rule the day, let there be a regular war, but this savagery must cease on either side. As for him he is convinced that the only true law of life is to return good for evil. Will either side listen to him?

Indians must realize that the result of the present anarchy can only be a return of slavery of a far worse type than before. "I do not wish to live to see that day," says Gandhi and his anguish is shared by many. We have made tremendous sacrifices to win freedom. Is it too much to sacrifice the desire for revenge for the sake of that hard-won freedom?

New Delhi, 15-9-'47

S. N.

## GANDHIJ'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

New Delhi, 15-9-47

### HEART SEARCHING

During the night as I heard what should have been the soothing sound of gentle life-giving rain, my mind went out to the thousands of refugees lying about in the open camps in Delhi. I was sleeping snugly in a verandah protecting me on all sides. But for the cruel hand of man against his brother, these thousands of men, women and children would not be shelterless and in many cases foodless. In some places they could not but be in knee-deep water. Was it all inevitable? The answer from within was an emphatic No. Was this the first fruit of freedom, just a month old baby? These thoughts have haunted me throughout these last twenty hours. My silence has been a blessing. It has made me enquire within. Have the citizens of Delhi gone mad? Have they no humanity left in them? Have love of the country and its freedom no appeal for them? I must be pardoned for putting the first blame on the Hindus and Sikhs. Could they not be men enough to stem the tide of hatred? I would urge the Muslims of Delhi to shed all fear, trust God and discover all the arms in their possession which the Hindus and the Sikhs fear they have. Nor that the former too do not have any. The question is one of degree. Either the minority rely upon God and His creature man to do the right thing or rely upon their fire-arms to defend themselves against those whom they must not trust.

### TRUST YOUR GOVERNMENT

My advice is precise and firm. Its soundness is manifest. Trust your Government to defend every citizen against wrongdoers, however well-armed they may be. Further trust it to demand and get damages for every member of the minority wrongfully dispossessed. All that neither Government can do is to resurrect the dead. The people of Delhi will make it difficult to demand justice from the Pakistan Government. Those who seek justice must do justice, must have clean hands. Let the Hindus and the Sikhs take the right step and invite the Muslims who have been driven out of their homes to return. If they can take this courageous step worthy from every point of view, they immediately reduce the refugee problem to its simplest terms. They will command recognition from Pakistan, nay from the whole world. They will save Delhi and India from disgrace and ruin. For me, transfer of millions of the Hindus and the Sikhs and the Muslims is unthinkable. It is wrong. The wrong of Pakistan will be undone by the right of a resolute non-transfer of population. I hope I shall have the courage to stand by it, even though mine may be the solitary voice in its favour.

Ganesh Lines Delhi, 17-9-'47

### NO IMPOSING

There was a very big gathering of workmen of the Delhi Cloth Mills and others from outside in the spacious courtyard of the Lines. Gandhiji had gone there at the instance of the workmen who used to supply volunteers whenever he stayed at

(Continued on p. 350)

## TO THE MUSLIMS IN THE UNION

[ On the 10th of this month Gandhi addressed a small gathering of Muslims in the Daryaganj Mosque. A report of the meeting and the address is given here. S. N ]

### NOTHING IN PANIC

Some Muslim friends had asked Gandhi to visit the Muslim localities in the city so that those inhabitants who were still there must not leave their homes out of panic. Gandhi readily agreed and began by visiting the Daryaganj area this evening. The deserted appearance of the houses and shops, a few of which had been looted, oppressed him. About a hundred Muslims had gathered in the house of Asaf Ali Saheb. They told Gandhi that they wanted to live in India as loyal citizens of the Union, but they wanted an assurance of safety, particularly from the partisan behaviour of the police. Some of them were in tears when they narrated their plight. They did not approve of what the Muslims in Pakistan had done. But innocent people should not be made to pay for the guilt of others.

### RELY ON GOD

Addressing them Gandhi said that they had to be brave and declare firmly that they would not leave their homes whatever might happen. They should look to none but God for their safety and protection. He was there to do whatever he could. He had pledged himself to do or die in Noakhali, Bihar, Calcutta and now in Delhi. He would not ask those who had left their homes to come back till there was real peace and the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims agreed to live as brothers without the help of the police and the military.

### GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION

He was the friend and servant of the Muslims as of the Hindus and others. He would not rest till every Muslim in the Union, who wished to live as a loyal citizen of the Union, was back in his home living in peace and security and the Hindus and the Sikhs returned likewise to their homes. He had served the Muslims for a lifetime in South Africa and in India. He could never forget the unity of the Khilafat days. It did not last, but it demonstrated the possibilities of lasting friendship between the Hindus and the Muslims. That was what he lived for and worked for. He was on his way to the Punjab to see that all the Hindus and the Sikhs who had been turned out of Pakistan should be able to return to their homes and live there in safety and honour. But on his way he was held up at Delhi and he would not leave it till real peace returned to the capital. Even if he was the only one to say it, he would never advise the Muslims to leave their homes. If they lived as law-abiding, honest and loyal citizens of India, no one could touch them. He was not the Government, but he had influence with those in the Government. He had had long talks with them. They did not believe that in India the Muslims had no place or that if the Muslims wished to stay there they had to do so as slaves of the Hindus. Some people had said that Sardar Patel

encouraged the idea of Muslims going away to Pakistan. The Sardar was indignant at the suggestion. But he told him (Gandhi) that he had reasons to suspect that the vast majority of the Muslims in India were not loyal to India. For such people it was better to go to Pakistan. But the Sardar did not let his suspicion colour his actions. Gandhi was convinced that for the Muslims who wished to be citizens of the Indian Union, loyalty to the Union must come before everything else and they should be prepared to fight against the whole world for their country. Those who wished to go to Pakistan were free to do so. Only he did not wish a single Muslim to leave the Union out of fear of the Hindus or the Sikhs. Muslims in Delhi had assured him by their written declaration that they were loyal citizens of the Union. He would believe their word as he wished others to believe his. As such it was the duty of the Government to protect them. He for one would not like to live if he could not achieve that. The wrong had to be undone whatever it was. Abducted women had to be returned, forcible conversions considered null and void. The Hindus and Sikhs of Pakistan and the Muslims of East Punjab had to be reinstalled in their own homes. In Pakistan and the Union they should produce conditions that not even a little girl, whatever her religion, should feel insecure. He was glad to have read the statement of Khaliqzaman Saheb and of the Muslims of Muzaffarnagar. But before he proceeded to Pakistan he had to help to quench the fire in Delhi. If India and Pakistan were to be perpetual enemies and go to war against each other, it would ruin both the dominions and their hard-won freedom would be soon lost. He did not wish to live to see that day.

Maulana Ahmad Said appealed to the Muslims to see that unlicensed arms were surrendered. Gandhi was taken to some *pardanashin* ladies before leaving the place. They said that their hopes were fixed on him. He said that they should rely on none but God. He was trying to do his best.

### Playing at Cross Purposes

The Government of Great Britain has directed the automobile industry to export about 75 per cent of its production. Irrespective of the demand in the country itself, Britain wants to have a large export trade in its manufactured goods so that it may meet its requirements in import of food.

This is only one side of the picture. In the world today everybody is in the same position. The devastated countries of Europe also require food. France is eager to export even shoddy manufactures of the present day, which do not come up to the pre-war standards.

On the other side, where are the countries which can afford to import these cars? Surely selling cars to America will be carrying coals to Newcastle. Even poor India is short of food and has to place restrictions on the import of cars. Such being the case, it ought to be evident that the economic development of Great Britain is lopsided and will not fit into a properly balanced economy.

of the world. The British authorities will do well to investigate what sections of their economy can be pruned to fit into the post-war world. Britain trying to sell her cars to India and such other countries which have to give priority to food, is a game at cross purposes and one may be forgiven if one sees the germ of conflict in such a programme of expansion on the one side and one of restriction on the other

J. C. K.

## HARIJAN

September 28

1947

### MY DUTY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

This heading has reference only to my duty about the conducting of the *Harjan* papers. A fair number of replies have been received in answer to my query. The majority of the readers with a few exceptions want the papers to be continued. The purport of these letters is that the readers desire my views on the present day topics. This means that probably after my death these will no longer be required

My death can take place in three ways:

1. The usual dissolution of the body.
2. Only the eyes move but the mind no longer works.
3. The body and mind may work but I may withdraw from all public activity.

The first kind overtakes everybody - some die today, others tomorrow. It demands no consideration.

The second variety is to be wished by or for nobody. I for one do not wish for any such imbecile state. It is a burden on earth.

The third variety does demand serious consideration. Some readers suggest that the period of my active life should be over now. A new age for India began on 15th August last. There is no place for me in that age. I detect anger in this advice as it is worded. It therefore carries little weight with me. Such counsellors are few. I have to come to an independent conclusion. The *Harjan* papers are being conducted and published under the Navajivan Trust. The trustees can stop publication whenever they choose. They have full powers. They do not desire any such stoppage. My life line is cast in active public service. I have not attained the state which is known as 'action in inaction'. My activity, therefore, seems at present to be destined to continue till the last breath. Nor is it capable of being divided into water-tight compartments. The root of all lies in Truth otherwise known to me as Non-violence. Hence the papers must continue as they are. "One step enough for me."

New Delhi, 22-9-'47

(Rendered from the original in Gujarati)

### THE ROOT AND THE FRUIT

An English journalist came to Belagharta the other day. It was a busy day for Gandhiji and he could spare only a few minutes for the English friend. But within that brief interview a question was raised and discussed, which I should like very much to share with the readers.

Although Gandhiji's activities ranged from wide social and political fields to the smallest and intensely personal ones, the journalist asked him, how he was able to maintain a spirit of detachment in such a surprising manner. Gandhiji replied that it was not true that he was never off his balance. Such occasions were rare, yet the long exercise of self-restraint enabled him, through God's grace, to keep his irritation within very narrow bounds.

This led the interviewer on to a more fundamental question. From a reading of Gandhiji's writings, the friend had gathered that the root of all of Gandhiji's activities was the desire for *moksha*, emancipation. But why was not this aspect emphasized sufficiently?

Gandhiji replied by taking recourse to a simile. He said the desire for *moksha* was indeed there, but it was not meant for anyone other than the individual himself. The world was interested in the fruits, not the root. For the tree itself, however, the chief concern should be not the fruit, but the root. It was in the depth of one's own being that the individual had to concentrate. He had to nurse it with the water of his labour and suffering. The root was his chief concern. But society was concerned with the fruit alone. It had no other data for judgment than the fruits. Was not a tree judged by its fruits?

It was this practice of trying to limit himself to the root, and then not be concerned about the fruit that had given Gandhiji the apparent detachment which the English friend had noticed. But, in his personal opinion, he was yet far from the fullness of its realization. He was still a soul yearning to be wholly free, but ever failing to reach the ideal which he knew to be true. Hence, it would be enough if he could take care of the immediate task before him, whether great or small, with all the care and freedom from bias or mental worries which he could bring to bear upon it.

Calcutta, 4-9-'47

N. K. BOSE

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## CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTION OF COCOA-NUT OIL AS A REHABILITATION AND RELIEF MEASURE

The experiment of organizing production of cocoa-nut oil as a cottage occupation is being tried by us to provide relief to poor people in the riot-affected villages round about the Bhatnagar Centre. The enterprise is being carried out through what is intended to develop into a multi-purpose co-operative society. Four rupees per seer is the price paid to members. Non-members will get Rs. 3 per seer only. One of the conditions of membership is that one should become self-sufficient in the matter of clothing for himself and his family, for, we do not want to put money into leaky pockets to benefit the blackmarketeers in cloth. To this end each member is required to learn spinning and the allied processes himself and make members of his family do the same and grow at least four plants of tree-cotton for each member of the family. Cotton from these plants will belong to, and be taken delivery of, by the co-operative society, and distributed free to those who spin for themselves. Till an oil-producer qualifies himself for membership by delivering the stipulated self-grown cotton, the additional one rupee per seer will remain with the society as his share capital deposit.

Cocoa-nut oil production will thus immediately put some money into the pockets of the needy who are willing to work. To give them their money's worth, it is proposed to provide such of them as will put in two hour's free labour for common good one seer of rice at control price. Free service at present consists in helping to repair village communications, build new roads, bridges etc., clear tanks and above all, grow more food in their own and other people's *badis* by planting *jal cochus* and introducing *pam phal* (singhonia) in tanks which are at present choked with weeds and good for nothing else.

The second part of the scheme would be to utilize by-products by manufacturing useful articles out of cocoa-nut shell and coir and preserving the *chhoba* and *maska* as a standby in time of famine. Cocoa-nut shell can be turned into beautiful tea-cups, sugar pots etc., as experiments conducted by the Kazirkihi Camp have shown. Coir can be turned into string which is at present selling at Rs. 2-8-0 per seer and is in universal demand in these parts as an indispensable hut-building material. Cocoa-nut shell can further be manufactured into buttons. *Chhoba* and *maska* preserved by the addition of sugar or gur or by salting and dehydration represents the entire nourishing content of the cocoa-nut which is nature's complete food. The only thing that is reduced is the oil content which is found in excess of the human requirement in the natural state. To put this part of the scheme into operation will be needed a few hand machines and the help of a technical expert to teach the various manufacturing processes to the people.

So far only the first part of the scheme and a very small part of the second have been put into operation.

Cocoa-nut oil production was started on the 17th of April. Production for the first fortnight was only 4 seers and odd. It was suspended on 12th June, the production for the closing and the penultimate weeks respectively being 16 and 14 tins of 19 seers

each, equivalent to Rs. 1,216 and Rs. 1,064. The total amount of oil produced so far is nearly 50 tins worth Rs. 3,800. It gave occupation in the closing stages to 130 families, 97 being Hindus and 33 Mussalmans and in fact was the only thing that stood between them and starvation. It enables a woman to earn about Rs. 2-2-0 per day. Total amount put into the pockets of the poor during the one month and a half that it was in operation came to about Rs. 1,600, the amount of share capital deposit with the co-operative society being nearly Rs. 900. Some of the women have accumulated amounts up to Rs. 20 to 30 which they had never done in their life-time before and all this in one month.

Under the self-help and self-sufficiency part of the scheme, 6,581 *jai-cochus*, 420 *tan cochus*, 650 cotton plants plus 320 seedlings have been successfully grown in the five villages of Bhatnagar, Karatk Mogarpara, Narayanpur and Rezakpur so far and are estimated to yield 350 mds. of tubers for food and 1,950 lbs of lint equivalent to 8,700 yards of cloth.

Oil is delivered by the producers almost throughout the week but principally on the two market days Monday and Friday. Payment is made on the spot to enable them to make their weekly purchases of household requirements and to procure a supply of cocoa-nuts for extracting oil. Cocoa-nut market subsequently went up from 8 and 10 cocoa-nuts for the rupee to 5 only, thus making cocoa-nut oil production almost uneconomical. If production is to be resumed, we must not only have a sufficient cash advance in hand to cover the price of the oil delivered and received at our centre during the fortnight but also to enable us to stock a sufficient supply of cocoa-nuts to protect the producers from the fluctuations of the bi-weekly local market, and to give them the benefit of cheap cocoa-nut market in Lakhimpur or elsewhere whenever favourable opportunity may present itself. We must have cash advance to enable us to purchase a sufficient supply of tins or screw cap barrels, to engage a tin-smith for sealing them as soon as they are filled and to meet the expenses of transporting tins from Karatkhi to Comilla, Chandpur or elsewhere. The following is a rough estimate of the minimum cash advance required to work the scheme on the basis of a fortnightly delivery of oil against cash payment. A more frequent delivery would be uneconomical.

Price of oil to be paid to the producers at the rate of Rs. 4/- per seer on a fortnightly estimate of 40 tins of nearly 19 seers each	3000-0-0
For stocking cocoa-nuts	500-0-0
For the purchase of tins, for engaging the services of a tin-smith	200-0-0
Other incidental charges, e.g. stocking fuel for the preservation of <i>chhoba</i> and <i>maska</i> during the rainy weather, installing pans and ovens for those who are too poor to own the necessary implements themselves	300 .
Total	4000-0-0

N. B. All this will be non-recurring charge as the cost of tins and transporting oil, sealing of tins etc. is to be in addition to Rs. 4/- per seer that is to be paid against the delivery of oil at Comilla. P.

[This deserves wide publicity  
On the way to Patna, 6-8-47 — M. K. G.]

## A VISIT TO SARAN

I

## EXPERIMENTAL LABORATORIES

Gandhiji is trying to work out in Bihar and Noakhali Hindu-Muslim relationship based on non-violence, upon which depends the future destiny of the Indian Union and Pakistan: whether they ultimately realize the strength of their common interests or engaged in a death grapple they go to the bottom in the whirlpool of power politics. Here, in Bihar and Noakhali, he has vowed to "Do or Die". As he is forced to be physically away from his experimental laboratories, it has fallen to the lot of those of us whom he has left behind to carry his message of love and hope to the bewildered masses, terror-struck by the consequences of their own madness.

Rarely in recent history has there been such a large scale exploitation of the baser instincts of the dumb millions, whose noble and fundamental instincts it was the duty of the leaders to interpret and direct.

The spark in the powder magazine of Siwan, a sub-division of the Saran district of Bihar, which was immediately extinguished by the prompt action of the local police, became the occasion of my belated visit to the district.

## NOT AN EASY DISTRICT

Saran is by no means an easy district. The O. T. R., with its supreme contempt for the virtue of punctuality, carrying passengers as easily on the roof as inside it, very obligingly stopping in response to the pull of the chain, was enough to give me a taste of the place and the people as soon as I started for it from Patna. It is a sad commentary on the fruits of 1942. The general lawlessness prevalent in parts of Bihar bodes ill for the future of our hard-won independence.

## WORTHY OF EMULATION

When the riot broke out in Chapra, it was quickly controlled and was not allowed to spread. Perfect peace has been maintained ever since. All this has been due to the indefatigable and selfless efforts of Pandit Girish Tiwari, the hero of Saran, working in close co-operation with the officials who are a brilliant set in that district. The District Magistrate of Chapra and the D. S. P., Siwan, specially stand in refreshing contrast to the general background of corruption and inefficiency, which is eating into the vitals of many of our provincial administrations today.

During my four-day stay in Saran, I visited Chapra, Paighambarpur, Siwan and Hasanpura. Seven meetings were held with the local representatives of the Muslim League, Nationalist Muslims, Congressmen, and other Hindus. Apart from meeting refugees and other individuals two public meetings were addressed including the one at Hasanpura containing nearly three thousand villagers. The contact with the masses and their leaders thus established, enabled me, I hope, to read fairly accurately the underlying currents of feeling which were disturbing the masses.

## REHABILITATION

My first task on reaching the district, however, was to see rehabilitation in practice. The following official figures speak for themselves:

	Houses burnt	Houses renovated	Murders	Injuries
1. Chapra Town	94	90	35	20
2. Jalalpur	74	73	15	40
3. Khodabagh	10	9	16	13
4. Paighambarpur	76	74	31	13
5. Raulpur	-	-	7	-
6. Darin Bazar	-	-	2	5
Total	254	246	106	91

Total Belief Grant spent upto 10th July, 1947, is Rs. 38,995

Number of persons receiving it: 235

Advances made for house building grants upto 10th July, 1947 is Rs. 1,18,674

Other twelve houses are under construction. The entire work has been completed within two months due to the untiring effort and personal supervision of the District Magistrate and the officers he was able to inspire, and that prevented the work from going the contractor's way. Most of the refugees who had not left the province have returned.

## PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTOR

The masses have confidence in the honesty and capacity of the present officers to maintain law and order. Between the two communities also, a fair amount of confidence has been restored. The spirit of aggressiveness among the majority of the Hindus has disappeared. The credit for the change in spirit and quick rehabilitation must go to Pandit Girish Tiwari and the district authorities who, by their sympathetic, but firm attitude, prevented the work of rehabilitation from being sabotaged.

## A FULFILMENT

In Paighambarpur where Badshah Khan himself, with the help of the Hindus and Mohammedans of the locality, started clearing the debris of the local mosque, has arisen an entirely new village with its own mosque, its school, its huts, built by the joint efforts of the Hindus and the Muslims. So high was the spirit that the work was not abandoned by labourers from the surrounding villages even when plague broke out in the village and two of the Hindu labourers fell victims to it. The Government officer-in-charge at the risk of his own life looked after these labourers who were ultimately saved.

There is free intercourse between the two communities. There is perfect co-operation in agricultural operations, which is in refreshing contrast to the ugly economic boycott which one sees almost everywhere in the riot-affected areas in Noakhali and Bihar. Recently when as a repercussion of the recent Calcutta riots in which some of the Hindu members of the locality were killed, a mosque was pulled down, through the persuasion of Pandit Girish Tiwari, the Hindus are rebuilding it by themselves. It could not be otherwise.

Patna, 15-7-'47

DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR  
(To be continued)

# ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI

## INSTALMENT—XXIX

### ENGLISH

### HINDUSTANI

Displease *v.* दिन बिगाड़ना, नाराज या नाखुश या खफा करना, खिजाना । دل بگازنا, ناراض یا ناخوش یا خفا کرنا, کھینا ।

Displeasure *n.* नाराजगी, कोप, गुस्सा, नापसंदगी, खेद, नाराजगी । ناراضگی, کھد, نا پسندگی, کھد, غمش ।

Disposal *n.* निपटारा, फैसला; वन्दोबस्त, प्रबन्ध, निजाम; वस, अधिकार, हुपुर्दगी, देन; बिक्री । بھار, فیصلہ, بندوبست, پر بندہ, انتظام, پس, اہمکار, سرورگی, دین, بکری

Disposal, at one's (किसीके) वस, अधिकार या अधिकारमें । (کسی کے) پس, اہمکار یا اختیار میں

Dispose *v.* ठीक रखना, ठिकाने रखना, वन्दोबस्त, प्रबन्ध या निजाम करना; निपटारना, चुकाना, फैसला करना; अलग करना, बेचना; कटव करना, ठिकाने लगाना; छुड़ाना, छुड़ाव होना, मनमें होना । لیک, رکھنا, لھکے, وکھنا, بندوبست, پر بندہ, یا انتظام کرنا, بھانا, چھکانا, فیصلہ کرنا, الگ کرنا, بیچنا, ختم کرنا, لھکے, لگانا, چھکانا, چھکار, حوالہ, من میں حوالہ

Disposition *n.* प्रबन्ध, वनावट, रचना, सुव्यवस्था; दृष्टि, स्वभाव, छुड़ाव, तबियत, मिजास, चाह; काबू, अधिकार, अख्तियार; निपटारा, चुकाव, देना । پر بندہ, بناوٹ, وچنا, بھارٹ, دچی, سوچار, چھکار, طبعیت, مزاج, بھانا, قار, اہمکار, سار, بھارا, چھکار, دین

Dispossess *v.* निकाल देना, निवास कर छुड़की काबू देना, महकम करना, अधिकार छीन देना, भूत हटारना । نکال دینا, نکال کر اس کی جگہ لینا, محروم کرنا, اہمکار سے لینا, بھوت اتارنا

Dispraise *n.*, *v.* बदनामी, निन्दा, बदगोभी, बुरा करना, निन्दा करना, बदना, नीचा दिखाना, बदनाम करना । بدنامی, اذرا, بدگویی, برا کھنا, لٹا, ڈرا, گھٹانا, بیجا دکھانا, بنام کرنا

Disproof *n.* रद्द, खण्डन । رد, کھنڈ

Disproportionate *adj.* बेरोज, बेदण, बेदेव, कमती-बहुतीका । بے رولہ, بے لنگہ, بے میل, کٹی بڑھی کا

Disprove *v.* झूठ उदराना, रद्द करना, खण्डन करना, खल्ल साधित करना । झूठ لھرائنا, رد کرنا, کھنڈ کرنا, خفا ثابت کرنا

Disputation *n.* बह-विवाद, बहस, हुजमत, हलील । راوربراد, بحث, جدت, دل

Dispute *v.* बह-विवाद का बहस करना; झगड़ना, हुजमत करना; राब का खेदे काहिर या प्रकट करना; रोकना; चुकावना करना, प्राप्त या हासिल करनेकी कोशिश करना । راوربراد یا بحث کرنا, چھکونا, جدت کرنا, شک یا متنبہ ظہر یا پرکھ کرنا, روکنا, خفا کرنا, پراپت یا حاصل کرنے کی کوشش کرنا

Dispute *n.* बहस, बह-विवाद, हुजमत, हलील; झगड़ा, कदा-बुनी । جدت, راوربراد, جدت, دلیل, چھکار, کھاشی

Disqualification *n.* हक या अधिकार छीन देना, रोक, वकावट; कमी, अयोग्यता, नाजायगी, नुक्स, करारी । حق یا اہمکار چھین لینا, روک, وکارت, کمی, اہرگیا, نالائقی, نقص, خراب

Disqualify *v.* हक या अधिकार छीन देना, रोक लगाना; अयोग्य या नाजायग ठहराना, रद्द करना । حق یا اہمکار سے لینا, روک لگانا, اہرگیا یا نالائقی لھرائنا, رد کرنا

Disquiet *v.* बेचैन, परेशान या अशांत करना, चिंतित करना । بے چین, پریشان یا اشانت کرنا, چنت کرنا

Disquietude *n.* बेचैनी, परेशानी, अशांति, चिन्ता, फिक । بے چینی, پریشانی, اشانتی, چنتا, فکر

Disquieting news बेचैन, परेशान या चिंतित करनेवाली खबर । بے چینی, پریشان یا چنت کرنے والی خبر

Disquisition *n.* सम्बन्धी केब (किसी मयनूम या विषयपर) । لٹا, بھرا, لیک (کسی مضمون یا دشت پر)

Disregard *v.* पराव न करना, ध्यान न देना, दुर्लक्ष समझना, देखी-अनदेखी करना, सुनी-मानसुभी करना । پرواہ نہ کرنا, دھیان نہ دینا, نہر سمجھنا, دیکھی ان دیکھی کرنا, سی لٹنی کرنا

Disrepair *n.* दूरा-कुटा, अरम्भतके कायम या योग्य । दूرا, بھرا, سرمت سے لائق یا یوگیہ

Disreputable *adj.* बदनाम, निरा दूमा, खराब बख्तका । بدنام, گراہوا, خراب چلن کا

Disrepute *n.* बदनामी, निरावट, खराब बख्त । بدنامی, گراوٹ, خراب چلی

Disrespect *n.* अनार, गुस्ताखी, बेमदती । انار, گستاخی, بے ادبی

Disrupt *v.* तोड़ना, फूट जाना, टुकड़े-टुकड़े करना, गड़बड़ी होना । ٹوڑنا, پھوٹ جانا, ٹکڑے ٹکڑے کرنا, گڑبی بیلانا

Disruption *n.* टूट, तोड़, मंग, कटना; चूना । ٹوٹ, ٹوڑ, ٹکے, چھنا

Disruptive *adj.* बेचैनी या गड़बड़ी फैलानेवाला, फूट जाननेवाला, लोचनेवाला । بے چینی یا گڑبی بیلانے والا, پھوٹ لانے والا, ٹوڑنے والا

Dissatisfy *v.* खूब न कर पाना, तबस्ती या खन्ती न देना; मयनूम या मायूस करना । خوش نہ کر پانا, تل یا خنوتی نہ دینا, استغف یا ناخوش کرنا

Dissatisfaction *n.* मायूसी, मयनूम, नापसंदगी, तबस्ती न होना । मायوسی, استغفی, نا پسندی, تل نہ حوالہ

Dissect *v.* टुकड़े-टुकड़े काटना, चीरफाड़ करना, खेद खेद मायूसी 'बींद पड़ना' करना, तख्ती-तले नुस्खाचीनी करना, विचारमें नीब-नेब निकालना । ٹکڑے ٹکڑے کاٹنا, چیر پھاڑ کرنا, یکے کے چھک کی چھج پرٹال کرنا, تفصیل سے نکتہ چینی کرنا, بنام میں من بیکر نکالنا

Dissemble *v.* छिपाना, गुप्त रखना, पूरी बात न कहना; देखी-अनदेखी कर देना, डाव खाना; बहाना करना, पाखण्ड या मक्कारी करना । چھپانا, گھپ, رکھنا, پردی بات نہ کہنا, دیکھی ان دیکھی کر دینا, ڈال جانا, بھانا کرنا, پا کھٹ یا مکاری کرنا

Dissembler *n.* पाखण्डी, मक्कार, कपटी, बुभेक्षि । पा کھنڈی, مکار, کپٹی, بھوہیش

Disseminate *v.* फैलाना, छितराना, मिश्र-बुध, बीज बोना । بیلانا, چھترانا, ادمر ادمر بیج بولنا

Dissension *n.* अन-बन, फूट, (खेद राब न होनेके कारण) । ان بن, پھوٹ, (ایک دے کے خوتے کے کارن)

Dissent *v.* मतभेद होना, खेद राब न होना; स्वीकार या संकर न करना; खिन्कार करना । मत भेद, خلاف رائے نہ حوالہ, سوچار یا مظهر نہ کرنا, انکار کرنا

Dissent *n.* मतभेद, छिन्कार राब; अस्वीकारी, खिन्कार, नापसंदगी । मत भेद, خلاف رائے, असुचारी, انکار, ना मظهر

Dissenter *n.* विरोधी, न मानने वाला, मुकालिफ (कायकर बाब धर्मे का छीनका) । ورودھی, نہ ماننے والا, خلاف (मान کر चाल धर्म या दین का)



- Dissentient n.** बहुमत वा अक्षतरियत वा सरकारी शब्दों न माननेवाला । *معارض یا اکثریت یا سرکاری رائے کو نہ ماننے والا* ।
- Dissertation n.** लेख, ध्यान, तहरीर, भाषण, व्याख्यान । *لیکچر، بیان، تقریر، بحث، ویاکھان* ।
- Disservice n.** दुकसान, बुरा काम । *نقصان، برا کام* ।
- Disservice, to do a** *घ.* दुकसान पहुँचाना, अनासी न करना । *نقصان پہنچانا، خیال نہ کرنا* ।
- Dissidence n.** देको Dissent । *Disse* *दिकर* ।
- Dissident n.** देको Dissenter । *Disse* *दिकर* ।
- Dissimilar adj.** भिन्न, अलग, अमेल, छुटा, बेबोड़ । *بہن، الگ، ان میل، جدا، بے جود* ।
- Dissimilarity or dissimilitude n.** फर्क, अन्तर, भेद । *فرق، انتر، بھد* ।
- Dissimulate** *घ.* देको dissemble । *dissemble* *दिकर* ।
- Dissimulation n.** छपट, बहाना, बनाबट, झूठकारी, पाकण्ड । *کھٹ، بہانا، بناوٹ، مکاری، پاکھٹ* ।
- Dissipate** *घ.* बिखर जाना, दूर होना वा करना, (क्रिक, बर बरीराफा); टुकड़े-टुकड़े कर देना वा हो जाना, बिट जाना वा बिटा देना; छुड़ाना, खराब व्यर्थ वा क्रिडल खर्च करना; बर्न गैराना; बुरी चिन्तनी वा खराब जीवन बसर करना । *بکھر جانا، دور होना یا کرنا (مکر اور بھیر کا)؛ لکڑے لکڑے کر دینا یا ہو جانا، ٹٹ جانا یا ٹٹ دینا؛ اڑانا، روپیہ اور زمین یا ضرورت خرچ کرنا، معنی گنواٹا؛ بری زندگی یا خراب جیون بسر کرنا* ।
- Dissipation n.** फैलाव, बिखराव, दूर होना वा बिटना; व्यर्थ वा क्रिडल खर्च (खर्चे और वास्तिकी); बर्नचनी, बुरा जीवन । *پھیلنا، بھیراव، دور होना یا बिटना (روپیہ یا ضرورتیں) (روپیہ اور زمین کی)؛ بھیلنا، ویا جیون* ।
- Dissociate** *घ.* अलग करना वा होना, सम्बन्ध वा नाता तोड़ना, बास्ता न रखना, सम्बन्ध वा ताम्बुल तोड़ना वा न रखना । *الگ کرنا या होना, संबند या नात तोड़ना, واسطہ نہ رکھنا, سمند یا تعلق توڑना یا نہ رکھना* ।
- Dissociation n.** अलग होना, अन्वर्गगी, छुटासी । *الٹی ہونا، انصرگی، چھٹا* ।
- Dissoluble adj.** जो पुस वा पिघल सके, टूटने वा अलग होने वा करनेके योग्य । *سو گھل یا پگھल سکے, ٹوٹنے یا الگ ہونے یا کرنے کے योग* ।
- Dissolute adj.** छुटका; बर्नचल, बुराचारी, गुच्छा । *لچا، بھیل, بھیراوی، خلا* ।
- Dissolution n.** गलासी, पुनाव, पिघलाव, टूट, संग, छुटासी; मृत्यु, मीत; नारा; बरबाही, नाशना । *گلائی، گھلائی، پگھلائی، ٹوٹ، جھک، چھٹا، مرتی، موت، بھیر؛ برابھ خاتمہ* ।
- Dissolve** *घ.* गलना, गलाना, पुसना, चोसना, पिघलना; तोड़ना; अलग करना; छुट्टा देना; बर्नचल करना । *گلا، گला، گھٹا، گھٹا، گھٹا، پگھٹا، ٹوڑنا، الگ کرنا، اٹھا دینا، سم کرنا* ।
- Dissolvent n.** वह चीज जो किसी वस्तुको पुस वा पिघला दे, पुलाने, पिघलाने वा गलानेवाला । *وہ چیز جو کسی وستر کو گھٹا یا پگھلا دے، گھٹانے، پگھلانے یا ٹوڑنے والا* ।
- Dissonant adj.** बेमुरा, बेताल, बेबोड़, अमेल । *بے سراء، بے تال، بے جود، ان میل* ।
- Dissuade** *घ.* रोकना, हटाना, सना करना, बाध रक्षना, मन वा तबियत फेरना । *روکنا، هٹانا، منع کرنا، باز رکھنا، من یا طبیعت بھیرنا* ।

- Dissyllable or disyllable n.** दो मंशोका शब्द, दो जुड़का मशर । *دو اشرف کا شبد، دو جو کا لفظ* ।
- Distaff n.** गड़ भर लम्बी लकड़ी, जिसपर सूत या धन हाक-कलासीके सिधे मयेटा जाता वा; शिरो वा ओरतोका काम । *گو جو भर लیس لکڑی، جس پر اون یا سن مان کٹائی کے لیے لپٹا جاتا تھا؛ استریوں یا حرروں کا کام* ।
- Distaff side n.** जानमान वा कुटुम्बकी ओरतें वा शिरो । *जानान या कुम्ब کی हरतों या استریय* ।
- Distance n.** दूरी, फर्क, अन्तर, बीच, ज़ासल; काल, धमव, बल, दूरी, فرق, अंतर, बीच, फास; काल, बीच, दूरी, अन्तर । *دوری، فرق، انتر، बीच، فاس؛ کال، دھم، بال، دوری، فرق، اتر، बीच* ।
- Distance, at a** *जसके पर, दूर* । *فاصلے پر، دور* ।
- Distance, keep at a** *मुँद न कपाना, दूर रखना* । *تھ نہ لگانا، دور رکھنا* ।
- Distance, 'keep one's** *बचके रहना, दूर रहना* । *بچ کے رہنا، دور رہنا* ।
- Distance, within striking** *अहीतक हाथ पहुँचने* । *جہاں تک ہاتھ پہنچ* ।
- Distance** *घ.* परे वा दूर या पीछे छोड़ना, आगे निकल जाना (चौकमें) *پرسے یا دور या پیछے چھوڑना، آگے نکل जानا (दूर में)* ।
- Distant adj.** दूर, दूरका, अलग, छुटा । *दूरका، الگ، رکھا* ।
- Distaste n.** नासन्दगी, नकरत, दुहा, मरदि । *نا پسندگی، نفرت، گھروا، اروبی* ।
- Distasteful adj.** नापसंद, जो अग्रा न मने, बुरा, चिनीना । *ना پسند، جو اچھا نہ لگے، برا، گھروना* ।
- Distemper n.** बीमारी वा रोग (शारीरिक वा मानसिक, जिस वा दिमागका), कुनासि सेक बीमारी, जिसमें बुकास, संधी और कमजारी हानी है । *بیماری یا روگ، (شاریک یا مانسک، جس یا دماغ کا)؛ کتوں کی ایک بیماری جس میں زکام، کھالی اور کزوری ہوتی ہے* ।
- Distemper** *घ.* पल्लव वा बरियवर रंग करनेका सेक काक तरीका जिसमें सेमकी बगल अडेकी इरी-बरीला मिलते हैं । *پلتر یا کھڑا پر رنگ کرنے کا ایک خاص طریقہ جس میں نیل کی جگہ اٹلے کی دودی وغیرہ ملائے میں* ।
- Distend** *घ.* अन्तरसे पुसना वा फुलना, तानना । *انتر سے چلاتا یا پھرتا، تانا* ।
- Distich n.** दोहा, दोन بیت *دوہا، بیت* ।
- Distil** *घ.* टपकना, बुँद-बुँद करके गिरना वा गिराना, बर्न निकालना । *ٹپکا، بوند بوند کر کے گرن یا گرنانا، عرق نکالنا* ।
- Distillation, dry** *n.* बिना पानी मिलाने बर्न चौचना । *بنا پانی ملانے عرق کوچنا* ।
- Distiller n.** बर्न निकालनेवाला; सराव बनावेवाला; धवेदरके पानीसे नमक निकालनेवाली मशीन । *عرق نکالنے والا، شراب بنانے والا، मन्तर के पानी से नमक निकालनेवाली मशीन* ।
- Distillery n.** सरावका कारखाना, मही । *شراب کا کارخانہ، جیش* ।
- Distinct adj.** धाक, स्पष्ट; अलग, छुटा, न्वारा, विशेष; पक्कीती, साल, सफा; अलگ, جدا, निरा, विशिष्ट, पक्की, लफट । *धाक، स्पٹ، अलग، छुटा، न्वारा، विशेष؛ पक्कीती، साल، سفا، الگ، جدا، निरा، विशिष्ट، पक्की، लफट* ।
- Distinction n.** फर्क, अन्तर, भेद; पहचान; नाम, खिताब, पदवी; देवासी, बहासी, भिक्कन, मान । *فرق، انتر، جدا، پہچان، نام، خطاب، پदوی، اربا، بھتی، جوت، مان* ।
- Distinctive adj.** भेद वा फर्क बतावेवाला, काक, विशेष । *بھेद یا فرق بتانے والا، خاص، विशिष्ट* ।
- Distinguish** *घ.* पहचानना, जानना, चीन्हना; अलग करना, भेद वा फर्क करना वा बताना; नाम कमाना, सनाहर होना न *पहचाना، जानना، चीन्हना؛ अलग करना، भेद वा फर्क करना वा बताना; नाम कमाना, सनाहर होना न* ।
- Dissuade** *घ.* रोकना, हटाना, सना करना, बाध रक्षना, मन वा तबियत फेरना । *روکना، هٹانا، منع کرنا، باز رکھنا، من یا طبیعت بھیرنا* ।

**Distinguished** *adj.* काब, नामी, महान, प्रसिद्ध, बड़ा।

عامر، نامی، مشہور، پرستہ، بڑا

**Distort** *v.* रूप या वस्तु का विगड़ाना, तोड़-मरोड़ करना; बात विगड़कर कहना; मानी, अर्थ या मतलब झुनटना या बदलना; वस्तुतः बयान करना।

رूप یا شکل بگاڑنا، توڑ مरोڑ کرنا، بات بگاڑ کر کہنا، معنی

اثر یا مطلب الٹا یا بدلنا، غلط بیان کرنا

**Distortion** *n.* टेढ़ा-मेढ़ापन, तोड़-मरोड़, फेरफार, वस्तुतः बयानी

لڑوا میڑوا پن، توڑ مरोڑ، پھر پھار، غلط بیان

**Distortionist** *n.* मठ (जो अपने मुँहको टेढ़ा-मेढ़ा बनाकर लोगोंको हैसता है)।

مٹ (جو اپنے منہ کو لڑوا میڑوا بنا کر لوگوں کو حسانا ہے)

**Distract** *v.* ध्यान या मन दूसरी ओर लगाना, मोड़ना या हटाना; हर तरफ कीचन; बहराना, डेरान या परेशान करना, झुलझने में डालना; बागल या दीवानगी करना।

دھیان یا من دوسری اور لگانا، موڑنا یا هٹانا، ہر طرف

کھینچنا، گھیرانا، حیران یا پریشان کرنا، الھن میں ڈالنا، پاگل

یا دیوان کرنا

**Distraction** *n.* ध्यान या ध्यानधन हटाना या मोड़ना, बिचान या दूसरी ओर लगाना; दिल-बदलाव; बहरावट, परेशानी, झुलझल, बागलपन, दीवानगी।

حیران یا دھیان کا هٹا یا پھار، کھینچنا یا دوسری اور لگانا

دل ہلان، گھیراؤ، پریشانی، پاگل پن، دیوانگی

**Distraction, to drive to** *v.* باغल बना देना, बागलपन या दीवानगी की वृत्तक पहुँचना।

پاگل بنا دینا، پاگل پن یا دیوانگی کی صفت تک پہنچنا

**Distrain** *v.* दुर्धी करना, माल-सामान छीनना (कई पूरा करने के लिये)।

دُرقی کرنا، مال سامان چھیننا (فرض پورا کرنے کے لئے)

**Dstraint** *n.* दुर्धी।

دُرقی

**Distrain** *adj.* (कबालमें) खोया हुआ; ध्यान धैरहासिर होना, बागल; परेशान।

(حیران میں) کھریا ہوا، دھیان غیر حاضر ہوا، غافل، پریشان

**Distress** *n.* दुःख, तकलीफ, पीड़ा, मुसीबत, विपत्ति, आफत, तपी, दरीपी, मोहताबी; मुश्किल; जोखिम; बकान; हॉफना।

دُکم، تکلیف، پیڑا، مصیبت، هفت، آفت، تنگی، غریبی

عساری، مشکل، جو کھم، تھکان، غم

**Distress** *v.* दुःख या पीड़ा देना, दुःखी बनाना, सताना; बकाना चिन्तित करना; चिढ़ाना।

دُکم یا پیڑا دینا، دکھی بنانا، سٹانا، تھکانا، هشت کرنا، ہڑانا

**Distress gun or rocket** *n.* बन्दूक या हवाई को जोखिमके वस्तु बहाकते छोड़ो वाय।

بندوق یا ہوائی جو جو کھم کے وقت ہوا سے ہڑوی جائے

**Distress warrant** *n.* दुर्धीका परवाना या आज्ञापत्र।

دُرقی کا پردانہ یا آگیا پتر

**Distribute** *v.* बाँटना, हिस्सा या विभाग करना; असम-असम करना, रचना, तरतीब देना; फैलाना, वितरना।

بانٹنا، حصہ یا وجاک کرنا، الگ الگ کرنا، وجہا، رتبہ دینا

بیلانا، بکھیرنا

**Distribution** *n.* बाँट, बँटवारा, हिस्सा, भाग; फैलाव; बिकरा हुआ होना; रचना, तरतीब।

بانٹ، بڑاوا، حصہ، وجاک، بیلانا، بکھیرا ہوا، وجہا، ترتیب

**Distributive** *adj.* बाँटनेवाला, बँटवारेका।

بانٹنے والا، بڑاؤنے کا

**District** *n.* ضلع, जिल्हा, विभाग, इलाका।

ضلع، جیلہ، ضلع، حصہ

**Distrust** *n.* कच, शक, शक, शक, शक।

شک، شہ، شہ، شک، شک

**Distrust** *v.* भरोसा न रखना, विश्वास न करना; शक, शक, शक या शक करना।

بروسہ نہ رکھنا، ہشوارس نہ کرنا، شک، شک، شک یا شک کرنا

**Disturb** *v.* गड़बड़ करना, हलचल पैदा करना, खलपली मचाना; झुनट-झुनट करना; बेचैन करना; बहराना, अशांत करना, झुन-झुनमें डालना, रंग करना; छेड़ना।

لڑو کرنا، طہیل پیدا کرنا، کھیل مچانا، الٹ پلٹ کرنا، بے چین

کرنا، گھیرنا، اُشاعت کرنا، الھن میں ڈالنا، شک کرنا، ہڑا

**Disturbance** *n.* देगा, गड़बड़, हलचल, खलपली, झुनट, फवाह, बहरावट, अशांति, बेचैनी।

هنگام، گڑو، طہیل، کھیل، لڑو، هسات، گھیراؤ، اُشاعت، بے چین

**Disunion** *n.* जुदागी, असम होना, फूट, अनवन।

جہان، الگ ہونا، هروٹ، ان بن

**Disunite** *v.* असम या जुदा करना या होना, फूट, खलपली या पड़ना।

الگ یا جدا کرنا یا هروٹ ڈالنا یا پڑنا

**Disunity** *n.* फूट, अनवन।

هروٹ، ان بن

**Disuse** *n.* बेजिस्तगी, बेचिबागी।

بے استعمال، بے دواہی

**Ditch** *n.* खाड़ी, बरक, गड्ढा, नाला, नाथी।

کھاڑ، خندق، گودا، ڈالا، نال

**Dither** *v.* कंपना, धरंका (चर का मध से)।

کپنا، هروٹ (لڑ یا بے سے)

**Ditto** *adj.*, *n.* वैसा ही, वैसा मूर तिसा हो।

وہی، جیسا اور لکھا ہوا

**Ditto to, to say** *v.* मेक राय का मेक मत होना, सम्मत होना, अभिप्राय करना, हौंमें हौं मिलना।

ایک رائے یا ایک مٹ هروٹ، همت هروٹ، اتفاق کرنا، عام میں

مان ملنا

**Ditty** *n.* छोटा-सा, धोंका-सा गीत।

ھوٹا سا سیدھا سا گیت

**Diuretic** *n.* पेशाब का मूत्र जानेवाला दवा।

پیشاب یا موز لائے وال دوا

**Diurnal** *adj.* दिनका, रोजका।

دن کا، روز کا

**Dive** *v.* गोता मारना, डुबकी लगाना, अचानक नीचे बड़े जाना; दिखायी न देना, (पानी, चूँचन या जेबमें) हाथ डालना; हथ डालना; तह तक पहुँचना।

غوطہ مارنا، ڈکی لگانا، اچانک نیچے جانے جانا، دکھائی نہ دینا

(پانی، چوچن یا جیب میں) ہاتھ ڈالنا، تھ تک پہنچنا

**Dive** *n.* गोता, डुबकी।

غوطہ، ڈکی

**Diver** *n.* पनडुब्बा, गोताखोर।

پن ڈب، غوطہ خور

**Diverge** *v.* असम-असम जाना, कोधी किधर कोधी किधर जाना, ठीक राहते हट जाना; फर्क या मेद पड़ना या आना; मोड़ना।

الگ الگ جانا، کٹ کٹ کھم کوئی کھم جانا، هیک راستے

مٹ جانا، فرق یا جید پڑنا یا آنا، هروٹ

**Divergence** *n.* मोड़; फर्क, मेद।

موز، فرق، جید

**Divergent** *adj.* असम-असम, भिन्न, मुझाविक, हटा हुआ, मुड़ा हुआ।

الگ الگ، هیر، هتف، هٹا هروٹ، هٹا هروٹ

**Diverse** *adj.* नाना प्रकारका, तरह-तरहका, रंग-रंगका।

نارنگاں کا، طرح طرح کا، رنگ رنگ کا

**Diversify** *v.* तरह-तरहका या भिन्न-भिन्न बनाना, रंग-बिरंगा करना, बदलना।

طرح طرح کا یا بن بن بنانا، رنگ رنگ کرنا، بدلنا

**Diversion** *n.* पर, मोड़, दिना या मन बदलाना, सेना, लीना।

پیر، موز، دل یا من ہلان، کھیل، ہلا

**Diversity** *n.* फर्क, भिन्नता, गुणागुनी, रंग-बिरंगी, भीत।

روق، هینا، گودا، گوی، رنگ، رنگ، همت



## AN ABORTIVE CONFERENCE

The Indian Shipping Delegation, to which were nominated various ship-owners and representatives of Shipping Companies by the Government of India, met the British representatives, nominated by H. M. G. in London, on 16th and 18th of July last. The discussion lasted barely three hours in all. In fact, there was hardly any discussion at all. The Conference broke down on the very presentation of credentials and terms of reference. How could it have been otherwise?

### THE PERSONNEL

The formation of both the Delegations would seem to have been badly conceived from the very start. Shipping, as we have pointed out, is a national question and has to be decided by people who represent the economic policy of the country. Transport, which should include shipping, is a valve through which expression can be given to the social and economic ideals of a nation. Therefore, any discussions which do not take into consideration this aspect of the shipping question will not be of any use to the country. Whoever chose the delegates on either side would appear to have had no regard for this aspect of the question. The Indian delegates and the British representatives were chosen from among the vested interests who are keen to push their own business interests under the plea of national economy. The personnel of each group was known to the other as being their competitors in the business. We all know what this means in the Shipping Lines. Cut-throat competition has been more or less the rule of the day not only amongst the different nationals representing the shipping industry but among our own shippers.

### THE MONOPOLY

At this stage three of the most competent shippers of the world, viz., Germany, Italy and Japan are *hors de combat*. This brings into the field only the British and American interests to deal with. Of these, as far as India is concerned, Great Britain practically holds a monopoly of Indian Shipping. This being so, the bargaining power is cent per cent on the British side. Under these conditions can any sane person expect the monopolists to drop the business in favour of their aspiring pigmy competitors? Sir William Currie, the Chairman of the Conference and leader of the British representatives, practically said in so many words that they cannot waste time listening to the claims of the Indian Delegation.

### OUR REPRESENTATIVES

If we analyse the composition of the Indian Delegation itself, we would find that it was composed of vested interests which had kept down their own fellow countrymen under one plea or another. Some of them represented "conference lines", which means monopolies and combines working together in consultation on agreed terms, keeping out the less fortunate shippers who were neither powerful enough to be admitted to the conference lines nor were ship-owners. A

great many shippers carry on the shipping industry not in their own bottoms but in chartered steamers. Any decision on the national shipping must include the meanest of those engaged in this occupation. The Delegation nominated by the Government of India was not, therefore, representative of all aspects of Indian shipping interests. It may be said to represent the more powerful elements of Indian shipping which have been known to use ruthless methods in dealing with their own nationals as competitors. These combines decide the cargoes which a steamer may load and lay heavy penalties on disobedience to their rule. These factors may be presumed to be not unknown to the British representatives. With what face can we now go and ask the British representatives to drop business in favour of this powerful group?

### NO APPEAL

There was practically no basis for appeal other than one business group asking another to give a part of their business in their favour. This can hardly be called an appeal. In every one of us there is an altruistic side. Negotiations properly conceived should aim at touching the idealistic in man. If a person goes to a rich man owning several houses, and asks him to give up the house in which he lives in favour of the applicant so that the latter can occupy it, the result will probably be a resort to the revolver. On the other hand, if the owner of several houses was appealed to by one who did not need a house for himself, but for some public use, such as a school or a hospital, and asked the owner to donate one of his houses for such purpose, it may be, that the owner will not only accede to the request but may even go to the extent of redecorating and fitting out the house for the needed purpose. Similarly, we may presume that Sir William Currie and his British colleagues would have an idealistic side to their nature which can be appealed to if properly approached. The approachers themselves should not be interested personally in the transaction. Unfortunately, the last attempt was made purely on a business level and as Lord Rotherwick of the *Clan Line* remarked, "It seems as though all the 'give' is on the British side and all the 'take' on the Indian side." This, of course, is a correct summing up of the situation on the level at which the discussion took place. On these grounds, naturally, the British ship-owners were put on the guard and, Mr. Keswick of the *Indo-China Line* suggested considering the best steps to prevent cut-throat competition.

### THE CORRECT APPROACH

Such being the case, if the Indian shipping industry is to follow the country's economic needs, it would be necessary to approach this whole problem from a totally different angle. No vested interests on either side should be made to face each other as competitors. The past working of the shipping industry itself should be inquired into and it should be seen if the policy followed by the conference lines will answer the purpose of national needs. Then negotiations should be started on the principle that every independent nation should be able to

control its foreign trade through its control over its shipping industry. For this purpose, free India would require to have its trade carried on with the help of steamers under the control of the Indian Government. There should be no monopolies or combines which are working for their own selfish profits. Every citizen who is capable of falling in line with the needs of the Government should be free to carry on this industry provided he serves the national interests at large.

#### THE TEMPTATION

The British representatives desiring individuals of the Delegation negotiating with British companies on their own is an undesirable step. This was said to be a "practical" approach but we fear that this was more a trap to get a stranglehold on the industry and make a monopoly of it under British control. Great credit is due to Sheth Valchand Hirachand, leader of the Indian Delegation, for withstanding this temptation and holding together the Indian members as one whole. As we have already pointed out, shipping is a national industry in which private interests should not be allowed to predominate. The effect of Indian shippers negotiating separately with the British companies would have ultimately meant that Indian shipping would have been the cat's paw of British interests, especially as the British interests have, at present, an overwhelming share of the overseas trade in India. The attempt to break up the Delegation into its component parts was only the extension into the economic sphere of the divide and rule policy in politics.

#### PUBLIC INTEREST

The contention that the British shipping industry is a private industry built up by private effort will not hold water. All the world over shipping has always been looked after by the State. In England itself the British treasury has advanced millions of pounds to *Cunard* and *White Star Lines* for building steamers from time to time. Under the Trade Facilities Act the Government has lent over 23 millions to shipping companies. In Germany the Government has always been subsidizing the shipping companies. So also Italy and Japan have built up their shipping industry on the financial aid extended to them by their respective Governments. In the United States, under the Jones White Act of 1928, 21 millions annually were paid to private shippers to develop the American foreign trade.

In the light of these it is surprising to find that the Government of India felt no call to help with the negotiations when the Delegation confronted a closed door. This may be owing to the fact that the Government of India of the time was working under the British atmosphere which extended only a half-hearted support to Indian affairs.

#### OUR TASK

Now that India has attained something of an independent status we trust that the Government will realize its great responsibilities and follow the example set by the other maritime countries in

helping to build up a merchant marine worthy of the country. In the initial stages it is dangerous to allow the foundations to be laid by vested interests. The Government itself should have a clearly defined policy on shipping and should work up regular lines of priorities for developing the national economy through the control of shipping. The present Indian Government, we are sorry to note, has given no thought to this side of the national economy and is inclined to leave everything to the vagaries of private enterprise.

#### THE DIFFICULTIES

At the present, even the transfer of ships under British register has been banned with the result that ship-owners in India cannot get what tonnage they require by acquisition. America also is not disposed to part with her ships. Both these nations are making a bid for the world shipping trade now that their competitors from Germany, Italy and Japan are outside the arena for the time being. The only way at present open to Indian shippers is to obtain steamers from such sources as are available in North-Western Europe. These steamers from the Baltic side are usually motor-driven with the result that engineers experienced in the line not being available in India, our shipping companies are greatly handicapped. India has been sending our Ambassadors and Trade Commissioners to foreign lands at great public expense. This programme can be justified only if these representatives of India in foreign lands can use their good office to serve the needs of the country and influence those Governments to come to India's help by getting the necessary tonnage transferred to India either through sale or by charter.

It may be mentioned that we have time and again suggested that one way of settling our Sterling Balances would be by transferring of British steamers to our register. England's plea that Sterling Balances have to be frozen because of her Dollar requirements will not affect this type of transaction. Here no dollars are involved. Great Britain can, if the will is there, pay off a good portion of her dues to India by this type of set-off.

As a long-term measure the Government of India should encourage and subsidize ship building in India itself. Ship building is an essential key industry for a country situated as India is and it deserves every support from the Government. This is one of our ancient industries destroyed by the British about a century ago.

#### THE FALSE STEP

Unfortunately, Great Britain is ill-advised in trying to build up an Economic Empire largely based on shipping and export trade. The last two wars do not appear to have taught her the lesson that the writing on the wall proclaims to the world at large that no nation with a lop-sided development of its economy in any direction can maintain peace. If the Scandinavian countries have kept aloof from the wars to a large extent, it is due to their programme of self-sufficiency. That means every country should have a balanced

development on all sides, agricultural, industrial, shipping, transport, commerce, trade and banking. These departments should be adequate to meet the needs of the country. Any over-development will lead ultimately to violence and wars. Hence, in the interests of world peace, it is necessary that Great Britain should adjust her economy to proper proportions. Peace of the world cannot be maintained by attempting to keep her competitors in her over-developed economy down by force.

We fear this lesson has not yet come home to our Indian Government also. We trust that in laying out the economic life of our country this aspect of the question will be borne in mind and the proposed Planning Commission will see to it that all parts of our economic life are adequately developed to meet our needs in the first instance. Seeing that up to now our shipping industry has not been given a dog's chance to develop itself, it becomes necessary for the Government to put forward its best efforts to give it its rightful place in our national economy

J. C. KUMARAPPA

### TO MEMBERS OF THE R. S. S.

[On the morning of the 16th of this month Gandhi addressed a few words to the members of the Rashtriya Sevak Sangha. A report of the meeting and the address is given below — S. N.]

#### ONLY SACRIFICE NOT ENOUGH

Addressing about 500 members of the Rashtriya Sevak Sangha at the Bhangi Colony, Gandhi said that he had visited the Rashtriya Sevak Sangha Camp years ago at Wardha, when the founder Shri Hedgewar was alive. The late Shri Jannalal Bajaj had taken him to the camp and he (Gandhi) had been very well impressed by their discipline, complete absence of untouchability and rigorous simplicity. Since then the Sangha had grown. Gandhi was convinced that any organization which was inspired by the ideal of service and self-sacrifice was bound to grow in strength. But in order to be truly useful, self-sacrifice had to be combined with purity of motive and true knowledge. Sacrifice without these two had been known to prove ruinous to society.

#### SANATANI HINDU

The prayer that was recited at the beginning was in praise of Mother India, Hindu culture and Hindu religion. He claimed to be a Sanatani Hindu. He took the root meaning of the word *sanatana*. No one knew accurately the origin of the word Hindu. The name was given to us and we had characteristically adopted it. Hinduism had absorbed the best of all the faiths of the world and in that sense it was not an exclusive religion. Hence it could have no quarrel with Islam or its followers as unfortunately was the case today. When the poison of untouchability entered Hinduism, the decline began. One thing was certain, and he had been proclaiming it from house tops, that if untouchability lived, Hinduism must die. Similarly if the Hindus felt that in India there was no place for any one else except the Hindus and if

non-Hindus, especially Muslims, wished to live here, they had to live as the slaves of the Hindus, they would kill Hinduism. Similarly if Pakistan believed that in Pakistan only the Muslims had a rightful place and the non-Muslims had to live there on sufferance and as their slaves, it would be the death-knell of Islam in India.

#### GOOD FOR EVIL

It was an unfortunate fact that India had been divided into two parts. If one part went mad and did ugly deeds, was the other part to follow suit? There was no gain in returning evil for evil. Religion taught us to return good for evil.

#### THE SANGHA'S CLAIM

He had seen their *Guruj* a few days ago. He had mentioned to him the various complaints about the Sangha that he had received in Calcutta and Delhi. The *Guruj* had assured him that though he could not vouchsafe for the correct behaviour of every member of the Sangha, the policy of the Sangha was purely service of the Hindus and Hinduism and that too not at the cost of any one else. The Sangha did not believe in aggression. It did not believe in *ahimsa*. It taught the art of self-defence. It never taught retaliation.

Today the ship of India was passing through troubled waters. The leaders in charge of the Government were the best that India possessed. Some people were dissatisfied with them. He would ask them to produce better men if they could and he would advise the old guard to hand over the reins to their betters. After all the Sardar was an old man and Pandit Jawaharlal, though not old in years, looked old and haggard under the burden he was carrying. They were doing their utmost to serve the people, but they could only act according to their light. If the vast bulk of the Hindus wanted to go in a particular direction, even though it might be wrong, no one could prevent them from doing so. But even a single individual had the right to raise his voice against it and give them the warning. That is what Gandhi was doing. He was told that he was the friend of the Muslims and the enemy of the Hindus and the Sikhs. It was true that he was a friend of the Muslims, as he was of the Parsis and others. In this respect he was the same today as he had been since the age of twelve. But those who called him the enemy of the Hindus and the Sikhs did not know him. He could be enemy of none, much less of the Hindus and Sikhs.

#### RESULT OF WRONG DOING

If Pakistan persisted in wrong doing, there was bound to be war between India and Pakistan. If he had his way, he would have no military, no police even. But all this was tall talk. He was not the Government. Why did not Pakistan plead with the Hindus and the Sikhs and asked them not to leave their homes and ensure their safety in every way? Why could not they in the Indian Union ensure the safety of every Muslim?

Today both the parties appeared to have gone crazy. The result could be nothing but destruction and misery.

## DEEDS AND WORDS

The Sangha was a well-organized, well-disciplined body. Its strength could be used in the interests of India or against it. He did not know whether there was any truth in the allegations made against the Sangha. It was for the Sangha to show by their uniform behaviour that the allegations were baseless.

## WHO CAN PUNISH?

At the conclusion of the speech, Gandhiji invited questions. One person asked if Hinduism permitted killing of an evil-doer. Gandhiji replied that it did and it did not. One evil-doer could not punish another. To punish was the function of the Government, not that of the public.

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

(Continued from p. 338)

the Valmiki Colony. On reaching the place at 6-30 p. m. Gandhiji tried to speak through the loud-speaker, but there being some defect in the instrument, another instrument was tried. It gave some work but not so as to be heard to the farthest end of the meeting. But a Punjabi friend offered to repeat with his loud voice word for word what Gandhiji spoke. The contrivance worked. Gandhiji said that after his experience of the last evening, he had decided not to offer public prayer unless the whole audience without exception wished to have the prayer. He had never imposed anything on any one, much less could he impose such a highly spiritual thing as prayer. The response must be from the heart. There could be no question of pleasing him. His prayer meetings had certainly become popular and lots of people seemed to have gained therefrom. But in these times of tension he could understand the resentment of the sufferers. Only no one should expect him to omit that part of the prayer, which to him seemed objectionable. It had to be accepted heartily as it was or rejected. For him the recitation from the *Quran* was an integral part of the prayer.

## CURB ANGER

Turning to the burning question of the day Gandhiji said that he was prepared to understand their resentment and the consequent impatience. But if they deserved their independence, they would learn to subdue their resentment and trust their Government to do the best. He was presenting to them not his own way of non-violence, much as he would like to. But he knew that he was out of court today. He suggested to them the adoption of the path that all democratic nations had adopted. In democracy the individual will was governed and limited by the social will which was the State, which was governed by and for democracy. If every individual took the law into his own hands there was no State, it became anarchy, i. e., absence of social law or State. That way lay destruction of liberty. Therefore, they should subdue their anger and let the State secure justice. In his opinion, if they permitted the State to do its duty, he had no doubt that every Hindu and every Sikh refugee would return to his home with honour and dignity. He was free to admit that they had suffered much in Pakistan, many homes had become desolate, lives had been lost, girls had been abducted, there had

been forcible conversions. If they had self-control and did not allow their anger to get the better of their reason, girls would be returned, forcible conversions would be null and void and their properties returned to them. But this could not be done if they interfered with the even course of justice and thus spoiled their own case. They could not expect these things if they expected that their Muslim brothers and sisters should be driven out of India. He regarded any such thing as a monstrous proposition. They could not have the cake and eat it. Moreover whilst it was true that the minorities, i. e., the Hindus and the Sikhs were badly treated in Pakistan, it was equally true that the East Punjab has also treated its minority the Muslims, likewise. Guilt could not be weighed in golden scales. He had no data to measure the guilt on either side. It was surely sufficient to know that both the sides were guilty. The universal way to have proper adjustment was for both the States to make a frank and full confession of guilt on either side and come to terms, failing agreement to resort to arbitration in the usual manner. The other and rude way was that of war. The thought repelled him. But there was no escape from it if there was neither agreement nor arbitration. Meanwhile, he hoped that wiser counsels would prevail and the Muslims who had not of their own free will chosen to migrate to Pakistan, should be asked by the neighbours to return to their homes with a perfect feeling of safety. This could not come about with the aid of the military. It could be done by return to sanity by the people concerned. He had made his final choice. He had no desire to live to see the ruin of India through fratricide. His incessant prayer was that God would remove him before any such calamity descended upon their fair land. And he asked the audience to join in the prayer.

## LABOUR'S ROLE

In the end Gandhiji congratulated the working class on the Hindus and the Muslims working together. If they were working in perfect union, they had set a noble example. Workmen should have no communalism among them. Had he not said that if they knew their power and used it wisely and constructively, they would become the real rulers and the employers would be their trustees and friends in need and deed. This happy state of things would come only when they knew that labour was more real capital than the capital in the shape of gold and silver which labour extracted from the bowels of the earth.

Birla House, New Delhi, 18-9-'47

## PRAYER INDIVISIBLE

After his return from Daryaganj, Gandhiji proceeded to the small prayer gathering in the Birla House compound. He told them that if there was a single individual who objected to the recitation from the *Quran*, he would not hold his prayer in public. The object of the prayer was not to hurt anyone's feelings. At the same time he could not omit any part of the prayers, which he had selected after careful thought and consideration. He asked them to indicate by raising their hands whether they wanted him to hold the prayers or not. Not



a single hand was raised against. Therefore, the prayer was held as usual with this change that recitation from the *Quran* came at the beginning of the prayers instead of towards the end.

#### GAJENDRA MOKSHA

After the prayers Gandhiji addressed the gathering saying that prayer was the food of the soul as bread was of the body and he was glad to note that they understood its importance.

Commenting on the *bhajan*, *Gajendra Moksha*, he said that for them the object to be saved was India from the clutches of barbarism. The task could be performed only by God's grace.

#### PUNJAB AFTER DELHI

Gandhiji told them of his meeting with the Muslim friends at Daryaganj. He could not rest in peace till every Muslim and Hindu and Sikh in India and Pakistan was not rehabilitated in his own home. What was to become of the Juma Masjid, the biggest mosque in India or of the Nankana Sahib or Punja Sahib if no Muslim could live in Delhi or India and no Sikh lived in Pakistan? Were these sacred places to be turned to other purposes? Never. (Other forcible illustrations are omitted to save space.)

Gandhiji said that he was proceeding to the Punjab in order to make the Muslims undo the wrong that they were said to have perpetrated there. But he could not hope for success unless he could secure justice for the Muslims in Delhi. They had lived in Delhi for generations. If the Hindus and the Muslims of Delhi would begin to live as brothers once again, he would proceed to the Punjab and do or die in Pakistan. The condition for success was that those in the Union should keep their hands clean. Hinduism was like an ocean. The ocean never became unclean. The same should be true of the Union. It was natural for the Hindus and the Sikhs to feel resentment at what they had suffered. But they should leave it to their Government to secure justice for them.

#### DUTY OF THE MILITARY AND THE POLICE

Partisan behaviour was attributed to the military and the police. It was sad if it was true. If the custodians of law and order were to become partial and participants in crime, how could law and order be maintained? He appealed to the military and the police to be above prejudice and corruption. They were to be faithful servants of the people irrespective of caste and creed.

*New Delhi, 19-9-'47*

#### AVOID EXAGGERATION

Gandhiji went out at 5 p. m. and visited the Hindu pocket in Kucha Tarachand surrounded on all sides by Muslims, as the spokesman said before a crowded meeting of the Hindus. He recited in highly exaggerated language the woes of the Hindus and ended by saying that the whole of the locality should be denuded of all the Muslims who were mostly Leaguers and who had carried on a wild agitation against the Hindus. He maintained that the Hindus should do exactly as the Muslims in Pakistan were reported to be doing.

#### BE BRAVE AND FEARLESS

Gandhiji in reply said that he could not associate himself with the contention that India should drive out all its Muslim population to Pakistan as the Muslims of Pakistan were driving out all non-Muslims. Gandhiji said that two wrongs could not make one right. He, therefore, invited the audience to listen to his advice and act bravely and fearlessly and be proud to live in the midst of a large Muslim population. He then went to the Anathalava in Pataudi House and advised the responsible parties to bring back the orphans who had been removed out of fright. He was told that there was a shower of bullets from adjoining Muslim houses killing one child and wounding another. This was about the 7th of September. Maulana Ahmad Said and other Muslim friends who were accompanying him said that the neighbouring Muslims would see to it that no harm befell the inmates. The next place was near the house of Shri Bhargava who was the sole Hindu living in the midst of Muslims. It was packed with Muslims. Gandhiji hoped that the Muslims would fulfil his dream as a lad of twelve that the Hindus, the Muslims and the other Indians would live together as brothers and friends. These were the facts brought out by Gandhiji at the prayer meeting before the small audience in Birla House garden when he asked them to join him in the prayer that God would fulfil that dream or take him away and save him from witnessing the awful tragedy of one part of India being inhabited by the Muslims only and the other part by the Hindus.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 20-9-'47*

#### GOD REMOVES FEAR

No one having objected to the recitation of the verses from the *Quran Sharif*, prayers proceeded as usual this evening.

Gandhiji referred to the hymn that had been sung. In it the composer said that God removed all fear from the hearts of those who had faith in Him.

Today the Hindus and the Sikhs were frightening the Muslims in Delhi. Those who wished to be free from fear themselves should not instil fear into the hearts of others.

Bannu in the Frontier Province was a city where he had lived in the house of a Muslim friend. Some persons from Bannu had come and complained that unless they were evacuated soon from there they might all be killed and ruined. The Muslim friend was as staunch as ever but he was unable to protect them single-handed, try as he might. Other Muslims even from the border were coming daily and filling them with dread and they asked to be rescued in time. Gandhiji said that he had not the power. He would pass on their story to Panditji and the Sardar. The friends asked that their own military should come to their aid. The speaker, however, said to them, as he had so often said before, "No one can protect you other than God. No man can protect another." None of them could say whether he was going to be alive the next day.

or even a minute after. God alone was, is and ever shall be. Therefore, it was their duty to call upon Him and rely on Him. In no case, however, was anyone at any time to return evil for evil.

#### PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

Gandhiji went on to say that the fear of the Hindus and the Sikhs in Pakistan was a very sad reflection on the Government there and contrary to the assurance of protection given to the minorities by the Qaid-e-Azam himself. It was the bounden duty of the majority in Pakistan, as of the majority in the Union, to protect the small minority whose honour and life and property were in their hands.

#### BROTHERS BECOME ENEMIES?

It baffled him as to why those who had lived as brothers, those whose blood had mingled in the massacre of Jalianwala Bagh, should today be enemies. As long as he had breath in his body he would say that this should not be. In the agony of his heart he cried daily, hourly, to God to bring peace. If peace did not come, he would pray to God to take him.

#### REFUGEES

He thought of the poor refugees in Delhi, in both East and West Punjab today while it was raining. They were roofless and homeless—suffering for whose sins? He had heard that convoys of Hindus and Sikhs were pouring in from West Punjab into the East—57 miles in length. It made his brain reel to think how this could be. Such a happening was unparalleled in the history of the world and it made him, as it should make all of them, hang their heads in shame. This was no time to ask who had done more wrong and who less. It was time to put a stop to this madness.

#### MUSLIM LOYALTY ESSENTIAL

Some said to him that every Muslim in the Indian Union was loyal to Pakistan and not to India. He would deny the charge. Muslim after Muslim had come and said the contrary to him. In any event, the majority here need not be frightened of the minority. After all, four and a half crores of Muslims in India were spread over the length and breadth of the land. The Muslims in the villages were harmless and poor, as in Sevagram. They had no concern with Pakistan. Why turn them out? As for traitors, if there were any, they could always be dealt with by the law. Traitors were always shot, as happened in the case even of Mr. Amery's son, though Gandhiji admitted that that was not his law. Others said that some Muslim officials were being kept here in order to keep all Muslims in India loyal to Pakistan. Some said that the Muslims looked upon all the Hindus as *Kaffirs*. Learned Muslims had told him that this was wholly incorrect. The Hindus were as much followers of inspired scriptures as the Muslims, the Christians and the Jews. In any event, he appealed to the Hindus and the Sikhs to shed all fear of the Muslims from their hearts, to be kind to them, to invite them to return and settle in their old homes

and to guarantee them protection from hurt. He was sure that in this way they would get the desired response from the Muslims of Pakistan, even from the border tribes across the Frontier. This was the way to peace and life for India. To drive every Muslim from India and to drive every Hindu and Sikh from Pakistan would mean war and eternal ruin for the country. If such a suicidal policy was followed in both the States, it would spell the ruin of Islam and Hinduism in Pakistan and the Union. Good alone could beget good. Love bred love. As for revenge, it behoved man to leave the evil-doer in God's hands. He knew no other way.

#### A DEFECT IN THE CONSEMBLY RESOLUTION

The resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly as regards the authorized design of the National Flag reads as follows:

"Resolved that the National Flag of India shall be a horizontal tricolour of deep saffron (*kesari*), white and dark green in equal proportion. In the centre of the white band there shall be a wheel in navy blue to represent the *charkha*. The design of the wheel shall be that of the wheel (*chakra*) which appears on the abacus of the Sarnath lion capital of Ashoka's pillar. The diameter of the wheel shall approximate to the width of the white band. The ratio of the width to the length of the Flag shall ordinarily be 2 : 3."

The italics in 'to represent' are mine.

Now as the wheel is there on the Flag as a representative of the spinning-wheel, it seems to me that the Resolution ought to have included an additional complementary direction that the Flag should be made of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth only. In the absence of such express direction even responsible people have been known to use any kind of cloth for the Flag, with the result that they expose themselves to the charge of hypocrisy like so many Hindus who claim to worship the cow but keep buffaloes for milk or consume buffalo's milk instead of cow's milk.

I hope the Constituent Assembly will look into the matter and do the needful.

V. G. D.

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## HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

*Birla House, New Delhi, 21-9-'47*

## OBJECTOR HONOURED

As one person in the audience objected to the *Al Fateha* being recited, prayers were not held on the Birla House lawn. Gandhiji, however, addressed the audience. He said that he was not going to argue with the objector. He realized the anger that raged in people's hearts today. The atmosphere was so surcharged that he thought it right to respect even one objector, but this by no means meant that he gave up God or His worship in his heart. Prayer demanded a pure atmosphere. One thing that everyone should take to heart from such objections was that those who were anxious to serve must have endless patience and tolerance. One must never seek to impose one's views on others.

## TREE WITHOUT FRUIT WITHERS

Gandhiji went on to relate how he had been with Shri Indira Gandhi to a locality where there were large numbers of Hindus living next door to a large number of Muslims. The Hindus greeted him with *Mahatma Gandhiji jai*, but they little knew that today there could be no victory for him nor did he wish to live if the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs could not live at peace with one another. He was doing his level best to drive home the truth that there was strength in unity and weakness in disunion. Just as a tree that did not bear fruit withered, so also would his body be useless if his service could not bear the expected fruit. Whilst this was true, it was equally true that one was bound to work without attachment to fruit. Detachment was more fruitful than attachment. He was merely explaining the logic of facts. A body that had outlived its usefulness would perish giving place to a new one. The soul was imperishable and continued to take on new forms for working out its salvation through acts of service.

## STICK TO YOUR HOMES

Coming to the meeting with the Muslims in that area, Gandhiji said that he advised them to stick to their homes although they might be molested by their Hindu neighbours even unto death. If they had not that wisdom, they were free to shift in order to avoid death. If they could follow his advice, they would serve both Islam and India. Those Hindus and Sikhs who molested them would discredit their religion and do irreparable harm to India. It was sheer madness to think that four crores and a half could be wiped out or banished to Pakistan. Some persons had suggested that he (Gandhiji) wished to do so. He never had any

wish that the Muslim refugees should be reinstated through the police and the military. What, however, he did hold was that when the Hindu and the Sikh anger had subsided, they themselves would bring back the refugees with honour. He did, however, expect the Government to hold the vacated houses in good order and in trust for the evacuees.

## WHEN SHOULD GOVERNMENT RESIGN?

If the Government had not that power, i. e., if the people would not let the Government do the right thing, he would advise them to resign in favour of those who would carry out the mad design to kill out or banish all Muslims from India. He had seen such a suggestion seriously made by a newspaper. This was an advice to commit national suicide and to uproot Hinduism. He wondered if such a newspaper should exist in free India. Was liberty of the Press to amount to license to poison the public mind? People who wanted such a policy to be pursued should ask for the resignation of their Government. The world which, up till now, had looked up to India would certainly cease to do so. In any event, so long as he had breath in his body, he would continue to advise against such utter madness.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 22-9-'47*

## THE DUTY OF OBJECTORS

Though I believe that I was wise in having yielded to a solitary objector and refrained from holding public prayer, it is not improper to examine the incident a little more fully. The prayer was public only in the sense that no member of the public was debarred from attending it. It was on private premises. Propriety required that those only should attend who believed whole-heartedly in the prayer including verses from the *Quran*. Indeed the rule should be applicable to prayer held even on public grounds. A prayer meeting is not a debating assembly. It is possible to conceive prayer meetings of many communities on the same plot of land. Decency requires that those who are opposed to particular prayers would abstain from attending the meetings they object to. The reverse would make any meeting impossible without disturbance. Freedom of worship, even of public speech, would become a farce if interference became the order of the day. In decent society the exercise of this elementary right should not need the protection of the bayonet. It should command universal acceptance.

## HEALTHY TOLERANCE

I have noticed with great joy at the annual sessions of the Congress on its exhibition grounds

several meetings held by religious sects or political parties holding their gatherings, expressing divergent and often diametrically opposite views without molestation and without any assistance from the police. There have been departures from this fundamental rule and they have excited public condemnation. Where is that spirit of healthy toleration gone now? Is it because having gained our political freedom, we are testing it by abusing it? Let us hope it is only a passing phase in the nation's life.

Let me not be told, as I have often been, that it is all due to the misdeeds of the Muslim League. Assuming the truth of the remark, is our toleration made of such poor stuff that it must yield under some uncommon strain? Decency and toleration to be of value must be capable of standing the severest strain. If they cannot, it will be a sad day for India. Let us not make it easy for our critics (we have many) to say that we did not deserve liberty. Many arguments come to my mind in answer to such critics. But they give poor comfort. It hurts my pride as a lover of India, of the teeming millions, that our tolerant and combined culture should not be self-evident.

#### IF INDIA FAILS

If India fails, Asia dies. It has been aptly called the nursery of many blended cultures and civilizations. Let India be and remain the hope of all the exalted races of the earth, whether in Asia, Africa or in any part of the world.

#### UNLICENSED ARMS

This brings me to the bugbear of unlicensed, hidden arms. Some have undoubtedly been found. Driftlets have been coming to me voluntarily. Let them be unearthed by all means. So far as I know, the haul made up-to-date is not much to speak of for Delhi. Hidden arms used to be possessed even during the British regime. No one worried then. By all means explode all the hidden magazines, when you have made sure beyond doubt that they are hidden in a particular place. Let there be no repetition of much cry and little wool. Nor let us apply one code to the British and set up another for ourselves when we profess to be politically free. Let us not call a dog a bad name in order to beat him. After all is said and done, to be worthy of the liberty we have won after sixty years of toil, let us bravely face all the difficulties that confront us, however hard they may be. Facing them squarely will make us fitter and nobler.

#### THE DUTY OF THE MAJORITY

Surely, it is cowardly on the part of the majority to kill or banish the minority for fear that they will all be traitors. Scrupulous regard for the rights of minorities well becomes a majority. Disregard of them makes of a majority a laughing stock. Robust faith in oneself and brave trust of the opponent, so-called or real, is the best safeguard. Therefore, I plead with all the earnestness at my command that all the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims in Delhi should meet together in friendly embrace and set a noble example to the rest of India, shall I say, to the world? Delhi should forget

what other parts of India have done or are doing. Then only will it claim the proud privilege of having broken the vicious circle of private revenge and retaliation. They belong, if they ever do, to the State, never to the citizens as individuals.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 23-9-'47*

#### PUBLIC CONFESSION

Speaking after prayers Gandhiji referred to the apology which Shri Manu Gandhi and Abha Gandhi had read out on the previous day. While they were singing the bhajan during the prayers on Sunday evening, they went out of tune and as a result could not suppress their laughter. It hurt him deeply. It showed that the girls did not realize the importance of prayer. They apologized to Gandhiji afterwards. Apology was unnecessary for he had no anger against them. He was angry with himself that though the girls were brought up under him, he had not impressed them with the necessity of losing themselves in God whilst they were at prayer. He was somewhat relieved when the girls repented. He advised public confession. They gladly accepted the advice. For, he believed that public confession made in sincerity purified the confessor and protected him or her against repetition of the wrong.

#### GEMS OF WISDOM

Recalling the objection to the recitation from the Quran, he said that they were entitled to resent the treatment of the Hindus and the Sikhs in Pakistan. But that should not make them resent recitation from the Quran. The Gita, the Quran, the Bible, the Granth Sahib and the Zend Avasta contained gems of wisdom although the followers might belie their teachings.

#### THE ART OF DYING BRAVELY

Turning to the day's work, Gandhiji said that he had seen a deputation of the Hindus and the Sikhs from Rawalpindi as also from Dera Gazi Khan. The Hindus and the Sikhs had made Rawalpindi what it was. They were all well off there. Today they were refugees without shelter. It hurt him deeply. Who had made modern Lahore as it was if not the Hindus and the Sikhs? They were exiles from their own lands. Similarly, the Muslims had not a little to do with the making of Delhi. Thus all communities had worked together to make India what it was on the 15th of August last. The speaker had no doubt that the Pakistan authorities should assure full protection to the remaining Hindus and Sikhs in every part of Pakistan. It was equally the duty of the two governments to demand such protection for their minorities. He was told that there were still left over 18,000 Hindus and Sikhs in Rawalpindi and 30,000 in the Wah Camp. He would repeat his advice that they should all be prepared to die to a man rather than leave their homes. The art of dying bravely and with honour did not need any special training, save a living faith in God. Then there would be no abductions and no forcible conversions. He knew that they were anxious that he should go to the Punjab at the earliest moment. He wanted to do so. But if he failed in Delhi, it was impossible for him to succeed in Pakistan. For,

he wanted to go to all the parts and provinces of Pakistan under the protection of no escort save God. He would go as a friend of the Muslims as of others. His life would be at their disposal. He hoped that he would cheerfully die at the hands of anyone who chose to take his life. Then he would have done as he advised all to do.

#### HOUSES FOR THE REFUGEES

The refugees had also asked him for houses. He told them that there was the land and the canopy of the sky above their heads. They should be content with such accommodation rather than inhabit the houses forcibly vacated by the Muslims. If they would all work, they could within a day put up necessary shelters. What was more, they could then assuage the anger of the refugees and bring about an atmosphere that would enable him to go to the Punjab at once.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 24-9-'47*

#### THE FRAIL BOAT OF INDIA

Making the *bhajan* sung at the prayers the theme of his post-prayer discourse, Gandhiji said that the refrain of the *bhajan* aptly described the condition of India today. In it the poet invoked God's help to take his frail boat across the ocean.

#### GIVE THE GOVERNMENTS A CHANCE

Today, the spirit of revenge and retaliation filled the atmosphere. The Hindus and the Sikhs in Delhi did not want the Muslims there. If they had been driven away from Pakistan, why should the Muslims have a place in the Indian Union, or in Delhi at least, they argued. It was the Muslim League that had thrown out the gauntlet. Gandhiji agreed that the Muslim League had been wrong to have raised the slogan of '*larkar lenge Pakistan*'. Gandhiji had never believed that such a thing could happen. In fact they could not have succeeded in partitioning the country through force. If the Congress and the British had not agreed, there would be no Pakistan today. Nobody could now go back upon it. The Muslims of Pakistan were entitled to it. Let them for a moment see how they had got independence. The principal fighter was the Congress. The weapon was passive resistance. The British had yielded to India's passive resistance and retired. To undo Pakistan by force would be to undo Swaraj. India had two governments. It was the duty of the citizens to allow the two governments to fight out among themselves. The daily toll of lives was a criminal waste which did nobody any good and did infinite harm.

If the people became lawless and fought among themselves, they would prove that they were unable to digest freedom. If one dominion behaved correctly all along the line, it will force the other to do likewise. It will have the whole world behind it. Surely, they would not like to rewrite Congress history and make the Union a Hindu State in which people of other faiths had no place. He hoped that they would not stultify themselves.

#### JUNAGADH

Let them contemplate what was going on in Junagadh. Was there to be a war between Junagadh

(Continued on p. 361)

## KASTURBA TRUST WORKERS AT WAH CAMP

During the four weeks of my stay at the Wah Camp near Rawalpindi I stayed with the batch of Kasturba Trust girls who had been working in the Camp almost from the beginning. Shrimati Vidya Devi of Sialkot who is affectionately called

'Didi' by all, young and old, had been running a Training Camp of *Gram Sevikas* at Shahadara. She visited the Wah Camp and the riot-affected areas of Rawalpindi soon after the holocaust in March last along with Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru. The scenes that she saw and the tales that she heard gave her a rude shock. She felt that as a Punjabi and as a social worker it was her foremost duty to serve the stricken people of Rawalpindi. With extraordinary drive and persistence, she overcame all obstacles and succeeded in securing permission to come and work in the Wah Camp with a batch of six, five of whom were the Kasturba trainees and the sixth a teacher, Shrimati Krishna Puri of Sialkot. They were rendering most valuable service in the Camp and had naturally become most popular. The hospital at the Wah Camp had a daily average of nearly 150 indoor patients with inadequate nursing arrangements. Prolonged under-nutrition and defective diet had resulted in a high incidence of illness among the refugees. The batch of Kasturba Trust workers rendered valuable help to the medical staff in nursing and distributing fruits and milk to the specified patients fairly and impartially. Outside the hospital they worked the whole day long, to distribute the relief materials fairly. The question of distribution becomes very difficult when there is not enough to satisfy all. It requires judgement and discretion and at the same time a lot of tact and patience. Didi was on her legs from 5 a. m. till 11 p. m. or later every day in spite of her frail health.

Didi had also organized a spinning class and two schools for girls. She had selected her teachers from amongst the refugees and had also selected and trained a batch from among the refugees to help in the hospital. She organized sewing of clothes for the children in the hospital and also washing and refilling of hospital mattresses which had become very dirty. Krishnaji was mostly in charge of distribution of relief materials and one of the doctors often teased her by saying that she was wasting her education and technical skill in distributing oil and soap and shoes and clothes from morn till night. She would laugh and go on with her work with infinite patience.

Besides all these services the Kasturba batch of workers set an example to the refugees in simplicity, industry and community life. It was selfless service of the best type. If the Trust could find a few more organizers like Shrimati Vidya Devi its work is bound to give satisfaction to Kasturba's soul.

New Delhi, 20-9-'47

S N

## HARIJAN

October 5

1947

## HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar writes :

"If the Muslims of the Indian Union affirm their loyalty to the Union, will they accept Hindustani as the national language and learn the *urdu* and *nagari* scripts? Unless you give your clear opinion on this, the work of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha will become very difficult. Cannot Maulana Azad give his clear opinion on the subject?

Kakasaheb says nothing new in his letter. But the subject has acquired added importance at the present juncture. If the Muslims in India own loyalty to India and have chosen to make it their home of their own free will, it is their duty to learn the two scripts. It is said that the Hindus have no place in Pakistan. So they migrate to the Indian Union. In the event of a war between the Union and Pakistan, the Muslims of the Indian Union should be prepared to fight against Pakistan. It is true that there should be no war between the two dominions. They have to live as friends or die as such. The two will have to work in close co-operation. In spite of being independent of each other, they will have many things in common. If they are enemies, they can have nothing in common. If there is genuine friendship, the people of both the States can be loyal to both. They are both members of the same commonwealth of nations. How can they become enemies of each other? But that discussion is unnecessary here.

The Union must have a common inter-provincial speech. I will go a step further and say that if the two States are friends, Hindustani should be the common speech between the two. This does not mean that Urdu and Hindi will cease to exist as distinct forms of speech. They must continue to live and progress. But, if the Hindus and the Muslims or rather people of all religions in India are friends, they must accept a common language evolved from Hindi and Urdu. They should learn the two scripts. This will be a test for the Muslims and the Hindus in the Indian Union.

It would be wrong to say that if the Muslims of the Union refuse to learn the *nagari* script, Hindustani cannot become the national language. Whether the Muslims learn the *nagari* script or not, the Hindus and the people of all other religions ought to learn the two scripts. It is possible that in view of the poisoned atmosphere of the day, people may not appreciate this simple proposition. If the Hindus wish to, they can boycott the *urdu* script and *urdu* words, but all will be the losers thereby. Therefore, those engaged in Hindustani Prachar should not weaken in their faith or efforts. I agree that people like Maulana Azad and other

prominent Muslims of the Indian Union should be the first ones to adopt Hindustani and the two scripts. Who will take the lead if not they? Difficult times lie ahead of us. May God guide us aright.

New Delhi, 27-9-'47

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

## IMPLICATIONS OF FASTING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writes :

"It seems to me that to put your life in jeopardy has become the final and natural remedy for you. Be that as it may, I cannot help thinking that the remedy is akin to keeping a patient alive by administering injections or oxygen to him.

The above reflection proceeds from pain due to affection. Nevertheless, I must say that the writer has not given much thought to his criticism. Many other well-wishers probably entertain the same hasty opinion. Hence this public discussion.

The critic's simile is inapplicable. Administration of injections or oxygen are outward remedies, calculated merely to prolong bodily existence. Therefore, they are properly described as of momentary value. Nothing will be lost if those remedies were not applied. A physical body cannot be made immortal. All that medical skill can do is to prolong the existence for a while. This temporary prolongation confers no lasting benefit.

On the other hand, fasting is never intended to affect another's body. It must affect his heart. Hence it is related to the soul. And in this sense the effect, such as it is, cannot be described as temporary. It is of a permanent character. Whether the fasting person is spiritually fit for the task and whether he has properly applied the remedy is a different matter, irrelevant to the present purpose.

Of all the fasts of which I have recollection, and of which of one only it can be said that though there was no fault in the conception, it was alloyed with external remedy with contra indication. Had this mistake not been made, I have no doubt that its natural, beneficial result would have flown from it as in the others. I refer to the fast I had undertaken in Rajkot against the late Thakore Sahib. I saw my mistake, retraced my step and averted a dangerous crisis. The last was in Calcutta in the current month of September. Admittedly the result was as it should have been. Having reference to the spirit, I regard it as permanent. Time alone would show whether the effect was of a lasting character or not. It must depend upon the purity of the fasting person and the accuracy of his perception. That enquiry would be irrelevant here. Moreover, the fasting man is not competent to undertake the enquiry. It can only be done by a properly equipped impartial person and that too after my death.

New Delhi, 25-9-'47

(Adapted from the original in Gujarati)

## A VISIT TO SARAN

## II

## DISTURBING QUESTIONS

Still the situation is not stable and the happening in Hasanpura shows that it still needs caution, lot of healthy propaganda, and a satisfactory solution to questions that are disturbing the mass mind today. During the various meetings that were held during my tour the following questions were almost invariably asked

## FUTURE OF MINORITIES

Q Will the future of the Muslim minorities in the Indian Union be assured or will it depend upon the caprices of the Pakistan Government over which the Muslims of the Indian Union will have no control?

A. The future of the Hindus and the Muslims of the Indian Union is inescapably intertwined. It will be what we, the Hindus and the Muslims, make of it. Let us, therefore, understand the terrors of the dark alternative so that we may be able to avoid it.

## SEEDS OF WAR

The present situation is by no means an easy one. In spite of all the wishes to the contrary one is constrained to admit that Pakistan continues to be the site of war. It is feared that Pakistan will not be economically self-sufficient. To keep the Pathans and Baluchis under control in the British way will make it economically still more impossible. The non-violent way the League has never accepted. Uncertainty will increase the burden of taxation on the masses. To face the consequence, is to resort to universal armament.

The key of the future lies with us independently of what Pakistan might do. And it is simply in our selfish interest to repay madness of Pakistan, in case it goes mad, with sanity by continuing to treat the minorities with fairness and justice, and we can thus become the arbiters of destiny instead of its victims.

The best protection of the minorities is the goodwill of the majority. This, however, does not mean that the minority should suppress the legitimate instincts. That can only lead to the moral degradation of both the majority and the minority. Therefore, the two should understand and respect each other's cultural and religious feeling, and be anxious to look for and be proud of their underlying unity. They must not blame themselves on their differences exaggerated out of all proportions. It is physically impossible to give effective protection to a pampered minority deliberately flouting the sentiments of the majority. If the minorities stand for and demand justice the majority should grant it in its own interest and the two should develop common links while sharing the responsibility of defending their common motherland. If, however, a certain section of the people, persists in owing allegiance to some other State, by all canons of international law, they can only ask for the consideration shown to an alien. As Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah has said, "One cannot have minorities disloyal to the State and sabotaging the State."

## MASSES THINKING ANEW

Q What are your impressions after the tour of the district?

A. Both in Noakhali and Bihar my impression is that the majority of the people are good. Only they are maddened by selfish leaders so-called. In my tour I felt that the masses are vaguely dissatisfied with these 'leaders'. There must be surely something wrong in the lead they gave, which resulted in the sad happenings.

## POCKETS AND GUN LICENCES

Q What is the use of our saying anything when the Congress Government has rejected our demand of pockets and gun licences, which we regard as the only means of securing our safety?

The latter demand we were told, stood in the way of Mahatma Gandhi's *ahimsa*.

A. Leaving this non-violent point of view alone if Gandhi, had felt that looking at the question from your point of view, they would lead to your security, he would have pleaded for their acceptance. But he knows that your congregating in pockets and arming yourselves can only lead to suspicion and arming of the other side which is much larger in numbers. Your safety lies in their friendship. You cannot have their friendship by pointing a pistol at them.

## COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Q You have said that no Government can afford protection against mass madness. In what way then can the safety of the minority be secured?

A As I have already said, the safety of the minority depends upon the friendship of the majority, which can be based only on understanding and respecting each other's legitimate sentiments, and by friendly adjustments. Now that we have our own Government there must be close co-operation between the authorities and the public. The public should be continuously and carefully educated. This can be best done by dividing a big locality into small *Panchayat* areas. Small bodies working in small units in the direct vicinity of their own hearth and home for the protection of their own kith and kin will be better able to keep watch and be more inclined to undertake responsibility. In return for this responsibility the authorities will act on the advice of the *Panchayat* in arresting the *goonda* elements. The authorities and the public will gain considerably by direct contact, thus avoiding the corruption and the interested falsehood of the staff.

## III

## GOVERNMENT'S SHARE OF THE BLAME

Q Many of the *goondas* are still abroad. How can we say that the Government is serious in its intention to restore law and order?

A. I heard the same complaint in Noakhali. Without attempting to absolve the Government from its inescapable duty, demanded by justice and even self-interest, of arresting culprits, one must attempt to understand its difficulties created by the fear of the public to name the true culprits and by its implicating innocent people under the inspiration of political parties, who are bound to be bailed out or immediately released, leading to a further charge against the Government of conspiracy with the criminals.



Our officers again, and especially our lower officers, are not of the best stuff. Having been recruited from undesirable strata of society or imbued with wrong psychology to suppress the national movement. The machinery of the Government too, is wooden, not easily adjustable to meet an emergency.

It must, however, be admitted that our Governments do not fully realize the emergency of the situation and the grave ultimate consequences of its slipshod handling. Else, they would have geared up the machinery anyhow to meet the situation as they did in the time of the last war. But it is one thing to say that the Government is not making an all-out effort because of faulty gauging of the situation, and another thing to accuse it of intentional neglect, even positive hostility to the solution of the problem which is implied in the question.

#### COMPROMISING CASES

Q. Cases against a very large number of the population are pending, which is not conducive to the restoration of healthy relations. Would you not suggest their withdrawal?

A. There can be no question of the withdrawal of cases against those guilty of murder or offence against women except when the culprit makes a clean confession of his guilt as a mark of true repentance and the complainant forgives him. Otherwise, it should be the duty of the State to bring such culprits to book.

Cases against others should be withdrawn, both the communities wishing it. It is impossible to punish everyone involved in mass madness.

#### MUSLIMS AS FIFTH COLUMNISTS?

Q. What should we do if the Muslims act as fifth columnists in our midst?

A. You should make it impossible for them, by your actions, to act as such. Your affection and fair treatment will considerably reduce their number if right action does not altogether eradicate the evil.

#### HINDI OR HINDUSTANI?

Q. Will the future lingua franca be Hindi or Hindustani?

A. If we clear our vision of a sectarian outlook and look at the question scientifically, we will ourselves come to the conclusion that in our own interest we should keep the lingua franca of India as Hindustani, being neither *sanskritized* Hindi nor *persianized* Urdu, but a beautiful blend of the two and freely borrowing words from various Indian languages, and even foreign languages, for the sake of their meaning, music or association provided they harmonize with the general structure of our language, thus making it a varied and powerful instrument for the expression of the whole gamut of human thought and feeling. To restrict ourselves to Hindi or Urdu alone would be an offence against commonsense and nationalism. The English language is the richest in the world because it borrowed from all. If England could borrow from Italy, Greece, Germany etc., one fails to understand the hesitation to receive words from Persian or Arabic, the grammatical structure remaining untouched. And why should anybody fight shy of two scripts?

#### DUTY IN ELECTIONS

Q. What should we do if the Congress sets up worthless candidates?

A. If the Congress continues to set up worthless candidates in spite of protests, your plain duty is to resign the membership of the Congress and oppose it openly in the interest of the organization itself. But the sacred right of the individual to rebel must be exercised with the utmost caution, without any bitterness or selfish motive. Such a man, even when outside will continue to serve the Congress in all things in which he honestly agrees with it, as Gandhi, himself has been doing ever since his resignation from the Congress organization.

If party bosses do not take care of the great organization, it becomes the duty of the common man to shake it and rebuild it from below. The common man is our only hope. All those who can escape the love of glamour and power should go into the villages and awaken the masses into the consciousness of their power and responsibility.

Patna, 15-7-47

DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

#### LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRIES AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

I have been constantly pointing out that work is a medium of education. It is through work that man expresses himself and learns more about the environment and the science of what he is doing. When properly directed work should be the main channel through which a human being develops to his full stature. It is from this principle that the Talim Sangh is developing its technique of education through a craft.

It follows from this that if work is not given in a fully balanced form, the development of the worker also will become eccentric or lop-sided. Evidence of this can be looked for in countries where large-scale industries have replaced handicrafts. The best illustration of such a state of affairs is to be found in the United States of America. In a volume of *Five-Minute Biographies* by Dale Carnegie the following observation appears (page 55).

There are more patients suffering from senses in the hospitals of America than from other diseases combined. One student out of every 10 at school here today will spend part of his life in an insane asylum. If you are 15 years of age, the chances are 1 out of 30 that you will be confined in an institution for the mentally ill for 7 years of your life. During the last decade mental diseases have almost doubled. If this appalling rate of increase continues for another century, half the entire population will be in the insane asylums and the other half will be outside trying to support them by taxes.

The truth of the above statement has been constantly vouched for by references to the state of affairs in the Health magazines, etc. The only trouble is that the writers rarely seek for the causes.

We hope, therefore, that when India is to be reconstructed, our planners will keep in mind the needs of the human being — body, mind and spirit — apart from the material needs of the animal man. Unless our plan is comprehensive of these various aspects of human development, our planning will be not only futile but derogatory to the progress of mankind.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## IS IT ASCETICISM?

The way of life advocated by Gandhiji is often attributed to the strain of the ascetic in him. Because of this the mode of life advocated stands discredited. If properly understood it would be seen that the need for simplicity is the basis of any economy aiming at permanence. During my recent visit to Europe nothing impressed me so much as the fact that the force of circumstances is driving the people of aristocratic England to simplify their lives willy-nilly.

Owing to Great Britain's dependence on the outside world for food, she is compelled to forego many imported consumer goods in favour of food and to pay for these, she is obliged to export cloth and other manufactured articles, even though these goods may be in short supply in Britain itself. As a result of this, one finds hardly any woman wearing stockings and I was amazed to find young men riding about, on bicycles in the streets of London in bathing slips, with not a stitch of clothing above the waist. These are no followers of the Mahatma! And they wear less than he does. In the days of old, if any one attempted to go about in such stages of nudity, such a person would be promptly arrested as being indecent by law.

The high rates of wages prevailing have practically made it impossible to employ household servants. This situation combined with the scarcity of soap has made sending of clothes to be washed by laundries a luxury, open to but a few. Existing laundries will not undertake to wash a shirt under a fortnight. This situation leads those who want to be reasonably clean to wash their own clothes. Such are no *ashramites* devoted to a philosophy of self-sufficiency!

The shortage in food has led to heroic efforts to supplement the available supplies. In our own land, "heroic efforts" seem to dry up with the advertisements of the "grow more food" campaign. But in Britain one sees every back yard, which not so long ago was littered with rubbish, turned into vegetable patches growing potatoes, cabbages, cauliflower, lettuce etc. The householder returns from work and rolling up his sleeve attends to his vegetable garden. Is this return to working on the land "putting the clock back"?

With all this the middle and working classes look well-fed and better clothed than they were ever before. Compared with their condition about three to four decades ago, they are definitely better off. Wars have certainly conduced towards a better distribution of wealth.

The Government subsidizes certain food articles needed by the general population to the extent of about fifty per cent and in some cases even higher. This programme has taken the business out of the hands of the blackmarketeer. Can our Government take a leaf out of this? Though the food is rationed, every one is ensured a balanced diet. May it not be that the rationing has, by controlling overeating and bad dieting, brought about the better health conditions of the people?

When we rationally simplify our lives to serve greater ends, we need not be fanatics or ascetics. London has been driven to the Gandhian mode of life by circumstances beyond its control. Is it not noble to anticipate such conditions and regulate our lives accordingly?

It is astounding to note the scarcity of ordinary consumption goods in Great Britain and Europe after strenuously attempting to produce goods and more goods by standardization and large scale production methods for over 150 years. With all that human effort it we can get only to where Europe is today, is it worthwhile India going the same insensate way of "industrialization"?

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## NAI TALIM IN FREE INDIA

The whole nation was looking forward to August 15th with great expectations and thrilling enthusiasm as on that day India was to gain her long fought for freedom and independence. The universal rejoicing that swept like a strong gale over the whole country came as a surprise even to the leaders. The enthusiasm and vital energy released by the realization of freedom from foreign rule and power to shape the destiny of the nation, should be harnessed without delay into channels of constructive and creative efforts for the renaissance of a land that is noble and great in the undying soul of the nation. Fortunately, Gandhiji had already given the lead to the country through the constructive programme which has been worked by various organisations with varying degrees of success.

In the nation-building programme education, particularly free education for the children of school-going age, 6 to 14, should have high priority. Praiseworthy efforts have been made to establish educational institutions that could inculcate the spirit of freedom, service and sacrifice. But all these efforts have achieved very little in the shape of free and independent personalities devoted to the service of the suffering, poverty-stricken masses in the villages. The chief reason for such a sad state of affairs was the political slavery of the nation.

Education is essentially a social process. A society that has the freedom to evolve and shape its own political, social and economic structure alone can impart a sound education with the noble ideals of freedom, service and sacrifice.

Today we are on the threshold of such a new era. We may confidently hope that a new life and a new inspiration will animate the education of the nation and qualified workers will devote their lives to this urgent and difficult task.

Ten years ago, Gandhiji with his far-sighted vision placed before the country an educational programme designed to meet the demands of a free nation. For instance, let us take one item of this new scheme of education called *Nai Talim*. According to Gandhiji, *Nai Talim* begins with *swasatya* (hygiene), personal and community.

Reports have come from villages around Sevagram, where *Nai Talim* began eight years ago, of the spontaneous organization of the entire village

population for cleaning the villages and removing rubbish and filth accumulated during many years. Such manual work was considered *infra dig* and held to be the vocation assigned by Providence to the depressed community of scavengers and sweepers. But through the self-respect and self-confidence that came with the realization of freedom, the people developed overnight a sanitary and social sense. The uncalculable forces of mass energy and effort released by the realization of genuine freedom with all the concomitant duties and responsibilities should be harnessed for spreading *Nai Talim* on a nation-wide scale. It is our hope that the provincial governments will embark on such a campaign for introducing *Nai Talim*, which alone can meet the crying needs of the nation and save the masses from the present standard of living which is far below human values of decency and dignity.

Sevagram, 17-9-'47

E. W. ARYANAYAKAM

## HATRED LET LOOSE AT HIROSHIMA

[A British team went to Japan to report on the results of the atomic-bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima. Dr Bronowski, scientific member of the team, gave an account of his impressions on a B. B. C. broadcast published in *London Evening* of March 13, 1947 and summarized below. V. G. D.]

The bomb exploded over the centre of the city (of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945), and completely destroyed in that instant all but the concrete buildings over a circle containing more than four square miles. . . . Within this circle remained the peak of the spectacular wake of the blast, leaning telegraph poles, sagging buildings, and more than a mile from the centre of damage, a whole park of trees each snapped near the ground. . . .

I have told you how deep is the impression which destruction . . . on this scale makes, . . . but so far what I have described is remarkable only in its scale. The damage is still of the same kind as that done by ordinary high-explosive bombs; it is merely enormously larger. As our mission calculated, it is blast damage on the scale which the toy town of Lilliput in *Gulliver's Travels* would have suffered had there been exploded above it a bomb twice as large as the largest R. A. F. block buster.

But there is to be seen . . . a new effect which ordinary bombs do not show. At the moment of explosion the atomic bomb releases energy in vast quantities. This great flash of energy radiates outwards on many wave-lengths, a great deal of it takes the form of visible light and ultra-violet light: that is why the flash appeared so enormously bright, and could (at least for a time) blind people who happened to look directly at it even from many miles away. Like the light from the sun, this . . . light carries heat and darkens the skin.

But unlike the sun, the bomb packs this great heat into something like a thousandth of a second. This time is too short to allow the resulting heat to be carried away from the skin or other exposed surfaces. As a result, it is possible for the skin of

a man two miles away to rise by 100 degrees Fahrenheit in a thousandth of a second, that is, to reach, in that instant, a temperature not far short of boiling water. . . .

This radiated heat certainly helped to start the fires in Hiroshima . . . but its most serious effect, was, of course, on people in the open: very many of them died from such flash burns—those near the centre, whose skin instantly turned black, died almost at once. . . .

There is a third effect, which is certainly the newest and the most serious of all—radio-activity.

I have already spoken of the great flash of energy which is released at the moment of the explosion. Much of this energy is radiated on very short wave-lengths, shorter even than those of X-rays, and correspondingly more penetrating and more damaging to human beings.

This . . . radiation is called gamma rays.

(It) was almost instant and ended within a few seconds of the explosion but it did not kill its victims instantly. . . . The damage which it does is to the bone marrow, where normally the cells in the blood-stream are replenished as the body uses them up. When the bone marrow is destroyed, the red and white cells already in the blood-stream and other cells go on functioning quite normally but they are not replaced. Consequently the victim does not even feel ill for a day or two, and rarely dies in less than a week—sometimes he survives for six or eight weeks.

But from the moment that he has been struck by the penetrating radio-active flash, he is almost certainly doomed. If appropriate treatment is not given, he will die from anaemia because his red blood-cells are not being replaced; he will die from slight infections which will not heal because his white blood-cells are not being replaced or from continuous haemorrhage because the platelets which thicken the blood are not being replaced.

No estimate can be made of the number of people killed by this flash of gamma rays, . . . Even at three-quarters of a mile, one out of every two people exposed to gamma rays ultimately died. Gamma rays were also responsible for the great aftermath of miscarriages: there were few live births . . . for two months and more after the explosion. . . . Gamma rays reduced the powers of reproduction of irradiated men and women.

I have been telling you how people died and you will ask how many died. At Nagasaki, the smaller city, where the bomb exploded away from the main centre of the population, nearly 40,000 people were killed. This is a great many more than were killed in all air raids on London. At Hiroshima one bomb killed about 80,000 people, far more than were killed by air raids throughout the war in the whole of England. In each city, of every four people who were half a mile from the centre of damage at the instant of the explosion three were killed, of every four people who were a mile from the centre of damage one was killed.

## GANDHI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

(Continued from p. 355)

on the one hand and almost all the other Kathiawad States on the other? If the rest of the Princes and the people truly combined, he had no doubt that Junagadh would not stand aloof from the other States of Kathiawad. For this the rule of law was absolutely essential.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 25-9-'47*

## DUTY OF THE UNION GOVERNMENT

Someone passed a slip to Gandhi before the prayers started. In this he had stated that the Pakistan Government was driving away the Hindus and the Sikhs from Pakistan. Gandhi advised the Indian Union Government to let the Muslims stay in the Indian Union as equal citizens. How could the Union Government bear this double burden?

Answering this question after prayers Gandhi said that he did not propose that the Indian Union Government should ignore the ill treatment of the Hindus and the Sikhs in Pakistan. They were bound to do their utmost to save them. But the answer was undoubtedly not that they were to drive away the Muslims and copy the reputed methods of Pakistan. Those who wished to go to Pakistan of their own free will should be safely conducted to the border. To ensure the safety of the Hindus and the Sikhs in Pakistan, was the duty of the Indian Union Government. But for that the Government should be given a free hand and should receive the full and sincere co-operation of every Indian. It was no co-operation for the citizen to take the law into his own hands. Our independence was a baby of one month and ten days. If they continued the mad career of retaliation, they would kill the baby even in its babyhood.

## VICTORY OF DHARMA

Gandhi narrated the story of the *Ramayana*. The uneven battle between the mighty Ravana and the exile Rama was won by the latter by strict adherence to *dharma*. If both sides indulged in lawlessness, who could point the finger against the other? The question of degree, or who started it, could not justify their behaviour.

## PENALTY OF TREACHERY

They were brave men. They had stood up against the mighty British Empire. Why had they become weak today? The brave feared none but God. If the Muslims prove traitors, their treachery would kill them. It was the biggest offence in any State. No State could harbour traitors. But it was unbecoming to turn out men on suspicion.

## DUTY OF THE POLICE AND THE MILITARY

He had heard that the military and the police were taking sides with the Hindus in the Indian Union and with the Muslims in Pakistan. It hurt him deeply to be told so. They could not usefully think of what they were capable of doing when they were under foreign masters. Today, they, including the British officers, were servants of the nation. They were expected to be above corruption or partiality.

To the people he appealed not to fear the police and the military. After all they were too few compared to the millions inhabiting their vast country. If the millions were correct in their conduct, the police and the military could not but act likewise.

## HOW TO QUENCH THE FLAMES

Gandhi told them of his meeting the Governor-General during the day. Later on he had met prominent workers and citizens of all the communities from Delhi and after that he attended the Working Committee meeting. Everywhere the same problem was discussed: how to quench the flames of hatred and revenge. It was for man to put forth his best effort, the result could then be confidently placed in the hands of God, who only helped those who helped themselves.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 26-9-'47*

Before the prayers started Gandhi asked as usual whether anyone had any objection to his reciting the prayers including some verses from the *Quran*. A young man said that he should omit the recitation from the *Quran*. Gandhi replied that he could not do that. But he was willing to omit the whole prayer. The audience said that they did not wish that and wanted the whole prayer. Thereupon, the objector became silent.

## THE GRANTHA SAHEB

Gandhi said that during the day he had a visit from some Sikh friends, followers of Baba Khadak Singh. They said that the present butchery was contrary to Sikh religion and in fact was inconsistent with any religion. One of them gave a striking verse from the *Grantha Sahib* wherein Guru Nanak says that God may be called by the name of Allah, Rahim and so on. The name did not matter if He was enshrined in their hearts. Guru Nanak's efforts like those of Kabir had been directed towards synthesizing the various religions. He had forgotten to bring the verse which he had got written down in order to share it with them. He would bring it the next day.

## GANDHI'S AMBITION

Pandit Thakur Datt of Lahore had come to him and narrated his tale of woe. He wept as he was giving the narrative. He had felt forced to leave Lahore. He said that he believed in what Gandhi had said about dying at one's place in Pakistan rather than be bullied out, but he had lacked the strength to follow that sound advice. He was willing to go back and face death. Gandhi did not want him to do that. But he said that he wanted him and all the other Hindu and Sikh friends to help him in restoring real peace in Delhi. Then he would proceed to Western Pakistan with fresh strength. He would go to Lahore, Rawalpindi, Sheikhupura and other places in Western Punjab, he would go to N. W. F. P. and to Sind. He was the servant and well-wisher of all. He was sure no one would prevent him from going anywhere. And he would not go with a military escort. He would put his life in the hands of the people. He would not rest till every Hindu and Sikh who had

been driven away from Pakistan returned to his home with honour and dignity.

#### A MATTER OF SHAME

Pandit Thakur Datt was a well-known *vaidya*. He had a large number of Muslims as his patients and friends whom he treated free of charge. It was a shame that he should have had to leave Lahore. In the same way, Hakim Ajmal Khan had served Hindus and Muslims alike in Delhi. He had started the Tibbia College, which was opened by Gandhiji. It would be a shame if the descendants of Hakim Ajmal Khan should have to quit Delhi and the Tibbia College. All Muslims could not be traitors. Those who proved traitors would be dealt with severely by the Government.

#### INJUSTICE MUST NOT BE TOLERATED

He had been an opponent of all warfare. But if there was no other way of securing justice from Pakistan, if Pakistan persistently refused to see its proved error and continued to minimize it, the Indian Union Government would have to go to war against it. War was not a joke. No one wanted war. That way lay destruction. But he could never advise anyone to put up with injustice. If all the Hindus were annihilated for a just cause, he would not mind it. If there was a war, the Hindus in Pakistan could not be fifth columnists there. No one would tolerate that. If their loyalty lay not with Pakistan, they should leave it. Similarly, the Muslims whose loyalty was with Pakistan should not stay in the Indian Union. To secure justice for the Hindus and the Sikhs was the function of the Government. The people could make the Government do their will. As for Gandhiji himself, his way was different. He worshipped God, which was Truth and *Ahimsa*.

#### HINDUS ALONE CAN DESTROY HINDUISM

There was a time when India listened to him. Today he was a back-number. He was told he had no place in the new order, where they wanted machines, navy, air force and what not. He could never be a party to that. If they could have the courage to say that they would retain freedom with the help of the same force with which they had won it, he was their man. His physical incapacity and his depression would vanish in a moment. The Muslims were reported to have said *hans ke liya Pakistan, larke lenge Hindustan*. If he had his way, he would never let them have it by force of arms. Some dreamt of converting the whole of India to Islam. That never would happen through war. Pakistan could never destroy Hinduism. The Hindus alone could destroy themselves and their faith. Similarly, if Islam was destroyed, it would be destroyed by the Muslims in Pakistan, not by the Hindus in Hindustan.

#### TRUTH ALONE IS VICTORIOUS

Referring to the question asked by a member of the audience at the end of the prayers the day before Gandhiji said that the friend had asked him to work a miracle and save India and the Hindus and the Sikhs if he was really a *mahatma*. Gandhiji had never claimed to be a *mahatma*. He was an

ordinary human being like any one of them, except that he was much frailer. The only difference in his favour might be that his faith in God was perhaps stronger than theirs. If all Indians—Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis, Muslims and Christians—were prepared to lay down their lives for the sake of India, India could never come to harm. He wanted them to remember what the *rishi* had said, *satyameva jayate nanrutam* (सत्यमेव जयते नानृतम्), Truth alone is victorious, never falsehood.

Birla House, New Delhi, 27-9-'47

#### RAMA, THE SUPREME PHYSICIAN

Gandhiji referred to the newspaper paragraph about his illness. It had appeared, he said, without his knowledge and it had hurt him. The illness was not such as to interrupt his work and he was already feeling better. It should not have been given so much importance. Dr. Dinshah Mehta had been described as his personal physician. That was wrong. He had told Gandhiji that he was not responsible for the description. Dr. Dinshah had come to him at his call, but it was not to attend on him as a physician. He had come because he was troubled by spiritual questions. Dr. Mehta was a Nature Cure man. He was Gandhiji's friend who had often helped him. But Gandhiji did not need his assistance as such.

Dr. Sushila Nayyar, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Dr. B. C. Roy, Dr. Gilder and the Late Dr. Anvari had been his personal physicians. But none of them had ever given anything to the press without first showing it to him. Today, his only physician was his Rama. As the *bhajan* sung during the prayers had said, He was the curer for all ills, physical, mental and moral. This realization in a concrete form had come to him during his contemplation with Dr. Dinshah Mehta of Nature Cure. In it *Ramanama* in his opinion had the first place. He who had Rama installed in the heart required no other aid. Even earth and water treatment was unnecessary for one possessed by Rama. That was the advice he gave to others in need. It would become him if he followed any other course.

There were great *hakims*, *vaidyas* and doctors who had served humanity for the sake of service. There had been the great Dr. Joshi in Delhi who had served the Hindus and the Muslims, rich and poor all alike. He served the poor free and even gave them food and money for return fare. But having gained the knowledge that he had, he wanted to fall back upon none but God.

#### GRANTH SAHEB RECALLED

Then Gandhiji read the verse from the *Granth Sahib* to which he had referred the previous evening. It was Guru Arjun Dev's composition but like so many *bhajans* in the Hindu scriptures, the followers of the saints, even while they wrote the verses themselves, often attributed them to their *gurus*. The verse affirms that man calls God by many names—Rama, Khuda etc. Some go on a pilgrimage and bathe in the sacred river, others go to Mecca, some worship Him in temples, others in mosques, some just bow their heads in reverence, some read

the *Vedas*, others the *Quran*; some dress in blue, others in white, some call themselves Hindus, others Muslims. Nanak says that he who truly follows God's law, knows His secret. This teaching was universal in Hinduism. It was difficult, therefore, to understand the madness that wanted to turn four and a half crores of Muslims out of India.

#### WAS IT A BLUNDER ?

The speaker then referred to a letter from an Arya Samajist friend who said that while the Congress had already committed three blunders, they were now committing a fourth one of the highest magnitude. This lay in their desire to reinstate the Muslims in Hindustan side by side with the Hindus and Sikhs. Gandhiji said that while he was not speaking for the Congress he dared to say that he himself was perfectly prepared to commit the supposed blunder referred to by the correspondent. Supposing Pakistan had gone mad, were they to do likewise ? That indeed would be a blunder and a crime of the first magnitude. He was sure that when the insanity had died down, they would realize that he was right and they were wrong.

#### MONSTROUS INTOLERANCE AND INTERFERENCE

Gandhiji then referred with regret to what he had heard from the Rajkumari. She was now in charge of the Health portfolio. She was a Christian and on that account claimed to be a Sikh and a Hindu as well. She tried to look after the welfare of all the camps whether they were Muslim or Hindu. She collected a band of Christian girls and men to serve the Muslim camps. Now, some angry and senseless persons were threatening the Christians and many of them had left their homes. This was monstrous. He was glad to learn from the Rajkumari that in one place the Hindus had guaranteed protection to the poor Christians and he hoped that they would all soon be able to return to their homes in peace and be allowed to carry on their service to sick and suffering humanity without any molestation.

#### HAD HIS FAITH WEAKENED ?

Newspapers had displayed his remarks about war in such a way that there was an enquiry from Calcutta whether he had really begun to advocate war. He was wedded to non-violence for all time and could never advocate war. In a State run by him there would be no police and no military. But he was not running the Government of the Indian Union. He had merely pointed out the various possibilities. India and Pakistan should settle their differences by mutual consultations and failing that fall back upon arbitration. But if one party persisted in wrong doing and would accept neither of the two ways mentioned above, the only way left open was that of war. They should know the circumstances that prompted his remark. In almost all his prayer speeches in Delhi, he had to tell the people not to take the law into their own hands, but let their Government secure justice for them. He put before them the logical steps which excluded lynch law. The latter would make decent government impossible.

That did not mean that his faith in non-violence had weakened in the least degree.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 28-9-'47*

#### MR. CHURCHILL'S INDISCRETION

This evening there was a larger audience than usual. Gandhiji asked if there was any one who objected to the prayer with the special verses from the *Holy Quran*. Two members of the audience raised their hands in protest and Gandhiji said he would respect their objection although he knew that it would be a sore disappointment to the rest of the audience. However, he told the objectors that although, as a firm believer in non-violence, he could not do otherwise, he could not help remarking that it was highly improper for them to flout the wishes of the very big majority against them. They should realize from the remarks that were to follow that the intolerance that the objectors were betrayed into was a symptom of the distemper which was visible in the country and which had prompted the very bitter remarks from Mr. Winston Churchill. The speaker then paraphrased in his Hindustani speech the following summary cabled by Reuter which had appeared in the morning papers :

'Mr. Churchill declared in a speech on tonight that the fearful massacres which were occurring in India were no surprise to him.

'We are, of course, only at the beginning of these horrors and barbaries, perpetrated upon one another with the ferocity of cannibals by races gifted with capacities for the highest culture and who had for generations dwelt side by side in general peace under the broad, tolerant and impartial rule of the British Crown and Parliament,' he declared.

I cannot but doubt that the future will witness a vast abridgement of the population throughout what has for 60 or 70 years been the most peaceful part of the world and that at the same time will come a retrogression of civilization throughout these enormous regions, constituting one of the most melancholy tragedies Asia has ever known.

They all knew that Mr. Churchill was himself a great man. He belonged to the blue blood of England. The Marlboroughs were famous in English history. He took the helm when Great Britain was in peril on the outbreak of the Second World War. He undoubtedly saved what was then the Empire from that peril. It would be wrong to argue that without America and the other allies, Great Britain would not have won the war. Who brought the powers together if it was not his energetic statesmanship ? After the war was won, the great nation whom he so brilliantly represented, whilst recognizing Mr. Churchill's services, did not hesitate to prefer a purely Labour Government for the purpose of reconstructing the British Isles which had had to pay a heavy toll of life and money. The British rose to the occasion, decided voluntarily to break the Empire and erect in its place an unseen and more glorious empire of hearts. The speaker

referred to the voluntary declaration of India, though broken into two parts, as willing members of the Commonwealth. This noble step was taken by the whole British nation, consisting of all parties. In this act Mr. Churchill and his party were partners. Whether the future would justify the step or not was a different matter, irrelevant to the speaker's thesis, which was that Mr. Churchill, being associated with the act of transformation, would be expected to say or do nothing that would diminish its virtue. Surely, there was nothing in modern history to be compared with the British withdrawal of power. He recalled the renunciation of Ashoka the Good, to see whom was to be the proud possessor of good fortune. But Ashoka was incomparable and did not belong to modern history. Gandhi, therefore, was sorry to read the Reuter's summary of Mr. Churchill's speech which he presumed was not misinterpreted by the renowned agency. Mr. Churchill had rendered a disservice to the nation of which he was a great servant. If he knew the fate that would befall India after she became free from the British yoke, did he for a moment stop to think that the blame belonged to the builders of the Empire rather than to the "races" in his opinion "gifted with capacities for the highest culture"? Gandhi suggested that Mr. Churchill was over-hasty in his sweeping generalization. India was composed of teeming millions in which a few lacs turned savages counted for little. He made bold to invite Mr. Churchill to come to India and study things for himself not as a partisan with preconceived notions but as an impartial honest Englishman who put honour before party and who was intent on making the British transaction a glorious success. Great Britain's unique action would be judged by results. Dismemberment of India constituted an unconscious invitation to the two parts to fight among themselves. The free grant of independence to the two parts as sister dominions seemed to taint the gift. It was useless to say that either dominion was free to secede from the British family of nations. It was easier said than done. He must not carry the argument further. He had said sufficient to show why Mr. Churchill had to be more circumspect than he had been. He had condemned his partners before he had studied the situation first hand. To the audience which listened to him, he would say, that many of the listeners had provided a handle to Mr. Churchill. It was not too late to mend their manners and falsify Mr. Churchill's forebodings. He knew that his was a voice in the wilderness. If it was not and if it had the potency which it had before the talks of independence began, he knew that nothing of the savagery described with so much relish and magnified by Mr. Churchill would ever have happened and they would have been on a fair way to solving their economic and other domestic difficulties.

## GOVERNMENT RESEARCHES FOR WHOM?

The Central Government has taken out patents for

- 1 Production of gum tamarind as suitable substitute for gum tragacanth or carob seed gum from tamarind seed.
- 2 Production of suitable sizing material for the cotton and jute yarns in the textiles industry.
- 3 Production of coagulating agent for concentration of rubber latex from tamarind kernel powder, as a result of investigations carried out at the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun. Now they are willing to grant non-exclusive licences to all manufacturing firms who may be interested to exploit the above patents on certain terms.

We presume the researches were carried out at the expense of public money and, therefore, the public has a right to see that the results of such researches enrich the tax-payer. Hence, such patents as the Government may take out will be to safeguard private individuals taking advantage of knowledge obtained at public cost. It would seem to us, therefore, that the offer of non-exclusive licences to private individuals or firms to exploit these patents is wrong in principle.

We are not aware of the method of manufacture involved in these processes. If they have to be of use to the general public, the research workers should concentrate on methods that would be available to the crores of people. Tamarind seed is a commonly procurable raw-material and, therefore, utilization of this especially for the purposes indicated, should also be done by such processes as are within the reach of the millions. If the processes that have been obtained are such, then the Government should disseminate this knowledge widely and make available the benefits of the scientific information obtained to the remotest parts of the country. Broadcasting such information is the duty of the Government and not covering it up with a bushel from the reach of the people who have paid for this knowledge.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## WOMEN AND SOCIAL INJUSTICE

[Third enlarged Edition]

By Gandhi

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

*Birla House, New Delhi, 29-9-47*

### FRUIT OF FRATRICIDE

My reference to the possibility of a war between the two sister dominions seems, I am told, to have produced a scare in the West. I do not know what reports were sent outside by newspaper correspondents. Summaries are always a dangerous enterprise except when they truly reflect the speaker's opinion. An unwarranted summary of a pamphlet I had written about South Africa in 1896 nearly cost me my life. It was so hopelessly unwarranted that within twentyfour hours of my being lynched European opinion in South Africa was turned from anger into contrition that an innocent man was made to suffer for no fault that he had committed. The moral I wish to draw from the foregoing version is that no one should be held responsible for what he has not said or done.

I hold that not a single mention of war in my speeches can be interpreted to mean that there was any incitement to or approval of war between Pakistan and the Union unless mere mention of it is to be taboo. We have among us the superstition that the mere mention of a snake ensures its appearance in the house in which the mention is made even by a child. I hope no one in India entertains such superstition about war.

I claim that I rendered a service to both the sister States by examining the present situation and definitely stating when the cause of war could arise between the two States. This was done not to promote war but to avoid it as far as possible. I endeavoured, too, to show that if the insensate murders, loot and arson by people continued, they would force the hands of their Governments. Was it wrong to draw public attention to the logical steps that inevitably followed one after another?

India knows, the world should, that every ounce of my energy has been and is being devoted to the definite avoidance of fratricide culminating in war. When a man vowed to non-violence as the law governing human beings dares to refer to war, he can only do it so as to strain every nerve to avoid it. Such is my fundamental position from which I hope never to swerve even to my dying day.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 30-9-47*

### DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT

Gandhiji said that some friends from Mianwali had seen him during the day. They were worried about their friends left behind. In this way thousands upon thousands were still in various places

in Pakistan. Friends from Mianwali told him that they were afraid that those who were left behind might either be forcibly converted, murdered or starved and the women abducted. They asked if it was not the duty of the Union Government to protect them. It was the same story from other parts. Gandhiji agreed that it was the duty of the Government to give protection to those who looked up to it or resign. It was for the people to strengthen the hands of the Government.

There were two ways of protecting the minorities in Pakistan. The best way was that Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah and his ministers should inspire the minorities with confidence as to their safety so that they might not have to look to the sister dominion. It was up to the Pakistan authorities to keep the vacated properties in trust for the evacuees. Surely there should be no forcible conversions nor abductions. Even a little girl, Muslim or Hindu, should feel perfectly safe in the Union or in Pakistan. And there should be no attack on anyone's religion. In democracy the people could make or mar the Government. They could strengthen it or weaken it. Without discipline they would be able to achieve nothing.

### INDIVIDUAL'S CAPACITY

As for himself, he must repeat even at the risk of irritating them that it lay in one's own hands to protect one's religion. Every child should be educated to lay down his or her life for his or her religion. They all knew the story of Prahlad and how he stood up against his own father at the age of 12 for the sake of his faith. Every religion was replete with such heroic instances. He had given the same education to his children. He was not the custodian of his children's religion. It was wrong to call women weak. No woman who was firm in her faith need fear any attack on her honour or her faith. The Government should offer them protection. But supposing the Government failed, would they change their faith as they changed clothes?

### INDIAN MUSLIMS

Referring to the wanton attacks on Muslims Gandhiji asked who were the Muslims of India? The vast majority had not come from Arabia. A few had come from outside. But the crores were converts from Hinduism. He would not mind intelligent conversion. The so-called untouchables and shudras were converted not by an appeal to reason. The responsibility was their own. By giving place to untouchability in Hindu religion and by oppressing the so-called untouchables, they had forced them into the arms of Islam. It was

unbecoming on their part to kill or oppress those brothers and sisters.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 1-10-47*

#### FIELD OF SERVICE IS UNLIMITED

Speaking after prayers Gandhiji said that a sister had handed a note to him the previous evening in which she had said that both she and her husband were anxious to serve, but no one told them what to do. Gandhiji said that there were several such complaints. He had one and the same reply for all of them. The field of service unlike that of authority was unlimited. It was as vast as the earth itself. It could take in an unlimited number of workers. For instance, the city of Delhi had never been ideally clean. With the influx of refugees the sanitation had become poorer still. The sanitation of the various refugee camps was far from satisfactory. Anyone was free to take up that work. Even if they could not get to the refugee camps, they could clean their own surroundings and that was bound to affect the whole city. No one should look to anyone else to give directions. To physical cleanliness he added cleanliness of mind and spirit. This was a big job and pregnant with great possibilities.

#### CONDITIONS FOR PEACE

He had been to a meeting of the prominent citizens of Delhi convened by Baba Bachitter Singh. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was to address it. But he had asked to be excused as Liaquat Ali Saheb had come to confer with him and he had to attend the meeting of the Congress Working Committee at 4 p. m. and a Cabinet meeting at 5 p. m. Baba Bachitter Singh, therefore, asked Gandhiji to address the invitees and Gandhiji agreed to do so. The (the speaker) had invited brief questions. A friend got up and practically delivered a speech. The substance of it was that the citizens of Delhi were ready to live in peace with the Muslims, provided they were loyal to the Union and surrendered all arms and ammunition which they possessed without licence. There could be no two opinions that those who wished to live in the Union must be loyal to the Union whatever may be their faith and they should surrender unlicensed arms unsolicited. But he asked the friend to add a third condition to the two mentioned by him (the friend) and that was to leave the execution of the conditions mentioned by him to the Government.

#### INDIVIDUAL RETALIATION NO REMEDY

There were about 50,000 Muslim refugees in the Purana Qila and some more on the Humayun's tomb grounds. The conditions of life were none too pleasant there. To justify their suffering by stating the sufferings of the Hindu and the Sikh refugees in Pakistan and even in the Indian Union was wrong. The Hindus and the Sikhs had suffered no doubt and suffered heavily. It was for the Government of the Indian Union to secure justice for them. Lahore was famous for its various educational institutions. They had been founded by private enterprise. The Panjabis were industrious. They knew how to earn money and how to spend it in charity. There were

first-class hospitals raised by the Hindus and the Sikhs in Lahore. All those institutions and private property had to be restored to the rightful owners. It could not be done by seeking private revenge. It was the duty of the Union Government to see that Pakistan Government did its duty as it was that of Pakistan to ensure justice by the Union. They could not secure justice by copying the evil ways of one another. If two men go out riding and one falls down, was the other to follow suit? That would merely result in breaking the bones of both. Supposing the Muslims would not be loyal to the Union, nor would they surrender arms, were they to continue murder of innocent men, women and children on that account? It was for the Government to see that the traitors were dealt with properly. By taking to savagery the people in both the States had tarnished the fair name that India had earned in the world. They were thereby bargaining for slavery and destruction of their great religions. They were free to do so. But he who had staked his life to gain the independence of India did not wish to be a party to its destruction. With every breath he prayed to God either to give him the strength to quench the flames or remove him from this earth.

#### CABLEGRAMS FROM MUSLIM FRIENDS

Gandhiji referred to cablegrams from Muslim friends from Amman and another place in the Middle East hoping that the present fratricide was a temporary phase in India and that she would soon regain her former glory and that the Hindus and the Muslims would live together as brothers.

#### MOST COWARDLY AND INHUMAN

He then dealt with sorrow with the reported attack on a hospital in Delhi by a mob from a near-by village resulting in the death of four patients and injury to a few more. It was a most cowardly and inhuman act, which could not be justified under any circumstances.

There was another report that some Muslim passengers had been thrown out of a moving train coming from Naini to Allahabad. He was at his wit's end to understand the rationale behind such acts. They should make every Indian hang down his head in shame.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 2-10-47*

#### MESSAGE OF THE SIKH GURUS

Gandhiji began his discourse this evening by referring to a conversation he had during the course of the day with Baba Sardar Kharak Singh's Secretary, Sardar Santokh Singh. This friend told him that Guru Govind Singh had said exactly the same as he had quoted from Guru Arjun Dev. Most people imagined, quite wrongly, and on this score many Sikhs also were very ignorant, that Guru Govind Singh had taught his followers to kill the Mussalmans. The 10th Guru, whose *bhajan* Gandhiji read out, had said that it mattered little how, where or by what name man worshipped God. He was the same for everyone and, what is more, man was the same, i. e., he was of the same genus. Guru Govind Singh said that humanity could not be differentiated,

Individuals differed in temperament or appearance but all were built in the same mould. They had the same feelings. They all die and are mingled with the dust. Air and sun were the same for all men. The Ganga would not refuse her refreshing waters to a Muslim. Clouds showered their rain on all alike. It was unregenerate man alone who differentiated between himself and his fellow. If therefore, the message of the great Sikh Gurus and other religious leaders was true for them, they should realize that it was wholly wrong for anyone to say that the Indian Union should be purely a Hindu State composed of none but the Hindus.

#### THE RIGHT USE OF THE KIRPAN

Gandhiji went on to say that by this he did not mean that the Sikhs were wedded to non-violence. They were not. But the Sardar told him that in Guru Govind Singh's day the Muslims had gone away from their religion and, therefore, he ordered his followers to fight them. The *kirpan*, which the Sikhs carried, was a weapon for the defence of the innocent. It was meant to fight against tyranny, never to kill the innocent or women and children or old or disabled persons. Even during the war against the Muslims the code was to tend the wounded of both sides. But today the *kirpan* was often used for totally wrong purposes and he who used it wrongly was really not fit to carry it.

#### BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

Gandhiji then went on to describe the stream of visitors he had had all day including representatives of the Foreign Embassies and Lady Mountbatten. They had all come to congratulate him. He had received scores of telegrams also both from home and abroad. It was impossible to send individual replies. But, he asked himself, "Where did the congratulations come in? Would it not be more appropriate to say condolences?" Flowers even had come to him from refugees and many tributes both in money and good wishes. Gandhiji, however, said that there was nothing but agony in his heart. Time was when whatever he said the masses followed. Today, his was a lone voice. All he heard from them was that they would not allow the Muslims to stay in the Indian Union. And if the cry was against the Muslims today, what might be the fate of the Parsis, the Christians and even the Europeans tomorrow? He said that many friends had hoped he would live to be 125 but he had lost all desire to live long, let alone 125 years. He was utterly unable to appropriate any of the congratulations showered on him. He could not live while hatred and killing marred the atmosphere. He, therefore, pleaded with them all to give up the present madness. It did not matter what was being done to non-Muslims in Pakistan. If one party had sunk low the other could not afford to do likewise. He asked them to pause and consider the evil consequences of such misdeeds. They should purge their hearts of hatred. It was their right and duty to place their grievances before their Government and to ask for redress.

(Continued on p. 371)

#### "NOT A PENNY"

On the 30th of July, 1947, at the Savoy Hotel in London, a luncheon symposium on "Sterling Balances" was held at which Professor R. F. Harrod of Oxford, Dr. Lokanathan of the *Eastern Economist*, and Professor G. D. S. Cole took part.

Professor Harrod drew a dark picture of the economic conditions in England and the dire distress in which the country found itself today and the great need for a rapid economic recovery. Under these conditions he surmised that the man in the street would definitely declare "not a penny" can Britain pay. This was more or less the chorus of his whole talk.

Professor Lokanathan put forward the usual approach to this problem that is presented in India and claimed that these credits of India were due to actual contributions by India of material goods at low prices and, therefore, they cannot be repudiated. The present conditions in England should not be made an excuse for repudiation.

Professor Cole brought the discussion to a high moral level and pointed out the absurdity of Professor Harrod's presentation. To begin with, he stated that today a man in the street in London, if asked about the Sterling debts, would probably ask the questioner as to what these Sterling debts are! He knows nothing about them and cares less about its repayment. And he also brought out the fact that India, not being a separate political entity contributed nothing but whatever commodities Britain got were actually taken without India's consent by virtue of her political subordination and, therefore, it is immoral to make a convenience of our obligations and say that we cannot now afford to pay. Even here, he questioned Professor Harrod's plea of England's inability to pay. He granted that it may be difficult, but, of the European countries England was much better off and taking into consideration comparative conditions in India, he definitely held that not a penny should remain unpaid.

This will show the forces at play in Great Britain in regard to this question. Unfortunately for us, men of the way of thinking of Professor Cole are few and far between and are not very effective in the councils of the nation. We may add that we have such faith in the general British character that we can say without fear of misrepresenting the situation that if the man in the street in England were made fully aware of the conditions under which the commodities were taken from India and their moral obligation to repay the debts, one may almost say with certainty, the man in the street will be detached and impartial enough to say, "If we have utilized these commodities, we must be honest enough to pay for them, come what may." The British financial interests are very different from the common citizens of Great Britain. The ordinary citizen has still left some moral backbone and a sense of honour which will affect his decisions on such questions.

The settlement of the Sterling Balances is still pending although an Interim Agreement has been negotiated for India's expenditures till the end of the current year. We hope, therefore, that when the final settlement is to be negotiated, the Government of India will take into consideration the prevailing strong propaganda in favour of "not a penny" attitude and press India's claims strongly

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## HARIJAN

October 12

1947

### NO DEPRESSION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

This is from one of the many messages of birthday congratulations

"May I suggest that the present situation should not depress you? In my opinion this is the final attempt of the forces of evil to foil the divine plan of India's contribution to the solution of the world's distress by way of non-violence. You are today the only instrument in the world to further the divine purpose."

This is a telegram sent more out of personal affection than knowledge. Let us see

It is perhaps wrong to describe my present state of mind as depression. I have but stated a fact. I am not vain enough to think that the divine purpose can only be fulfilled through me. It is as likely as not that a fitter instrument will be used to carry it out and that I was good enough to represent a weak nation, not a strong one. May it not be that a man purer, more courageous, more far-seeing is wanted for the final purpose? This is all speculation. No one has the capacity to judge God. We are drops in that limitless ocean of mercy

Without doubt the ideal thing would be neither to wish to live 125 years nor to wish to die now. Mine must be a state of complete resignation to the Divine Will. The ideal ceases to be that when it becomes real. All we can do is to make as near an approach to it as possible. This I am doing with as much energy as I can summon to my assistance.

If I had the impertinence openly to declare my wish to live 125 years, I must have the humility under changed circumstances, openly to shed that wish. And I have done no more, no less. This has not been done in a spirit of depression. The more apt term perhaps is helplessness. In that state I invoke the aid of the all-embracing Power to take me away from this "vale of tears" rather than make me a helpless witness of the butchery by man become savage, whether he dares to call himself a Muslim or Hindu or what not. Yet I cry—"Not my will but Thine alone shall prevail." If He wants me, He will keep me here on this earth yet awhile.

New Delhi, 5-10-'47

### OUTRAGEOUS ANALOGY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent, who from his name appears to have Hindi as his mother-tongue, writes thus in English:

"This is with reference to your many and continued appeals to treat Muslims as brothers and guarantee their safety so that they do not migrate from here to Pakistan. A man was walking along one cold day, when he came across a snake lying frozen with the cold. Taking pity on the reptile, he picked it up and thinking to give it warmth, put it in his pocket. The warmth soon revived the snake and the first thing it did was to dig its poisonous fangs into his saviour and kill him."

Anger has betrayed this correspondent into an outrageous analogy. To liken a human being, however degraded he may be, to a snake to justify inhuman treatment is surely a degrading performance. To damn crores of human beings for the faults of a few or many belonging to a particular faith seems to me to be the height of madness. The correspondent should also remember that I have known rabidly fanatical Muslims to use the very analogy in respect of Hindus. No Hindu would like to be regarded as a snake.

To treat a man as a brother is not to say that he should be trusted even when he is proved untrustworthy. And is it not a sign of cowardice to kill a man and his family for fear that he may prove untrustworthy? Picture a society in which every man is permitted to judge his fellow. Yet, that is the state to which we are being reduced in some parts of India.

Lastly, let me, for the sake of the snake kind, correct the common error that eighty snakes out of every hundred are perfectly harmless and they render useful service in nature.

New Delhi, 3-10-'47

### Re: English into Hindustani

It was due to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur's unfailing regularity in sending the words for the English into Hindustani Dictionary that we were able to give an instalment of four columns every fifteen days. As the readers are aware she has undertaken more onerous duties since the 15th of August last. It is not, therefore, possible for her to cope with the work of the English into Hindustani Dictionary with the same regularity as before. She has, however, assured us that she will be sending in words off and on whenever she finds time to work at her labour of love. The columns of the Dictionary will thus henceforth appear not regularly as before but as and when the words are received from the Rajkumari.

8-10-'47

J. DESAI

100 P O 110

## "A GOOD DEED SHINES IN A NAUGHTY WORLD"

During the past few days the two following incidents have come my way. Both of them happen to show goodness shining through the hearts of Muslims. No doubt, many other such incidents could be told of good Hindus and Sikhs. All such deeds help to redeem the credit of human nature and to assure us that the madness that has seized so many of our neighbours will pass.

I happened to meet a Delhi professor, a Muslim, who had had his possessions completely wrecked. All his cherished treasures—his books, an unfinished manuscript, his whole life's work, had been laid waste. I tried to express my sympathy. He then said, "I do not blame anyone. They are seized with madness, so that they do not know what they are doing. As I look into my heart," he added, "I can find no trace of bitterness there." Those last words I found most moving. It was almost as if he had peered down into the recesses of his heart, almost sure that there would be bitterness in some corner but, after a thorough investigation, to his own surprise he was able to report that he found none. He evidently claimed no credit for this. It was due to what an older generation called the grace of God.

A friend of mine got into conversation with an unknown Sikh in the Delhi coffee-house, who told him this story. On the 14th or 15th of August, he was living in his house in Lahore, and he went to a Muslim neighbour across the street to play cards. While they were playing, a mob collected in the street. The Sikh had time to run back to his home, where he bolted the door, and began to fire at the Muslim crowd from his window. Soon his ammunition was exhausted, and meanwhile the infuriated mob broke into his house. In spite of the fact that he was firing at the Muslims outside, his Muslim next-door neighbours meanwhile feverishly busied themselves cutting a hole in the wall, and through this hole the Sikh's young sister escaped. The Muslim neighbours then dressed her in Muslim clothes. The brother also escaped, and the Muslim neighbours drove them both to a railway station some way from Lahore, from where they travelled safely to Delhi. They had, of course, like many more, lost all their possessions, but, owing to the valiant action of their Muslim neighbours, who put neighbourliness before community feeling, their lives were saved.

HORACE ALEXANDER

### Apt Lines

A friend sends the following apt lines from George Matheson :

"It is by my fetters that I can fly;  
It is by my sorrows that I can soar—  
It is by my reverses that I can run,  
It is by my tears that I can travel,  
It is by my Cross that I can climb into the heart of humanity,  
Let me magnify my Cross, O God!"

New Delhi, 3-10-'47

M. K. G.

## THE FOOD SITUATION

At the last conference of Food Officials at Delhi it was stated that the next rice crop will yield only about 83 per cent. The shortage is therefore considerable, though the situation may be ameliorated in some parts of the country where the rains are good. In any case, the food situation in the country is one which requires careful attention. India is importing thousands of tons of food from abroad. This is a reflection on an agricultural country. India has now become independent of the British rule, and it hopes to attain Swaraj in the near future when the will of the masses will be reflected in the Central Government. No country that aims at being independent can attain that position as long as that country is dependent on other countries for its primary necessities. We have, therefore, to put forth our best efforts to make India self-sufficient in food.

After a great deal of turmoil and suffering the European nations are beginning to realize that it is dangerous to depend on distant countries for their food requirements. Even England, which so far has been depending on outside help to meet its food requirements, has realized that it is futile to depend on foreign countries for food if they have to maintain their independence. With this end in view, they are launching out on a new land programme to increase their agricultural products. Mr. Tom Williams, the Minister for Agriculture, stated that the Government programme is essentially one for reviving the expansion and production of meat, eggs, wheat, and barley and adding no less than 400,000 acres of linseed. They are hoping to increase the wheat acreage next year by 500,000 acres. To do this the Government assures the producers of their markets, good prices, subsidies and grants giving the industry first priority for buildings, housing and other assistance.

One may understand a highly industrialized country like England depending on her exports to get food in return. Even here, Great Britain is cutting down imports of such consumer goods as can be foregone, though under austerity conditions, and at the same time, she wishes to export textiles, etc., even at the cost of shortage at home, to maintain her food imports. The determined effort put forward by the ministers in this direction stands in marked contrast with the mere propaganda work of our Government in India. India can hardly compare industrially with Great Britain and yet with the little industrialization that we have had, the country has had to depend on foreign imports for food. If we pursue the industrialization policy indicated by some friends in high places, we may well imagine the dire consequences that may follow in its train on the food sector. One of the striking features of the British landscape today is the appearance of vegetable patches wherever land can be utilized for that purpose. In addition to this they are hoping to bring in hundreds of thousands of acreage under fresh cultivation. Cannot the Ministry of Food in our country follow this good example and

ban money crops for industrial purposes and give priority for food crops to such lands as are under industrial exploitation today? This can be done if there is a will to feed the population by its own effort. It may require controlling of the use of land and may lead even to licensing of land for particular crops. Farmers desiring to raise industrial crops may be required to take out licences paying adequate fees and by this method it may be possible to regulate the use of land in the interests of the nation rather than in the interests of the bank accounts of a few persons. This would entail a close co-operation of effort between the Ministries of Food and Industries. We trust such co-operation in the interests of the health of the nation will be forthcoming.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

### COW SLAUGHTER

There is a good deal of talk today about protecting the cow from the slaughter house. It is good that people are becoming conscious to the great evil that indiscriminate slaughter of cattle has brought to our country. On the purely short-sighted view, the need for milk, in a vegetarian country being important, gives a premier place to the cow as a feeder of the nation. Apart from that it also provides the bullock which is the motive power with which the farmer produces his produce from the land. The importance of this aspect of the question has been fully realized in conferring divinity on the cow and raising cow slaughter to the level of a religious question. However, because of fanaticism the very same zeal on the one side has created a cussedness on the other side and we often find conflict between different sections of the population centred around cow slaughter. Therefore, it now becomes necessary to ascertain exactly the place of the cow in India and give it a rational approach.

With an artisan the tool that he uses becomes almost an object of worship. In fact, in India we have a definite festival—*shastra puja*—devoted to this ceremony. Man recognizes his economic dependence on the means of production. Just as an artisan depends on his tools, similarly the farmer depends on the cow and if we may extend the economic sphere, we may say that the cow, being the means of producing food, becomes the centre of the economic organization of man, especially in an agricultural country like India.

Apart from this aspect, when we look upon the cow as the producer of the bullock, the importance of the cow is enhanced. She now represents the centre of our economy. We may call our economic organization, where the cow contributes towards motive power, transport, food production, etc. a "cow-centred economy" in the same manner as England and certain other European countries were, not long ago, horse-centred economies.

During the last century England drifted from being a horse-centred economy into a coal-centred

economy and from being a coal-centred economy she is fast moving into an oil-centred economy. These stages are very important to notice as the fate of the world itself depends on the source from which we obtain our power.

In the cow- and the horse-centred economies we have unlimited sources as we could breed as many bullocks and horses as we needed and, therefore, there being no restriction on the number available, it does not arouse anybody's greed or jealousy, but coal and petrol being limited in their supply and quantity, uses of such sources of power lead to friction amongst nations as the source dries up. It is now well recognized that these global wars are in no small measure due to different nations seeking to get control over oil fields. Hence, the coal and oil economies lead to conflict amongst nations. Unlike these two, the cow and horse-economies are, comparatively, peaceful economies. Therefore, in a wider sense we may say that when we break through a cow-centred economy we are really causing cow slaughter i. e. in other words, when our actions are inimical to the existence of the cow-centred economy, we are not in the company of the protectors of the cow. For example, when we use coal and oil as our source of motive power, we are really banning the cow from our economy. When we are making asphalted roads, which are not in the interests of animal traction, we are also guilty of breaking through the cow-centred organization. This aspect of the question is much more vital to us than the mere slaughtering of the four-legged and two-horned animal.

We wonder how many of our friends who stand up against cow slaughter can show their hands clean of bovine blood from the point of view of this higher interpretation of cow protection. The "cow", like *khadi*, is symbolic of a way of life. "Cow slaughter", therefore, would signify making impossible that way of life. We hope that those who stand for cow protection will realize the extensiveness of the cause which they stand for and will wholeheartedly support this wider application of the principle.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

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## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

(Continued from p. 367)

But to take the law into their own hands was wholly wrong. In that way lay the ruin of all

*Birla House, New Delhi, 3-10-'47*

## ALL EQUALLY GUILTY

Congratulatory wires keep pouring in on Gandhiji. He referred to the physical impossibility for him of replying to them. Friends had suggested that he should publish some of the messages. He had had many beautiful messages from Muslim friends too but he did not consider that the present time was opportune as it was not likely to benefit the general public, who today did not believe in *ahimsa* and Truth. Evil-doers, he held, were equally guilty, whoever they were.

## SATYAGRAHA AND DURAGRAHA

Today, he was getting news of *satyagraha* being started in many places. Often he wondered whether the so-called *satyagraha* was not really *duragraha*. Whether it was strikes in mills or railways or post-offices or movements in some of the States, it seemed as if it were a question of seizing power. A virulent poison was leavening society today and every opportunity for attaining their object was seized by those who did not stop to consider that means and ends were convertible terms.

## GOOD WORK ITS OWN BLESSING

Gandhiji referred to the fact that he was even getting letters asking him to bless people's work or the starting of their movement. In his opinion every good work carried within it its own blessings and did not need his or anyone's backing. A good man who was doing good work and who came to him understood his proposition at once. Truth was always self-evident and it was everyone's duty to abide by it at all costs. But those who resorted to *satyagraha* should search their hearts and find out whether it was Truth that they were seeking. If not, then insistence became a mockery. He affirmed that those who were trying to get what was not in reality theirs could not possibly abide by *ahimsa*, and Truth could not be found without it.

## SANITATION OF REFUGEE CAMPS

Gandhiji next referred to the many refugee camps here and the insanitary conditions prevailing there and in the city. Everyone wanted scavenging to be done for them. He said that those who were not in the camps should see to their own surroundings being clean themselves. The taint of untouchability was tarnishing the fair name of Hinduism. One way of removing the blot was for everyone to become a *bhangi*. Sweeper's work was not a dirty work. It was a work that made for cleanliness. If the citizens of Delhi personally saw to the sanitation of the city, they would not only make Delhi beautiful but their example would have far-reaching results. If he were in charge of the camps he would induce the refugees to do everything for themselves. It was demoralizing for anyone to eat the bread of idleness and spend their days in gambling or playing cards. They should be glad to take up any craft that suited their taste - whether spinning, weaving, tailoring, carpentry, agriculture, or anything else.

He was perfectly certain that they should learn to stand on their own legs and not depend on others' service. He felt sure that if they became absorbed in work, they would to a large extent forget their sufferings also. Gandhiji said that he knew the sufferings they had had to endure and he did not for one moment condone those who had inflicted those sufferings on them. But he must reaffirm again and again that the correct path was to return good for evil.

## A FRENCHMAN'S ADVICE

Gandhiji then referred to a kind Frenchman who had, while congratulating him, tried to persuade him to wish to live for 125 years in order to finish his work. He had, the friend said, achieved so much and, after all, if God was responsible for every happening, He would bring good out of evil. Gandhiji should not be sad or depressed. The speaker said that he could not deceive himself by kind words. Today, he felt that what he might have achieved in the past had to be forgotten. No one could live on his past. He could wish to live only if he felt that he could render service to the people. That meant that the people saw the error of their ways and listened to his words. He was in God's hands. If God wished to take further work from him, He would do so. But he certainly felt that today his words had ceased to carry weight and if he was not able to render more service, it would be best that God took him away.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 4-10-'47*

## APPEAL FOR BLANKETS

In his after-prayer speech Gandhiji said pointing to Dr. Sushila Nayyar sitting in front among the prayer party that she was at present concentrating on rendering medical aid to the refugees, Hindus and Muslims alike. She was giving four hours daily to the Muslim refugees at the Purana Quila. She had visited the Kurukshetra Camp on the previous day in company with a Red Cross party including Dr. Pandit, the Director of the Maternity and Child-Welfare Bureau of the Red Cross and Prof. Horace Alexander and Mr. Richard Simonds of the Friends Service Unit. At the Kurukshetra Camp the refugees were Hindus and Sikhs. Their number was at least 25,000 and it was daily increasing. Tents had been pitched up to house the refugees but they were not enough to give shelter to all of them. The diet was enough to prevent death from starvation, but it was not a balanced diet and was already resulting in malnutrition and lowered resistance to disease. He was constrained to say that the suffering of humanity could have been greatly minimized if one side at least had retained sanity. The spirit of revenge and retaliation had started a vicious circle and brought hardships on increasing numbers. The Hindus and the Muslims today seemed to vie with each other in cruelty. Even women, children and the aged were not spared. He had worked hard for the independence of India and had prayed to God to let him live up to 125 years so that he could see the establishment of *Ramarajya* the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, in India. But today there was no such prospect before them. The people



had taken the law into their own hands. Was he to be a helpless witness of the tragedy? He prayed to God to give him the strength to make them see their error and mend it, or else remove him. Time was when their love for him made them follow him implicitly. Their affection had not perhaps died down, but his appeal to their reason and hearts seemed to have lost its force. Was it that they had use for him only while they were slaves and had none in an independent India? Did independence mean goodbye to civilization and humanity? He could not give them any other message now than the one he had proclaimed from house-tops all these years.

His purpose for the evening was to draw the attention of his hearers to the approaching cold weather, which was very severe in Delhi and the Punjab. He appealed to all who could afford to donate warm blankets or quilts they could spare. Even thick cotton sheets could be sent. They should be washed and mended if necessary before sending. The Hindus and the Muslims should all join in this humanitarian task. He would like them not to earmark anything for any particular community. They should rest assured that their gifts would be distributed to the deserving people only. He hoped that gifts would begin to pour in from the next day. It was not possible for the Government to provide blankets to lacs and lacs of homeless human beings. The crores of India had to come to the rescue of their unfortunate brethren.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 5-10-'47*

#### HIS ILLNESS

In his post-prayer speech Gandhiji expressed regret that news about his illness had again appeared in the Press. He did not know who had given it out. It was true that he had a cough and a little fever but its publicity did not help him or anyone else. It was liable to cause unnecessary anxiety to many. Therefore he requested friends not to give any publicity to his illness again.

#### BLANKETS

In response to his appeal for blankets the day before two friends had sent two good blankets and another had sent ten more. He assured the donors that they would be given to deserving people.

#### A PREPOSTEROUS SUGGESTION

He had received a telegram saying that if the Hindus and the Sikhs had not retaliated probably even he would not be alive today. He considered the suggestion preposterous. His life was in God's good hands as theirs was. No one could put an end to it till He permitted it. It was not for human beings to save his life or that of anyone else. The telegram further said that 98% of the Muslims were traitors and would betray India in favour of Pakistan at a given moment. He did not believe it. The Muslim masses in the villages could not be treacherous. Supposing that they were, they would destroy Islam. If the charge could be proved, the Government would deal with them. He was convinced that if the Hindus and the Muslims continued to be enemies of one another, it was bound to lead to war, which

would mean the ruin of both the dominions. It was the duty of the Government to offer protection to all who looked up to it, wherever they were and to whatever religion they belonged. Ultimately, the protection of one's faith lay with oneself.

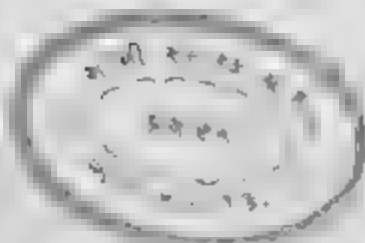
#### MR. CHURCHILL AGAIN

He then referred to Mr. Churchill's second speech in which he had attacked the Labour Government for bringing ruin upon India. They had liquidated the empire, he said, and brought misery upon India's masses. He was afraid the same fate would befall Burma. Was the wish farther to the thought? Mr. Churchill was a great man. It hurt him (the speaker) that he should have spoken in that manner again. He put party before the nation. India consisted of seven lakhs of villages. These seven lakhs of villages had not run amuck. But supposing that they did, would that be a justification for reducing India to slavery? Was it only the good who had a right to freedom? It was the British who had taught us that freedom with drunkenness was any day preferable to slavery with sobriety. We were rightly taught that self-government included the right to misgovernment and that good government was no substitute for self-government. Socialism was Mr. Churchill's *bête noire*. Labour could not be other than socialist. Socialism was a great doctrine. It did not admit of condemnation, but wise application. Socialists may be bad, not socialism. The victory of the Labour Party in England was the victory of socialism. Labour Government was a government by labour. He had long held the view that when labour realized its dignity, it would eclipse all other parties. Labour had withdrawn British power from India by the consent of all parties. It did become Mr. Churchill to quarrel with the great act. Supposing that he succeeded at the next election, surely he did not dream that he would undo the act and compel India to a second dose of slavery. He would have to face a living wall of opposition. Did he for one moment think how shameful was the act of the annexation of Burma? Did he remember the way in which India was brought under subjection? He did not wish to open the dark chapter. The less said about it the better. While he said all this, he did not want his hearers to forget that their dearly-won liberty might be lost to the world powers, if they continued to act like beasts rather than men. He did not wish to be a living witness of the tragedy if it was to overtake them. Who was he to save India single-handed? But he did want his hearers to falsify Mr. Churchill's forebodings.

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# HARIJAN

Editor PYARELAL



VOL. XI. No. 38

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1947

TWO ANNAS

## WHAT ARE VILLAGE INDUSTRIES?

Though in a general way people have an idea of the type of industries we include under the category of village, cottage and home industries, yet at the present time, as the Governments are introducing these terms into their administrative directions etc. it would be well to have a clear conception of the features by which we may identify and classify them uniformly. With this end in view this note is submitted

### I. VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

Industries which answer all or most of the following conditions may be considered village industries

1. Those that manufacture indispensable articles needed in the villages and for the villagers.
2. Using processes within the easy reach of the villagers.
3. With the help of tools and implements falling within the financial capacity of the villagers carrying on the industry
4. Utilizing local raw materials.
5. With the aid of human or animal power.
6. Meeting the demand of local or near-by markets.
7. Not causing displacement of labour or unemployment among wage-earners.

Some of these industries may need the co-operation of many workers which may be secured by sharing profits or by payment of daily wages. The number of wage-earners in a unit may differ from industry to industry. Examples: Oil Pressing, Weaving, Tanning, Carpentry, Blacksmithy etc.

### II. COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

These are whole time occupations that do not require factory buildings with elaborate or special plant and equipment but can be engaged in by the workers in their own cottages. Examples. Gold and Silver smithy, Shoe-making, Tailoring etc.

### III. HOME INDUSTRIES

These are those carried on practically, by the members of the family, in their spare time. Examples: Spinning, Fruit-preserving, Embroidery, Needlework, Bee-keeping etc.

Financing of any of the above units or types of industries may be undertaken by the units themselves or raised by co-operation among those engaged in the industry

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## A STUDENT'S PERPLEXITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Here is an extract from a pupil's letter to his teacher who sends it to me for comment:

"Two things completely possess me: my nationalism and my overbearing carnal passions. These always create seeming contradictions in my behaviour, and inconsistency in my decisions. I want to be the first servant of my country and at the same time enjoy the physical pleasures of the world. I must confess, I do not believe in God although I am sometimes terribly afraid of Him. All existence seems to me to be an enigma. I do not know what awaits me at the end. I have seen dead bodies burning. My mother's was the last, and the scene influenced me terribly. I cannot bear to think that such shall be my fate. I feel sick at the sight of a wound, and to think that my body shall burn one day! I know, there is no escape. To me, there does not seem to be any life beyond. That is why I am afraid

"There are only two courses open to me: either to brood over it and pine away, or to enjoy the physical pleasures of the world, be lost in them and forget the end. I confess, (I have confessed to you things which I have never confessed to anybody else) that I have chosen the latter course.

"This world is the only reality; its joys are worth having for anything. Feeling for my wife who died recently, was genuine feeling, but that feeling was not because she was dead but because I was left alone. For the dead there are no problems, for the living there are all. I do not believe in any pure love; the so-called love is nothing but sex. If there were anything like pure love, I should have felt more attachment for my parents than for my wife; but reverse was the case. I have been a loyal husband but I could not have assured my wife that I would feel for her even after her death. My feeling would perhaps arise from the inconvenience that her passing might cause me. You might call this cynicism but there it is . . . Please write to me and guide me."

This extract covers three things. (1) Conflict between carnal desire and nationalism, (2) God and future life and (3) Undefined love and sex.

The first is well stated. Carnal desire was the reality, nationalism was the fashion of the day. Nationalism in the sense of power politics is quite

consistent with satisfaction of carnal desire. Instances from life can be multiplied. I have in mind nationalism in the sense of a burning love for the nation including 'this last'. It must burn as it always has burnt carnal desire and the like. Thus there is no conflict but always victory of the latter over the former. All-embracing love of the nation leaves not a minute for any occupation that interferes with that ruling pursuit. He is lost who is possessed by carnal desire.

Uncertain faith in God and the future springs from the lust for life. This lust unhinges a man or a woman. Indecision consumes him or her. Faith in God will live when the animal passion dies. The two cannot co-exist.

The third enigma is a mere restatement of the first. Undeclared love between husband and wife takes one nearer God than any other love. When sex is mixed with the undeclared love, it takes one away from one's Maker. Hence, if there be no sex consciousness and sexual contact, it is a question whether there is any occasion for marriage. The pupil truly says that there was no unselfish love felt for his wife. Had it been unselfish, death of life's partner would have enriched life for, the memory of the disembodied partner would have resulted in greater dedication to the service of down-trodden humanity. New Delhi, 12-10-'47

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

### OPPORTUNITY FOR PUNJABIS

Whether by reason of sufferings heaped on the Hindus and the Sikhs or fear thereof thousands from the West Pakistan provinces have left their dear homes. In their eyes one reads anger, on their lips is the language of hatred, their hearts betray want of faith in the living God. This outburst is natural. Nevertheless, it has done nobody any good. Society has been damaged by it.

If they curb their anger, they can serve the country and incidentally themselves.

These people generally know only Urdu. Whether they migrate to Gujarat, Bombay, Bihar, Maharashtra, the Central Province or the U P these provinces know mostly the *nagari* character only. The Pakistani refugees will possibly be obliged to learn the *nagari* character. The rising tide of nationalism must bring closer the people of the different provinces. The natural displacement of the English language must necessitate the spread of Hindustani. Hence, if the refugees from West Pakistan will zealously teach the Urdu script, they will promote healthy intercourse with the provinces they migrate to. Some may even add an honest rupee to their income.

For knowing Hindustani a knowledge of the two scripts is as much needed as good pronunciation of the speech. Proper pronunciation of Hindustani is difficult for the people of the southern provinces. Listening to good pronunciation is the quickest and easiest way of mastering it. In this, too, the refugees can play an important part.

New Delhi, 13-10-'47

KAKA KALELKAR

(From the original in Hindustani)

## SWARAJ FOR THE MASSES

### GOOD OF THE MASSES

Our measuring rod for the achievements of our Provincial and Central ministers must be the good bestowed on the masses. In whichever direction we turn food, clothing or shelter — the conditions are definitely worse today than they were a year ago. Starvation and death face many.

The public is entitled to know what has been done to relieve the food situation. Rationing and controls have played havoc and have helped to create blackmarkets which are deepening in their hue everyday. Money crops are merrily going on increasing. Then how much fresh land has been brought under food crops? What efforts have been made to conserve available food from damage by bad storage and by milling?

### NO BLIND IMITATION

We may not blindly follow the methods adopted by countries like Great Britain. The economy of Great Britain is the very opposite of ours. They export manufactures and import food materials. All food coming into the country is known and that when it is divided by the population, gives the ration per head. Thus rationing and control of prices can serve to alleviate the situation in Great Britain.

Ours is an agricultural country that should produce a good deal of the food we need. At best the stock available is but an estimate. In the absence of an intensive production drive, rationing existing stocks, with an illiterate population, places an undue strain on the distributing mechanism and encourages blackmarketing. Our approach, therefore, should be from the other end. We have to afford facilities for increasing such production as the country needs. This indicates licensing and regulating production, rather than rationing and doling out the existing stock of goods. While the character of the problem in Great Britain admits of placing it under the administrative machinery for its solution, the situation in our country, on the other hand, calls for technical experts from the Agricultural Department.

### DANGERS OF IMPORTED FOOD

We are extending the beggar's bowl to the already overtaxed producers abroad. These, when they can sell or part with their stock, do so at extortionate prices. Because of the time and distance factors such stuffs have to be polished off much of their nutritive elements to be brought to our land. Our diet is largely based on cereals. When we take polished grains, we lay ourselves open to various diseases of malnutrition if we cannot fall back on other items, such as meat, fish, eggs or milk.

### PROBLEM RAISED BY CATTLE SLAUGHTER

In a vegetarian diet milk plays an important part. Owing to indiscriminate slaughter of milch cattle, both by our cities and by the military, the country has been depleted of well-bred animals. The problem demands attention.

### VEGETABLE OILS AND VANASPATHI

The other source of fat, for most of the masses, is vegetable oils. This source is being damaged by inroads made by industrial demands for soaps, lubricants etc. Even that which can be obtained is

being lessened nutritively by encouragement given to *vanaspathi* mills, which destroy the nutritive values of fresh pressed oils. Some provincial governments have even gone to the extent of proposing to run their own *vanaspathi* mills!

#### SUGAR OR GUR?

We get part of our energy from sugar. But along with energy we also get minerals and salts from *gur* which is nutritively a much superior article of food to white sugar. *Gur*, therefore, should receive priority to white sugar.

We have already noticed the shortage of cereals. In spite of it, good cereal-producing irrigated lands are being put under sugarcane, while palm trees, from which good *gur* and sugar can be obtained, are allowed to run to waste.

Any scheme of prohibition should carry with it extensive use of palm trees for making jaggery. Then no tapper would be obliged to go without his hereditary employment.

#### CLOTHING

When we buy an article, we have to part with some of our production. When villagers buy cloth, they have to give away a part of their grain or other produce. Instead, if they can make their own cloth during their idle hours, they would retain their other products, which they at present have to part with in exchange for cloth.

#### LEATHER

Crores worth of raw hides are being exported which can afford employment to lakhs of tanners if the leather is used in our own land for manufacturing articles thereof. Hardly anything is being done to train or help our village *chamars* in this industry.

#### LAMP OILS

Our villages are giving up crores worth of their produce to obtain kerosene oil for lighting. If the jungle seeds can be crushed locally, and the oil used in vegetable oil burning lamps, it will enrich the countryside to the extent of several crores. Kerosene oil should be banned in the villages and its use should be licensed and controlled in towns.

#### HAND-MADE PAPER

The country has been through severe shortage of paper owing to its dependence on European countries for its supply. Paper-making has been a time-honoured occupation in our land. We have the raw material for all types of paper and the traditional skill for hand-made paper is still there, if only a little encouragement is forthcoming.

We have picked up the lines as left by the British. An empire needs distant sources of raw material and foreign markets. Hence, finance and foreign affairs loom large in their government. But, in an agricultural economy, agriculture and industries followed by the masses, should have the premier place.

We may have shaken off the foreign yoke. But until the masses are free from the yoke of poverty, they cannot feel the glow of freedom. Democracy cannot be in full swing until the distinctions between man and man and the forces that make for that distinction are eradicated and until the State is

consciously based on non-violence. The first step is the economic foothold of the villagers.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## NOTES

### One Drug for Another

Madras is making laudable efforts at banishing the use of intoxicants. This is all to the good. But in their zeal they are advocating another drink, less harmful no doubt, but nevertheless a drug, to take its place. Nearly two lakhs are to be spent in popularizing tea.

Cannot the Government think of wholesome drinks like *neermore* or *panagam* which are common refreshing drinks in the South? They have great nutritive values too. The former is prepared from buttermilk and the latter with jaggery water.

Is the present propaganda dictated by tea interests which have taken advantage of the vacuum created by the prohibition programme?

### A Misplaced Zeal

Much credit is due to Janab Abdul Latif Farookhi for the attempt he made to prohibit wagering or betting on horse-races. His attempt was foiled by Dr. P. Subbaroyan opposing the introduction of the bill in the Madras Legislative Council.

Dr. Subbaroyan waxed strong in support of horse-racing as though horse-breeding was synonymous with racing. To our shame he confessed with pride that Bombay was allowing horse-racing and that Sri C. Rajagopalachari had given a grant for a cup to the Calcutta Race Club!

Apart from this consideration of revenue, which seems to have weighed heavily with the Madras Home Minister, our economy calls for cattle breeding. What have the present Governments done to solve our problem of milk and draught cattle? When will those in power wake up to the real needs of the people?

It will be a great day when these race-courses are ploughed up to grow more food.

### The Left Hand Knoweth?

With commendable zeal Premier Omandur Ramasamy Reddier of Madras is touring the Province imploring the farmers to surrender their surplus paddy and thus save the people from hunger and famine. The world is being scoured to bring in more food grains to India. Food grains are procured from abroad at fabulous blackmarket prices to prevent people dying of starvation. Ships from the four seas are directed to India to save the situation.

On the other hand a news item whispers in a corner of the papers that the Government of Madras have amended the Madras Flour Prohibition Order, so as to permit the use of the flour of food grains and tapioca in the making of paste or starch.

Is the Premier aware of this? Or is the campaign directed towards saving the textile mills from the starvation of starch? Without effecting economies on all sides, with what face can we ask the producers of the world to spare us rice and food grains?

J. C. K.

# HARIJAN

October 19

1947

## A BITTER LETTER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Muslim friend writes

"I am a Muslim of nationalist views. Throughout my life, if I may be allowed to call my twentyone years' existence so, I have never been able to think myself in terms of Hindu or Muslim however hard my elder brother, father and other relatives tried to make me do so. Naturally, the Islamia College, Jullunder, would not admit me as I was a quisling to my community.

"My father with my other relations left Jullunder in April but I did not accompany them because East Punjab, and more so India, was equally my country as it was for my friends of the other creed. But brutal happenings of August have disappointed me beyond words. Even those boys, who had organized processions with me in January, 1946 when Indian National Army people were being tried, wanted to have my life. After all I was a Muslim for them by killing whom they could get applause from members of their own community. So I had to run for my life to Delhi where I thought that this treatment cannot be meted out to those who believed in United India rather than in Pakistan. But it is worse here. Even my friends with whom I am putting up look towards me with suspicious eyes.

"Now tell me, my dear apostle of liberty and equality, whether I should go back to my parents in Western Pakistan to be their butt throughout my life and against my conscience or I should stay in India as a hostage whose life is always sought for against crimes committed by his unhuman co-religionists."

I have condensed the foregoing but little. The bitterness has not been touched. Assuming that the letter is accurate, there is ample excuse for bitterness. A person's worth is, however, tested under most adverse circumstances. Fair weather friends are many. They are worthless, "a friend in need is a friend indeed." Have not persons belonging to the same faith, fought against one another exactly as the Hindus and the Muslims are doing now? What was to be expected of ordinary human beings after uninterrupted preaching of the hymn of hate all these long years? If the correspondent will justify his nationalism, he must not deny himself at the crucial moment. We must avoid imitation of Judas Iscariot. Hence, I have no hesitation in advising the correspondent to return to his home in Jullunder even if he is to be cut to pieces by his erstwhile friends. Such martyrs will be saviours of Hindu-Muslim unity. If he proves as good as his word, I prophesy that his parents will receive him with open arms. Is it not the lot of us mortals that the innocent

suffer for the guilty? It is as well that they do. The world is the richer and better for the sufferings of the innocent. I need not be an "apostle of liberty and equality" to reiterate this plain truth. New Delhi, 13-10-'47

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

Birla House, New Delhi, 6-10-47

### THE PROBLEM OF FOOD

Those who ought to know all about our food have gathered together on the invitation of Dr. Rajendra Prasad to give him the benefit of their advice in the grave food crisis. Any mistake made on this important matter may mean avoidable starvation and death of millions therefrom. India is not unfamiliar with starvation and death of tens of thousands, if not millions, due to famine, natural or man-made. I claim that in a well-ordered society there should be always pre-arranged methods of successful treatment of scarcity of water and food crops. This is, however, not the occasion for describing a well-ordered society and for showing how it would deal with the matter. Our concern, for the present, is to see whether we can, with fair hope of success, deal with the present food crisis.

### SELF-HELP

I think we can. The first lesson we must learn is of self-help and self-reliance. If we assimilate this lesson, we shall at once free ourselves from disastrous dependence upon foreign countries and ultimate bankruptcy. This is not said in arrogance but as a matter of fact. We are not a small place, dependent for its food supply upon outside help. We are a sub-continent, a nation of nearly 400 millions. We are a country of mighty rivers and a rich variety of agricultural land, with inexhaustible cattle-wealth. That our cattle give much less milk than we need is entirely our own fault. Our cattle-wealth is any day capable of giving us all the milk we need. Our country, if it had not been neglected during the past few centuries, should today not only be providing herself with sufficient food, she would also be playing a useful role in supplying the outside world with much-needed foodstuffs of which the late war has unfortunately left practically the whole world in want. This does not exclude India. The distress is growing instead of showing signs of decreasing. My suggestion does not include ungrateful rejection of free supply that any foreign country may wish to offer us. All I say is that we must not go a-begging. It demoralizes. Add to this the difficulty of internal transport of foodstuffs from one place to another. We have not the requisite facility for rapid movement of grains and other foodstuffs from place to place. Further add not the remote possibility of delivery of uneatable stuff. We dare not lose sight of the fact that we have to deal with human nature. In no part of the world it is to be found perfect or even very nearly so.

### MEANING OF FOREIGN AID

Next, let us see what possible foreign aid we can get. I am told that not more than three per cent of our present wants. If this information is correct and I have had it checked by several

experts who confirm the figure, I am sure the case for reliance on outside help falls to the ground. The slightest dependence on outside help is likely to deflect us from trying to the fullest extent our immense internal possibilities in the shape of utilizing every inch of arable land for growing crops for daily food in the place of growing money crops. We must reclaim waste land which is capable of being placed under immediate cultivation.

#### CENTRALIZATION OR DECENTRALIZATION?

Centralization of foodstuffs, I apprehend, is ruinous. Decentralization easily deals a blow to black-marketing, saves time and money in transport to and fro. Moreover, the villager who grows India's cereals and pulses knows how to save his crops against rodents. The movement of grain from station to station makes it liable to be eaten by rodents. This costs the country many millions and deprives it of tons of grain, every ounce of which we badly need. If every Indian were to realize the necessity of growing food wherever it can be grown, we should most probably forget that there was scarcity of foodstuffs in the land. I have by no means dealt fully with the fascinating and absorbing subject of growing more food, but I hope I have said enough to stimulate interest and turn the wise towards the thought of how every individual can help in the laudable enterprise.

#### HOW TO DEAL WITH SHORTAGE

Let me now show how to deal with the three per cent of grains we might possibly get from outside. Hindus observe a fast or a semi-fast every eleventh day per fortnight. Muslims and others are not prohibited from denying themselves especially when it is for the sake of the starving millions. If the whole nation realized the beauty of this partial self-denial, India would more than cover the deficit caused by the voluntary deprivation of foreign aid.

Personally I hold that rationing has very limited use, if any. If the producers were left to themselves, they would bring their produce to the market and everyone would get good and eatable grain, which today is not easily obtainable.

#### PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S ADVICE

I shall close this hurried review of the food crisis by drawing attention to President Truman's reported advice to the American people that they should eat less bread, and thus save the much-needed grain for starving Europe. He added that Americans would not lose in health by the recommended act of self-denial. I tender my congratulations to President Truman on this philanthropic gesture. I must decline to endorse the suggestion that at the back of this philanthropy there is a sordid motive of deriving a pecuniary advantage for America. A man must be judged by his action, not the motive prompting it. God alone knows men's hearts. If America would deny herself for the sake of hungry Europe, should we fail to do this little act of self-denial for ourselves? If many must die of starvation, let us at least earn the credit of having done our best in the way of self-help, which ennobles a nation.

Let us hope that the Committee that Dr. Rajendra Prasad has called together will not disperse without presenting a workable solution of the food crisis that faces the country.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 7-10-'47*

#### APPEAL FOR MORE BLANKETS

Speaking after prayers Gandhiji said that he had received a few more blankets since the day before. While he thanked the donors, he was constrained to say that donations at this rate would not help in providing blankets for lakhs of homeless refugees. The public should so organize the collections that large numbers of blankets might be collected in a short time. They could send them to him or entrust them to any person or organization of their choice for proper distribution.

#### BE TRUE TO THE CONGRESS CREED

He referred then with sorrow to the murder of a noted Muslim in or around Dehra Dun. His only fault was that he was a Muslim. Was he (the speaker) to tell millions of Muslims in the Indian Union to leave India? Where were they to go? They were not safe in the trains even! It is true that the Hindus were suffering a similar fate in Pakistan. Two wrongs did not make one right. They could not help the Hindus and the Sikhs in Pakistan by retaliating on the Muslims in the Union. He appealed to them to be true to their religion and to the Congress creed. Had the Congress done anything during the past 60 years to injure the interest of the country? If the Congress had now lost their confidence, they were at liberty to remove Congress ministers and bring any other men in power. Only they must not take the law into their own hands. Let them not act in such a way that they might have to repent afterwards.

#### FOOD CONTROL

Referring to his remarks about food control yesterday, he said that he was convinced his suggestion would remove the major part of the problem of food shortage within twentyfour hours. Whether the experts would accept it or not was a different question.

#### WARNING TO MINISTERS

Many people came and talked to him and left literature with him to the effect that the popular ministers were acting in an autocratic fashion like their British predecessors. He had not talked to the ministers in this connection. But he was quite clear that nothing for which they had criticized the British Government should happen in the regime of responsible ministries. Under the British rule the Viceroy could issue ordinances for making laws and executing them. There was a hue and cry against the combination of judicial and executive functions. Nothing had happened since to warrant a change in the opinion. There should be no ordinance rule. Their legislative assemblies should be their only law-makers. Ministers were liable to be changed at will. Their acts should be subject to review by their courts. They should do all in their power to make justice cheap, expeditious and incorruptible. For that purpose Panchayat Raj had been suggested. It was not possible for a high court to reach lakhs and lakhs of people. Only extraordinary situations required

emergency legislation. Legislative assemblies, even though the procedure might entail some delay, must not be superseded by the executive. He had no concrete example in mind. He had based his remarks upon the correspondence he had received from various provinces. Therefore, while he appealed to the people not to take the law into their own hands, he appealed to the ministers to beware of lapsing into the old ways which they had condemned.

#### SECRET OF RAMA RAY

To the people he appealed once again to be loyal and faithful to their Governments and strengthen them or dismiss them which they had every right to do. Jawaharlalji was a real *jawahar* (jewel). He could never be party to *Hindu Raj* nor could the Sardar, who had championed Muslim friends. Though he (Gandhiji) called himself a *Sanatan Hindu* he was proud of the fact that the late Imam Sabab of South Africa has accompanied him to India on his return and died in the Sabarmati Ashram. His daughter and son-in-law were still at Sabarmati. Was he (the speaker) or the Sardar to throw them overboard? His Hinduism taught him to respect all religions. In that lay the secret of Rama Ray. If Jawaharlal, the Sardar and people with their ideas had forfeited their respect and confidence, they could replace them by another team that had their confidence. But they could not and should not expect them to act against their conscience and regard that India belonged only to the Hindus. That way lay destruction.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 8-10-'47*

#### BLANKETS RATHER THAN MONEY

Gandhiji said that a few more blankets had been received. A friend came in the afternoon and offered money or blankets. He asked him to send blankets. Another, as he was coming to the meeting, offered him Rs. 100 for the purpose and he accepted it. He would rather have blankets than money.

#### NON-VIOLENCE OF THE BRAVE

A good man had been to see him. He had come from Dehra Dun. The compartment in which he travelled was full of Hindus and Sikhs. A new comer excited their suspicion. On questioning he said he was a *chamar*. But on his arm was a tattoo mark which showed that he was a Muslim. That was enough. The man was stabbed and was thrown in the Yamuna. This good man said that he turned away from the sight. Gandhiji then twitted him for not intervening to save the Muslim brother even at the risk of his life. Had he done so, it was highly probable that the Muslim's life had been saved though he might have lost his. That would have been non-violence of the brave. It was also probable that his bravery would have infected the other passengers and they might have joined in the protest. The good friend admitted that it had not struck him that way though it should have.

Gandhiji was loth to think that all the passengers were mischievously inclined though his advice would still have been the same. Gandhiji had realized that their struggle against the British Government was not based on non-violence of the

brave. He and the country were suffering from the consequence. The rest of his days he wanted to concentrate on inculcating into the people the *ahimsa* of the brave if he could. It was a difficult task. What happened and was happening in Pakistan was very bad, he admitted, but what was happening in the Union was equally bad. It was a fruitless search to discover who was the beginner or who was more wrong. If the two wanted to be friends now, they had to forget the past. Enemies of yesterday could be friends of today, if they ceased retaliation in words or deeds.

#### DUTY OF NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers were a powerful influence. It was the duty of the editors to see that no false report or report likely to excite the public was published in their newspapers. He referred to the news published in a newspaper alleging that the Meos had attacked the Hindus in Rewari. When Gandhiji read it, it had upset him. But the next day he was pleased to see in the papers that the news was untrue. What he said was only one of several such instances. The editors and their assistants had to be extra careful about the news they gave and the manner in which they dressed it. In a state of independence it was practically impossible for Governments to control the Press. It was the duty of the public to keep a strict watch on the newspapers and keep them on the right path. An enlightened public would refuse to patronize inflammatory or indecent newspapers.

#### DUTY OF MILITARY AND POLICE

Just as the Press was a powerful arm of the State, so was the military and the police. They could not take sides. The communal division of the military and the police was deplorable. But if the military and the police became communally minded, it would be disastrous. The military and the police were bound in the Union to protect the minorities at the cost of their lives. They could not for one moment afford to neglect this primary duty. He would say the same of the Pakistan military and the police who were bound to protect the minorities there. Whether the latter listened to him or not, if he could make those in the Union do the right thing, he was convinced that Pakistan would have to do likewise.

The whole world was impressed by the fact that India had achieved independence without bloodshed. They had to be worthy of that independence by their right conduct. Moreover, the military and the police must be incorruptible under independence. No free government could function unless every citizen did his duty by the State. He was not here asking them to take to non-violence. He merely pleaded for correct conduct irrespective of non-violence. He warned them that unless they paid attention to his words, they would have to repent afterwards.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 9-10-'47*

#### DONATE BLANKETS EARLY

Gandhiji reported that he had received at least 30 blankets during the day. He appealed to the donors to hurry up with their donations as the



winter in Delhi became pretty severe from about the middle of October. Donations lost in value when they were not made in time.

#### PATIENT HEARING NOT ENOUGH

He was grateful to the people for giving him a patient hearing. But that was not enough. His advice, if it was worth listening to, should be acted upon.

#### THE MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN

The Hindus and the Sikhs in Pakistan were in a terrible plight. Evacuation was a difficult process. Many must die on the way. After coming across to the Union their condition in the refugee camps was none too enviable. There was the camp at Kurukshetra where thousands lay under the sky. Medical facilities were inadequate, nutrition poor. It would be wrong to blame the Government. What advice was he to give to the people? Some friends from Western Pakistan had seen him during the day. They had narrated to him their tale of woe and pleaded for speedy evacuation of those left behind. He was not the Government. But with all the will in the world no Government would be able to do all that it wanted to do in such extraordinary circumstances. News came from Eastern Bengal that people had started fleeing from there too. He did not know the reason. His co-workers including Sarish Baba and others of the Khadi Pratishthan, Pyarelalji, Kanu Gandhi, Amtul Salaambehni and Sardar Jiwan Singhji were still there. He himself had toured through Noakhali and tried to impress upon the people to shed all fear. It made him think of the duty of the people and that of the Government. Those fleeing from one dominion might imagine that the conditions on the other side would be much better. But they were mistaken. With all the will in the world the authorities won't be able to cope with so many refugees. They could not reproduce the usual condition. The only advice that he could give to the people was to stick to their places and look to none but God for their protection. They would die courageously if they must in their own homes. Naturally, it would be the duty of the other Government to ask for the safety of the minorities. It was the duty of both the Governments to act correctly and in co-operation. If that desirable thing did not happen, the logical result would be war. He was the last person to advocate it. But he knew that the Governments which possessed arms and armies could not act in any other way. Any such procedure would mean annihilation. Death in the process of exchange of population did no good to anyone. Exchange raised tremendous problems of relief and rehabilitation.

Birla House, New Delhi, 10-10-47

#### MORE BLANKETS RECEIVED

Gandhiji announced that several more blankets had been received. There was also donation of some money and a gold ring for that purpose. He had received a telegram from Baroda informing him that 800 blankets were ready for dispatch and many more could be sent if railway permit could be secured. He hoped at this rate there would be enough blankets to save the refugees from the ravages of the cold weather.

#### FOOD AND CLOTH SHORTAGE

He then referred to the problem of food and cloth shortage in the country. With the advent of independence the problems appeared to have become more acute than before. He was unable to understand the reason thereof. These were not the signs of independence. Indian independence was all the more precious for the reason that their means of achieving it had commanded universal appreciation. The fight they gave was bloodless. Such independence should help them to solve their problems more speedily than before.

As for food, the system of control and rationing in his opinion was unnatural and unbusinesslike. They had plenty of fertile land, there was enough water and no dearth of man-power. Why should there be food shortage under these circumstances? The public should be educated to become self-reliant. Once they knew that they had got to stand on their own legs, it would electrify the atmosphere. It was well-known that fright took a larger toll of life than actual disease. He wanted them to shed all fear of calamity if they took the natural step of self-help. He was convinced that removal of food control would not result in a famine and deaths from starvation.

Similarly, there was no reason why there should be shortage of cloth in India. India produced more cotton than she required for her wants. People should spin and weave themselves. He was, therefore, for the removal of cloth control too. That might result in increase of prices. He was told and he believed that if people abstained from buying cloth for at the most six months, the abstention was bound to result in a natural fall in prices. And he had suggested that in case of need in the meantime the people should produce their own *khadi*. He did not at the present stage bring in his belief in the use of *khadi* to the exclusion of any other cloth. Once the people began to produce their own food and cloth, it would change their entire outlook. Today, they had gained political independence only. By following his advice they would gain economic independence also and that would be felt by every villager. Then there would be no time or inclination left for fighting amongst themselves. It would result in elimination of other vices like drinking, gambling etc. The people of India would gain in every sense of the term. God would also help them, for He helped those who helped themselves.

Birla House, New Delhi, 11-10-47

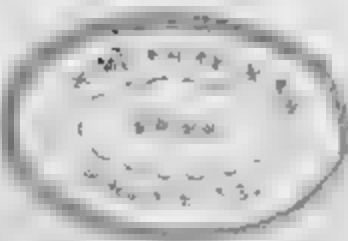
#### RENTIA JAYANTI

In his after-prayer speech Gandhiji reminded the audience that that day was the twelfth day of the dark half of the month of *Bhadon*. This day was known as *Rentia Baras* or *Charkha Jayanti* in Gujarat including Cutch and Kathiawad. Meetings were held and people were reminded of the programme of the spinning wheel and the allied activities. Time was unfavourable for an enthusiastic celebration of *Charkha Jayanti*. In its extended sense he had called the *charkha* the symbol of non-violence. That



## HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL



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TWO ANNAS

## NOTES

## Action in Inaction

A correspondent writes

"In your article *Action in Inaction* you say that you have not reached that state. The sentence looks simple enough but I would like you to expand the meaning a little

There is a stage in life when a man does not need even to proclaim his thoughts much less to show them by outward action. Mere thoughts act. They attain that power. Then it can be said of him that his seeming inaction constitutes his action. I must confess that I am far from that state. All I can say is that my striving is in that direction.

New Delhi, 16-10-47

(Rendered from the original in *Hindustani*)

## True Adult Education

Of all the numerous letters and telegrams received for the Charkha Jayanti, a letter in *Hindustani* received from the Indore Adult Education Association most arrested my attention. The purport of it is that the Association in question instead of wasting time in performing some flattering function, devoted the jayanti week to doing urgent and useful work, i. e., young and old, rich and poor, official and non-official banded together in destroying a noxious weed harmful to man and beast. If such co-operation became the abiding feature of any locality, it would constitute the best education for young and old and change the face of the society in which it was done.

New Delhi, 18-10-47

## Seasonable Quotations

From among letters and telegrams received during my little fast in Calcutta in September last, I kept the following for the *Harijan*. It is from Prof. Horace Alexander

"This morning's news from Calcutta fills us all with grief, but we must not despair. God has shown us during this past fortnight what can happen to those who have faith in Him. The devil trips us up again, but you through your fast, bring us back to God again. I am reminded of two sayings"

From Browning

'To dry one's eyes and laugh at a fall,  
And baffled, got up and began again,  
So the chase takes up one's life, that's all.'

And from the Old Testament

'Though He slay me, yet will I trust Him'  
New Delhi, 18-10-47 M. K. G

## GANDHIJ'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

Birla House, New Delhi, 13-10-47

TO THE REFUGEES

Yesterday I made some remarks about the refugee camps which were missed in the English condensation. Let me extend them this evening as I attach great importance to them. Though we have our fairs, religious and other, and have our Congress sessions and conferences, as a people we are not accustomed to camp life strictly so-called. I have attended many Congress sessions, conferences, and other camps. I attended the Kumaha Mela of 1915 at Hara Iwar and had the privilege of serving in the Servants of India Camp together with my co-workers who had returned from South Africa. Though I have nothing to record except kind personal attention to me and mine, my observation of the camp life our people lived is none too happy. We lack the sense of social hygiene, the result being dangerous insanitation and dirt with the attendant risk of outbreak of infectious and contagious diseases. Our latrines are generally beyond description. Absence of this class of provision is perhaps an apt description. People think that they can perform these functions anywhere not excluding even the much-frequented banks of the sacred rivers. Spitting anywhere without the slightest consideration for the neighbours is almost accepted as a right. Nor are our cooking arrangements any better. Flies are everywhere welcome companions. We forget that they might have sat a moment ago on any kind of dirt and thus might have become easy carriers of infection. Accommodation is not always planned. This is not an exaggerated picture. I must not omit the babble of noise one has to tolerate in these camps.

For method, planning and almost perfect sanitation, gave me a military camp. I have never recognized the necessity of the military. But that is not to say that nothing good can come out of it. It gives valuable lessons in discipline, corporate existence, sanitation, and an exact time-table containing provision for every useful activity. There is almost pin-drop silence in such camps. It is a city under canvass brought into being inside of a few hours. I would like our refugee camps to approach that ideal. Then there is no inconvenience, rain or no rain.

These camps become quite inexpensive provided that all work including the building up of this canvass city is done by the refugees who are their own sweepers, cleaners, road-makers, trench-diggers, cooks, washermen. No work is too low for them.

Every variety of work connected with the camp is equally dignified. Careful and enlightened supervision can bring about the desirable and necessary revolution in social life. Then indeed the present calamity would be turned into a blessing in disguise. Then no refugee will become a burden wherever he goes. He will never think of himself alone, but always think of the whole of his fellow sufferers and never want for himself what his fellows cannot have. This is not to be done by brooding but by prompt action under wise supervision and guidance.

Blankets and quilts continue to come. Soon it will, I hope, be possible to say that there will be no dearth of this protection against the coming winter.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 14-10-'47*

#### A WORTHY EXAMPLE

Gandhiji reported to the audience that he had received more blankets during the day. Two teachers and some students from the Arya Samaj Girls' School had brought him some money and blankets. But what pleased him more than the gifts was the teacher's report that having read Gandhiji's appeal about food control in which he had suggested a fortnightly fast in order to save food so that no deficiency in food supply might be felt for want of import of foodstuffs from outside, teachers and the girls had decided to fast every Thursday. They had also decided to grow whatever food they could in their garden. If all followed this example, the problem of food shortage would be solved in no time.

The Charge-D'affaires of Iran and his wife came later and brought a large number of blankets which he gratefully received.

#### TALK WITH SIKH FRIENDS

Many Sikh friends had seen him during the day. They came in two batches. He had long talks with them. The substance was that they could get nowhere by fighting amongst themselves. Whatever action was possible must be through the respective governments.

#### DON'T WEAKEN THE GOVERNMENT

The Government had arrested some people and there was an agitation against the arrests. The Government had a right to do so. Our Government could never arrest innocent people deliberately. But human beings were apt to err and it was possible that some innocent people might suffer by mistake. It was for the Government to rectify such error. People in a democracy should be satisfied with drawing the Government's attention to mistakes, if any. They could remove the Government if they wished to. But they should not obstruct them by agitating against them. Ours was not a foreign Government having a mighty army and navy to support them. They had to derive their strength from the people.

#### LOOK TO YOUR OWN FAULTS

How could real peace be established? They might feel pleased that peace appeared to have returned to Delhi. He could not share the satisfaction. The Hindus and the Muslims had

become estranged from one another. They used to fight in the past too. But it lasted a day or two and then everybody forgot all about it. Today they had become so embittered that they felt as if they had been old enemies. He called this feeling weakness. They must shed it. Then alone could they become a great power. They had two choices before them. They could become a great military power or if they followed his way, they could become a great non-violent and invincible power. In either case the first condition was the shedding of all fear.

The only way to get near each other was that each must forget the mistakes of the other party and magnify its own. He recommended it to the Muslims as he did to the Hindus and the Sikhs with all the force at his command. Enemies of yesterday could become friends of today, provided they made a clean breast of their guilt. The policy of tit for tat was not conducive to friendship. If they would act up to his advice wholeheartedly, he would be able to leave Delhi and follow his mission in Pakistan.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 15-10-'47*

#### COLLECT GOLDEN DEEDS

Electricity in the prayer ground having failed, the loud-speaker was not working. Gandhiji, therefore, asked the audience to come nearer so that they could hear him better. He told them that he had received more blankets and also money for the purpose. One sister had sent a cheque for Rs. 2,000. Two Muslim friends had also sent blankets and money for buying more. He had requested them to keep and distribute them themselves. But the friends said that they were determined on handing over the gifts to Gandhiji for distribution among the Hindu and the Sikh refugees. They said that there was a time when they found fault with Gandhiji but they were now convinced that Gandhiji was the friend of all and enemy of none. In the atmosphere of mutual distrust and bitterness everywhere, such deeds were worth noticing. There was a book in English which is called the *Book of Golden Deeds*. They should have some such thing. No one should attribute motives to others for doing good. The two Muslim friends had not even given their names to him. It was said that every Muslim looked upon the Sikhs as his enemies and vice versa. It was true that many Muslims had lost sanity as many Hindus and Sikhs had. But it would be wholly wrong to condemn all for the faults of individuals, however many they might be. Many Hindus and Sikhs had said that they owed their lives to Muslim friends and many Muslims had made a similar admission. Such good Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims were to be found in every province. How he wished that the newspapers would give publicity to such news and avoid the mention of foul deeds which excited the spirit of revenge and retaliation! No doubt, there should be no exaggeration in describing good and generous deeds.

#### HINDI OR HINDUSTANI?

He had seen a paragraph in the Press that henceforth the official language of the U. P. would

be Hindi with the *devanagari* script. It hurt him. Of all the Muslims in the Indian Union, nearly one-fourth resided in the U. P. There were many Hindus like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who were Urdu scholars. Were they to forget the Urdu script? The right thing would be to keep both the scripts and make the use of either acceptable in all official dealings. This would result in the compulsory learning of both the scripts.

The language then would take care of itself and Hindustani would become the language of the Province. This knowledge of the two scripts would not be a waste. It would enrich them and enrich their language. No one should cavil at such a step.

They should treat the Muslims as equal citizens. Equality of treatment demanded respect for the Urdu script. They must not produce a State in which respectable life was impossible and still claim that they did not want the Muslims to go. If in spite of really equal treatment they (the Muslims) chose to go to Pakistan, it was their (the Muslims') own look out. There should be nothing in their behaviour to scare away the Muslims. They should be correct in their conduct. Then they could serve India and save Hinduism. They could not do so by killing the Muslims or driving them away or suppressing them in any way. They had to do the right thing irrespective of what happened in Pakistan.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 16-10-'47*

#### EXAMPLE OF MYSORE

Speaking after prayers Gandhi expressed satisfaction at the successful termination of *satyagraha* in the Mysore State. Mysore had joined the Indian Union. People there had been agitating for responsible government for some time. Recently they had again launched *satyagraha*. They had wired to him that they would strictly conform to the rules of *satyagraha* and that he should not worry about it in the least. Sir Ramaswamy Mudahar, the Prime Minister of Mysore was a widely travelled man. He had come to an honourable settlement with the State Congress. He congratulated the Maharaja, the Diwan and the State Congress on the happy issue. He commended the example of Mysore to all the other States. The rulers should become strictly constitutional like the King of England, so that the ruler and the ruled might both be happy and contented.

#### GOOD BEHAVIOUR

He was holding the prayer meetings on the grounds of a private house. They should appreciate the courtesy of the Birla Brothers in allowing them to come to their compound. It had hurt him to learn that some of the visitors had damaged the garden and plucked fruits from the trees without the permission of the *mah*. They should not even pluck a leaf without permission. Their sufferings should not make them forget the common rules of good behaviour.

#### EXPECTATIONS FROM THE SERVICES

He had received a complaint that he had issued an undeserved certificate of merit to the Civil Service, the Police and the Military. He had not

done so. He had only expressed his expectations of these services of the nation. That did not mean that they satisfied those expectations. The Civil Services, the Police and the Military including Britishers were now in India as servants of the people. The days when they behaved as masters, being in the pay of foreign rulers, were gone. They had to be loyal servants of the *Panchayat Raj*. They had to take orders from the ministers. They were to be above corruption and partiality. The people on the other hand were expected to give full co-operation to the administration. If the services failed in their duty, they would be guilty of breach of faith and proper steps would have to be taken to rectify the situation. The people had every right to ventilate their grievances against corrupt members of the services.

#### MINORITIES IN EASTERN PAKISTAN

Some people had come to see him from Eastern Pakistan. A large number of Hindus were leaving East Bengal. The friends sought Gandhi's advice in the matter. He could but repeat what he had said often enough. It was unbecoming for brave men and women to be bullied out of their homes. They should stay there and face death rather than dishonour or loss of self-respect. They should fear none but God. They should defend their religion, their honour and their citizens' rights with their lives. If they did not have that courage it was far better for them to go away. If they decided to leave East Bengal, it was the duty of the upper class Hindus such as doctors, lawyers, merchants etc. to see that the poor scheduled castes and others went first. They should be the last and not the first to leave. He could not be in every place at the same time. But he could make his voice reach them all. He was also asked to appeal to Dr. Ambedkar to tell the scheduled castes to die for their religion and honour. He gladly did so through the meeting.

The friends also asked him to tell Suhrawardy Saheb to go to Bengal and help Khwaja Saheb in the difficult task before him. Suhrawardy Saheb was not in Delhi. But he (the speaker) had no doubt that he (Suhrawardy Saheb) would go to Bengal on his return. The Muslim leaders in East Bengal had to produce conditions which would inspire the minority community with confidence. It was in the interests of all concerned to work for peace. If Pakistan would be a purely Muslim State and the Indian Union a purely Hindu and Sikh State, with no rights for the minorities on either side, it would mean ruin for both the States. He hoped and prayed that God would give them the wisdom to steer clear of the danger.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 17-10-'47*

#### THE SOVEREIGN REMEDY

In his after-prayer speech Gandhi referred to several letters and messages from friends expressing concern over his persistent cough. His speech was broadcast and so was the cough which was often troublesome in the evening and in the open. For the last four days, however, the cough had been on the whole less troublesome and he hoped

(Continued on p. 386)

# HARIJAN

October 26

1947

## A PUZZLE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writes:

"It would be well not to discuss even by way of joke the possibility of a war between our two States. But you have gone so far as to express the opinion that in the event of a war between the two, the Muslims of the Union should fight against those of Pakistan. Does it not then follow that the Hindus and other non-Muslims should do likewise? Now if such a war arises out of the communal question, no argument is likely to make the Muslims of the Union fight those of Pakistan and likewise the Hindus and the Sikhs of Pakistan. If, however, a war takes place between the two for other than the communal cause, you will not contend that the Hindus of Pakistan and the Muslims of the Union should fight Pakistan."

It is undoubtedly true that the possibility of a war between the two States should not be discussed by way of a joke. The adverb 'even' does not fit in. For, if the possibility be a reality, it would be a duty to discuss it. It might be folly not to do so.

It is my firm opinion that the rule that applies to the Muslims of the Union must in the same circumstance apply to the Hindus and other non-Muslims of Pakistan. I have expressed this view in my after-prayer speeches as also in my talks with friends here.

Of course, behind the opinion lies a train of reasoning. Loyalty cannot be evoked to order. If circumstances do not warrant it, it may be said to be impossible to achieve. There is a large number of people who do not believe in the possibility of such genuine loyalty and hence laugh out my opinion. Surely, there is nothing to laugh at in conceiving such a possibility. The Muslims of the Union will fight those of Pakistan when they regard it as a duty, in other words, when it is clear to them that they are being fairly treated in the Union and that the non-Muslims are not so treated in Pakistan. Such a state is not beyond the range of possibility.

Similarly, if the non-Muslims of Pakistan clearly feel that they are being fairly treated there and that they can reside there in safety and yet the Hindus of the Union maltreat the minorities, the minorities of Pakistan will naturally fight the majority in the Union. Then the minorities will not need any argument to induce them to do their duty.

It was our misfortune that the country was divided into two parts. The division was avowedly by reason of religious cleavage. Behind it might be economic and other causes. They could not have brought out the cleavage. The poison that fills the air arose also from the same communal cause. Irreligion masquerades as religion. It sounds nice to say that it would have been better if there had

been no communal question. But how could the fact be undone?

It has been repeatedly asked whether in the event of a war between the two, the Muslims of the Union will fight against the Muslims of Pakistan and the Hindus of one against those of the other. However unlikely it may appear at present, there is nothing inherently impossible in the conception. There is any day more risk in distrusting the profession of loyalty than in trusting it and courageously facing the danger of trusting. The question can be more convincingly put in this way: Will the Hindus ever fight the Hindus and the Muslims their coreligionists for the sake of truth and justice? It can be answered by a counter question. Does not history provide such instances?

In solving the puzzle the great stumbling block in the way is that truth is at a discount. Let us hope that in this holocaust some there are who will stand firm in their faith in the victory of truth.

New Delhi, 17-10-'47

(Rendered from the original in Gujarati)

## ORISSA—THE LAND OF HOPE AND PROMISE

Orissa has been the most neglected Province of India. It has suffered from poverty, oppression and floods. Twenty years ago Deenabandhu Andrews arranged for me to spend a few days in Orissa, studying the causes of the heavy opium consumption in the towns of Balasore and Cuttack. The Mahanadi river had just been in flood—as it has been every two or three years. There was widespread damage and people had been drowned. Deenabandhu Andrews helped to organize relief. But he had to fight the local Government, who did not wish the miseries of the Province to be published to the world. They accused him of exaggeration. A few months later Gandhiji visited Orissa; and Andrews, who accompanied him, described how the people were living under such fear of the authorities that they did not dare to approach their beloved leader.

More recently, some ten years ago, I heard from Agatha Harrison of the pitiable plight of the refugees who were so harassed in one of the Orissa States that they fled over the frontier into the Provincial territory. At that time Orissa was under its first Congress Ministry.

Twenty years ago my host in Balasore was a young Congress worker, Harekrishna Mehtab. Today he is the Prune Minister of free Orissa and I have just been his guest again. It is too soon to say that the people of Orissa are free of their poverty and wide-spread diseases of malnutrition but fear has gone and the future is full of hope.

Harekrishna Mehtab believes that a truly democratic government is one in which the majority rules with the consent of the minority. He is trying to put this principle into practice. Soon after the Calcutta massacres of last summer, rumours spread of communal murders in Orissa; but the rumours were false and were quickly nipped in the bud. The Muslim minority is small, but it is loyal in its support of the Government's measures.

Ninety years ago measures were proposed for harnessing the dangerous Mahanadi river. Again

and again in the intervening years, rest plans have been advanced, always to be postponed on the ground of excessive cost.

Now at last a really adequate, multi-purpose Mahanadi-harnessing scheme has been adopted, based in some respects on the notable precedent of the Tennessee Valley authority. The foundation stone of the Hirakud dam was laid eighteen months ago, but at that time the feelings of the local population had not been sufficiently considered. Some of the local zamindars stirred the people near Sambalpur, who must move from their lands, to make protests. Recently the Hirakud dam project, with all the technical reports and a wonderful series of maps, has been published. The members of the Provincial Assembly have had time to study it. After a series of prolonged discussions between the Prime Minister and his colleagues and the critics of the scheme, the Assembly endorsed the project by a unanimous vote at the end of August and in the interesting discussion of the project, the leader of the local Muslim League was one of its most ardent supporters.

If all goes well, the dam will be completed and the canals built in five years. After that, floods and droughts should be for ever banished from Orissa. Large uncultivated areas will be cultivable. The water power will be sufficient to supply a number of new industries, though the suggestion that Sambalpur may become the "Pittsburg of Orissa" will not appeal to anyone who knows Pittsburg. One of the first factories is to be a cement factory, supplying the cement for the dam and for all the needs of Orissa and the neighbouring provinces. For, there is an excellent supply of limestone close to Sambalpur. Orissa is, indeed, potentially rich with untapped mineral resources of great variety. The new Government is not falling into the error of supposing that everyone will be happy if factories and mines spread all over their fair land. They know that their first duty is to care for the humble villagers. Thus, the first step in the Hirakud dam project is the provision of good land and the building of good villages for the peasants whose lands will be flooded.

Within a few years it may be hoped that the Orissa States will see their way to fuse their administration with the Province.

Orissa is justly famous for its beautiful textiles. The modernization of Orissa need not interfere with this and other indigenous crafts. Old and new can help one another. Those who know Harekrishna Mehtab and his colleagues will expect great things of them in the next ten years; and it was a happy thought to appoint Dr. Katju as the first Governor of free Orissa.

A visit to Orissa today gives one a vivid sense of what free India can become. I have been writing this in Delhi, at the end of a day spent in visiting the tragic refugee camps. Even that sight cannot blot out the vision of hope. Black clouds still fill parts of the Indian sky; but light comes out of Orissa. May the light overcome the darkness.

New Delhi, 1-9-47

HORACE ALEXANDER

## INDIANS OVERSEAS

Q. In case the UNO fails to deal justly with the Indians in South Africa, what line of action would you advise the South African Indians to take?

A. I cannot even think of failure in *satyagraha*. It never fails. This is my firm belief.

Q. What effect do you think the failure of the UNO to deal justly with the South African-Indian dispute will have on the future of that organization?

A. If the UNO fails to deal justly with the South African-Indian dispute, the UNO will lose its prestige. I have no doubt that the UNO can prosper only if it is just.

Q. And what will be the effect of the failure on the world?

A. About the effect on the world no one knows. At least I do not.

Q. Racial inequality must be removed if there is to be peace in the world. What is your advice to those who agree with this but do nothing to fight the evil of racial inequality?

A. Those who agree that racial inequality must be removed and yet do nothing to fight the evil are impotent. I cannot have anything to say to such people. After all the underdogs will have to earn their own salvation.

Q. What remedy do you propose for the elimination of racial prejudice and antagonisms from the affairs of mankind?

A. The solution is largely in India's hands. If everything is all right in India internally, she is likely to play an effective part in straightening up affairs.

Q. What message have you for our countrymen overseas living in a distracted world?

A. The spirit of India at its best should be exhibited by each one in his own person. Our shortcomings must be buried in India.

(Gandhi's answers from the daily Press)

### An Opportunity Lost?

The staple diet of the British is meat. The war upset all customs and traditions. The most conservative of customs is the menu. Yet the force of circumstances has compelled the British to make drastic changes in the kind of food they eat. Naturally, in a meat-based diet cereals play only a secondary role. Still their Ministry of Food is wide awake to the needs of the nation. Today, the one time fashionable white bread is unprocurable. They had realized the folly of throwing away nutritive parts of food while the nation is experiencing a shortage of food stuffs. Brown whole meal bread rules the day.

Our country affords a striking contrast to this. Ours is a cereal-based diet in which cereals play the leading role. Masses of our people exist on nothing but rice, wheat and other cereals. Our Ministry of Food is so weak-kneed that even the Government ration shops have only polished rice for the people. Have we not lost a golden opportunity of banning rice mills and thus increasing the nutritive value of the food the masses eat? Is it too late to act even now?

J. C. K



## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

(Continued from p. 383)

it would soon disappear completely. The reason for the persistence of the cough had been that he had refused all medical treatment. Dr. Sushila had said that if at the outset he had taken penicillin he would have been alright in three days. Otherwise, it would take him three weeks to get over it. He did not doubt the efficacy of penicillin but he believed too that *Ramanama* was the sovereign remedy for all ills and, therefore, superseded all other remedies. In the midst of the flames that surrounded him on all sides, there was all the greater need for a burning faith in God. God alone could enable people to put down the fire. If He had to take work from Gandhiji, He would keep him alive, otherwise He would carry him away.

They had just heard the *bhajan* in which the poet had exhorted man to stick to *Ramanama*. He alone was the refuge of man. Therefore, in the present crisis he wished to throw himself entirely on God and not accept medical aid for a physical ailment.

## BLANKETS

He expressed satisfaction at the rate at which blankets and quilts were being received. They would soon be distributed to people in need.

## REMOVE CONTROLS

The committee appointed by Dr. Rajendra Prasad had finished its deliberations. It was to consider the question of food only. But he (Gandhiji) had expressed his opinion sometime ago that control over food and cloth should be removed without further delay. The war was over. Yet the prices were going up. There was food in the country and cloth too. Yet it did not reach the people. It was a sad state of affairs. The Government was trying to spoon-feed the people. Instead of that the people should be thrown on their own resources. The Civil Service was used to carrying on work from their offices. The red tape and the files controlled their activity. They had never come in contact with the peasants. They did not know them. He wished they would be humble enough to recognize the change that had come over the people. Their initiative should not be strangled by the controls. They should be allowed to be self-reliant. Democracy should not result in making them helpless. Supposing that the worst fears were realized and removal of controls made the situation worse, there was nothing to prevent them from reverting to them. Personally he believed that it would greatly ease the situation. The people would begin to exert themselves to solve the problems and have little time to quarrel among themselves.

## SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA

He had received a telegram thanking him for his remarks about *satyagraha* in South Africa. He had merely stated what he believed to be the truth. There was no defeat in *satyagraha*, there was no turning back. He quoted the first line of the late Pundit Rambhadracharya's verses — "We will die rather than accept defeat." The author had written those lines at the time of the martial law in the Punjab,

when the people there were subjected to unheard-of indignities. But the lines were for all time. The condition always was that the cause must be true and just. Even a handful of *satyagrahis* was enough to vindicate the honour of India.

They had also asked him to appeal for funds. The Indians in South Africa were not a poor community. But he could understand the wants of the few passive resisters. India was today passing through a financial crisis. The fratricide and the mass migration had resulted in loss of crores of revenue. He had not the heart to ask Indians under the present circumstances to give financial assistance to the passive resisters. But if anyone was prepared to give financial help, he would be glad. There were, however, large numbers of Indians overseas in East Africa, Mauritius and other places. Most of them were well off and there was no question of Hindu-Muslim differences amongst them. They were all Indians and he expected them to send money to their brethren in South Africa, who were fighting for the cause of Indian honour. Those engaged in *satyagraha* did not want luxuries. They just wanted money for the bare necessities of life. It was the duty of the Indians overseas to give the necessary assistance.

Birla House, New Delhi, 18-10-'47

## BLANKETS SENT TO KURUKSHETRA

Speaking after the prayers Gandhiji said that he was glad to be able to report that more blankets and money were received. He hoped that if blankets came in at this rate, there would be no difficulty in providing them for all the needy refugees. He was also glad that Sardar Patel had issued a similar appeal. Gandhiji stated that Dr. Sushila Nayyar, who has been working for the comforts of the refugees, had left for Kurukshetra in the morning along with Mrs. Mathai, Mrs. R. Saran and Mrs. Krishnabai. She had taken with her a large number of blankets and clothings for the refugees.

## THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

Gandhiji then mentioned the letters he had been receiving in connection with the opinion expressed by him about the adoption of Hindustani as the national language. He had no doubt that Hindustani would be the best suited interprovincial language for all Indians. Neither persianized Urdu nor sanskritized Hindi could easily be understood by the masses. With the end of British Raj, the English language had to go as the common medium of speech or the court language. It was a usurpation. He honoured the English language in its own place. It could never become India's national language. An esteemed friend had, however, suggested that the English language was soon going to be displaced from the position that did not belong to it. But his harping on the subject, the writer feared, might transfer the dislike of the language to the people who spoke it, i. e., the English. The writer knew that if any such mishap occurred, he (Gandhiji) would be cut to the quick so much so that he might even

go mad with grief over the unexpected tragedy. The warning was timely. The audience should know that he always made a distinction between the doer and his deed. The deed might be worthy of dislike, never the doer. He was reminded that he knew that the distinction was rarely borne in mind. Men generally confused the deed with the doer and the orbit of condemnation included both the doer and the deed. The writer also warned him that he (Gandhi) had to make allowance for the Anglo-Indians, the Goans and others with whom English had become the mother tongue. Did Gandhi ever contemplate that these would be suddenly dismissed for want of knowledge of Hindi or Hindustani whichever finally became the inter-provincial speech? The writer knew that he (Gandhi) would never entertain any such idea. Gandhi said that the writer was correct in his fear. Nevertheless, he did expect that within a given period they would all attain a working knowledge of Hindustani. No oppression should be felt by the minorities, however small they might be. There was need for the gentlest handling of all such questions.

The same earnest friend had reminded him that his (Gandhi's) insistence on the two scripts was likely to displace both and make room for the Roman script. The friend had partiality for the Roman script. He (Gandhi) did not share it. Nor did he fear that the two scripts would ever be displaced by the Roman. He did not wish to enter into argument over the question. He simply referred to the subject to show that their nationalism was poor stuff if it shirked the learning of the two scripts. Their love of their country should make the learning of the two scripts a matter of joy. He instanced the example of Sheikh Abdulla Saheb who informed him only that afternoon that during his imprisonment in Kashmir he was able with ease to learn Hindi and the *nagari* script. What the Sheikh Saheb was able to do, was surely equally easy for other nationalists.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 19-10-'47*

Speaking after prayers Gandhi announced that since the days were getting shorter, people were finding 6 p. m. too late to attend the prayers. Therefore, from Monday the prayers would be held at 5-30 p. m. instead of 6 p. m.

#### IS IT SWARAJ?

Referring to the *bhajan* of the evening, he said that there were touching reminiscences in connection with it. Almost all the *bhajans* in the *Bhajanavali* had a history behind them. The collection was made by the late Pandit Khare, an ashramite who was a musician and a devotee. He was helped by Kakasaheb. This particular song was often sung by the late Maganlal Gandhi, who was the manager of the Ashram at Sabarmati. He had been with Gandhi in South Africa and had given himself to the service of the nation. He had a good voice and a strong constitution. After his return to India he lost his robustness. The burden that fell to his lot was too heavy for one man. To carry the message

of constructive work and Swaraj to the millions was not an easy thing. He often sang this *bhajan* with great pathos. In it the poet expressed his disappointment at not seeing God face to face. The night of waiting seemed like an age. Maganlal's God was the realization of his dream of Swaraj, i. e., the Kingdom of God. That dream seemed far off. It could only be realized through constructive work. If the people had carried out the constructive programme laid before them then, they would not be witnessing the scenes that they were witnessing to-day. Swaraj was said to have been achieved on the 15th of August last. He could not call it Swaraj. In Swaraj brothers could not fly at each others' throats. A free India aspired to be friends with all. It aspired to own no enemies in the whole world. But alas! today her own sons, the Hindus and the Sikhs on the one side and the Muslims on the other were thirsting for one another's blood.

Gandhi told them all this in order to impress upon them that if they wanted to realize their dream of real Swaraj, they had to feel a constant yearning for it like the late Shri Maganlal Gandhi. God was formless. Man imagined Him in various forms. If they wanted to see God in the form of Rama Rai, the first requisite was self-introspection. They had to magnify their own faults a thousandfold and shut their eyes to the faults of their neighbours. That was the only way to real progress. Today they had fallen. The Hindus and the Sikhs were looked upon as enemies by the Muslims and vice versa. They had no respect for each other's religion. The temples were destroyed and converted into mosques, the mosques were destroyed and converted into temples. It was a sad state of affairs. It could not but lead to destruction of both the religions.

#### THE ONLY WAY

How were they to quench the flames? He had told them the only method. They had to be correct in their behaviour irrespective of what others did. He was not unaware of the sufferings of the Hindus and the Sikhs in Pakistan. But knowing that he wanted to overlook them. Otherwise, he would go mad. He would not be able to serve India. They were to look upon the Muslims in the Union as their blood-brothers. Delhi was said to be at peace. It brought him little solace. It was due to the presence of the military and the police. There was no love lost between the Hindus and the Muslims. The hearts were still estranged. He (Gandhi) did not know whether there were any Muslims in the meeting. If there was any, he did not know whether he felt at home. Sheikh Abdulla Saheb and some Muslim friends were at the prayer meeting the day before. So was the widow of Kidwai Saheb's brother, who for no fault of his was murdered in cold blood in Mussoorie. He confessed that he was uneasy about their presence not because he was at all anxious about their persons. He flattered himself with the belief that no harm could befall them in his presence. But he was not equally sure that they could not be insulted. He would have to

hang his head in shame if they were insulted in any way. Why should there be any such fear about Muslim brethren? Surely, they should feel as safe among them as they themselves. This could not happen until they learnt the art of magnifying their own faults and minimizing those of their neighbours. All eyes rested on India, which had become the hope of Asia and Africa, nay of the whole world. If India was to realize the hope, it had to stop the fratricide and all Indians had to live like friends and brothers. Clean hearts were the first condition of that happy state.

## SHORTAGE OF CONSUMER GOODS

In spite of the fact that the Western economic organization has been based on mass production on a large scale by centralized methods for over hundred years and working at a feverish rate in the most of the European countries and in America, we find that those very countries which have taken to this method of production are suffering from a tremendous shortage of consumer goods. Not only the production of Europe itself has not been sufficient to meet the demand, but the four corners of the earth have been scoured to obtain the hoarded material wealth of other countries as well and even then we are faced with starvation and famine. This phenomenon of a shortage of goods caused by a method of production aiming at heaping up material wealth resulting in shortage of goods for the people, would appear to be intensifying as time passes by, and yet the people entrusted with the future programme of our country are ardently following the Western countries. It seems to us clear as day light that if we take the same steps as they have done, we shall reach the same destination and hence it is the duty of every citizen to study the reasons for this extraordinary phenomenon.

Production, if it is to satisfy the demand, should take into consideration the various forms of demand and if such production is calculated to meet all that demand, then there will be a surplus, but if the demand exceeds the production there will be a short supply. Therefore, the present shortage of consumer goods in Europe suggests that there is a factor of demand which has been overlooked. If this factor could be dealt with, then only it is possible to meet the full needs of the various countries. It does not require any deep study to discover the fact that this missing factor is war. The centralized methods of production have been based on the proposition of the control of sources of raw materials and markets for finished goods. At both these points violence is necessary to enable the manufacturers to lord it over the raw material producers and the consumers. Hence it is that war has become an essential part of this productive machinery. Unfortunately, the powers that be have not taken into consideration the demands of war and, therefore, what is produced

in peace time in large quantities proves to be absolutely insufficient to meet the demands created during war time. The last two global wars have proved to be voracious consumers. The destruction that has taken place has been much greater than the productive power of the machinery evolved during peace time. Hence, if we aim at an ample supply of consumer goods, we have to switch over to a method in which war does not figure as an integral part of the machinery of production.

The leading materialistic nations of the world are not, or do not choose to be, cognisant of this fact and they are again leading the people in the wrong direction. An American news item states that great preparations are being made for a possible war in three new dimensions. President Truman's Scientific Research Board has reported that "it was pouring out" vast sums for the development of guided missiles, jet and rocket aircraft, atomic weapons, agents of poison and bacteriological warfare and a host of electronic devices. It is stated that among the more significant electronic developments is the revolutionary Radar fire control system. The Federal Agencies are spending 624 million dollars this year on these various "scientific" projects. More than five sixths of this total is to be spent on war research. The armed forces are now relying heavily upon such research and development as vital to the effective prosecution of their programme. When the best brains of a country are being prostituted into the paths of destruction, can it be any wonder that the world is suffering from a shortage of consumer goods? Until our leaders wake up to the fact and organize the country on a sane basis, eschewing all forms of wanton destruction from their programme, it is not possible to expect palmy days in front of us.

It should seem futile for India to follow the Western economic systems that have produced the results that we see all around us. We have, therefore, to evolve a system which will produce more than our demand. It may not present such glowing pictures to ensnare the population, but it may prove to be, in the long run, a wiser course, bringing in peace and prosperity to the producers themselves and to the people around them.

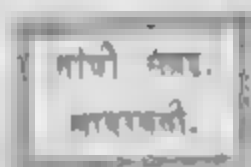
J. C. KUMARAPPA

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## WHERE AHIMSA, WHERE KHADI?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent from Kathiawad writes.

"Like as in many districts or provinces so in Kathiawad people are fast withdrawing their faith in *khadi* and *ahimsa*. Many Congressmen and Gandhites seem to argue how non-violence can work in matters political."

The writer of the letter enters into a number of arguments giving illustrations. I have, however, satisfied myself with giving the dominant sentences in the letter. In them are embedded three errors:

I have been explaining of late\* that neither in Kathiawad nor in other parts of India had people real faith in non-violence or *khadi*. It is true that I deceived myself into the belief that people were being wedded to non-violence with *khadi* as its symbol. As a matter of fact in the name of non-violence people observed the outward peace of the impotent. They had never even attempted to drive violence from their hearts. He who runs can see for himself the verification of this fact. It had become patent to everyone, when I went to Rajkot in connection with the Rajkot imbroglio, that there was no *Rama* in Rajkot and, therefore, Kathiawad. Hence, it is hardly apt to say that their faith is on the wane now-a-days.

It is equally improper to question now the efficacy of non-violence in matters political. What was the people's fight against the foreign power, if it was not a political matter? Indeed, the disgraceful fight between brother and brother that we are witnessing today is much less political. Today, irreligion is stalking the country in the name of religion. Even the outward peace that we were able to observe in the fight against the foreign power is conspicuous by its absence today.

The third error consists in the distinction the correspondent makes between Congressites and Gandhites. It has no foundation in fact. If there is one Gandhite, it must be me. I hope, however, that I am humble enough not to arrogate any such claim. Gandhite means a worshipper of Gandhi. There must be a God to worship. But I have never arrogated to myself any such claim. Hence, there can be no devotee of mine. Moreover, how can it be said

that those who call themselves Gandhites are not also Congressites? There are innumerable servants of the Congress although they are not four anna members with their names registered in a Congress register. The reader should know that I myself belong to that category. Hence, it is contended that the distinction made by my correspondent is meaningless. I have repeatedly said that I have neither part nor say in many things that are going on in the country today. It is no secret that the Congress willingly said goodbye to non-violence when it accepted power. Again, I firmly believe that the method of rationing of food and clothing is highly injurious for the country. If I had my way, I would not buy a grain of foodstuff from outside India. It is my firm belief that even today there is enough foodstuff in the country. Only the villagers have felt compelled to conceal the cereals and pulses under the insufferable control. Again, if people follow me, there would be no deadly quarrel between the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims. The plain matter of fact is that I am not the current coin that, I had fancied, I once was. Mine is a voice in the wilderness.

As for *khadi*, it has a kind of a place if we tear it from its root which is *ahimsa*. It no longer occupies the proud place of being the symbol par excellence of *ahimsa*. Those who being in the political field support *khadi* do so because it has attained that vogue. Today three cheers belong not to *khadi* but to mill cloth for we labour under the delusion that but for the manufactures from our mills, millions would have to go naked. Can there be a greater hallucination than this? We grow enough cotton in the country. We have any number of handlooms and spinning wheels. India is not unused to the art of hand-spinning and hand-weaving, but somehow or other the fear has seized us that the millions will not take to hand-spinning and weaving hand-spun yarn for their own needs. A haunted man will detect fear even when there is no cause for it. And do we not know that many more die of fright than of the actual disease, the very name of which has given them the fright?

New Delhi, 25-10-47

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

## GANDHIJ'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

*Birla House, New Delhi, 20-10-'47*

### IS IT THE LAST CRIME ?

The Rajkumari informed me last night after prayers that a Muslim Health Officer was butchered yesterday, while he was on duty. He was, she told me, a good, conscientious officer. He leaves a widow and children. The widow was so distracted that her one wish was that she and her children were also similarly butchered, now that their caretaker and bread-winner was removed from their midst by cruel hands.

I told you only last evening that all was not well with Delhi as it appeared on the surface. So long as tragedies, such as I have described, continue to occur, there is little ground for rejoicing over the silence that reigns on the surface in Delhi. Is it the silence of the grave as was once said of the surface silence during his Viceroyalty by the then Lord Irwin, now Lord Halifax ?

The Rajkumari added that it was no easy task to get together a sufficient number of Muslim friends who would perform the burial rites in strict accord with the *Quran*.

This narrative must cause any sensitive mind, as it causes me, a shudder. Should Delhi come to such a pass ? It is a sure sign of cowardice for the majority to dread a minority however powerful it might be.

I hope that the authorities will trace the perpetrators of the crime and bring them to justice.

If it was the last of such crimes, I should have little to say, deplorable though even such a crime would always be. But I very much fear that it is a pointer. The conscience of Delhi must be quickened by it.

### MORE BLANKETS RECEIVED

Money for blankets continues to pour in. My thanks go out to all the donors. It is good, too, that not one donation is ear-marked for this community or that.

### AN OPEN LETTER

It is my painful duty to draw attention to another menace, if it be one. A Britisher writes in an open letter " To whom it may concern

" Several of us are living in a lonely spot in a disturbed area. We are pure British and for years we have devoted ourselves at great personal sacrifice to the welfare of the people of this country . . . . . We now find that a secret word has gone out that all the British left in India are to be murdered. I read in the newspapers Pandit Nehru's assurance that the Government will protect the persons and property of all loyal citizens of the State. But there is no protection for persons living in little country places or almost none. None at all for us. It is a physical impossibility "

There is much else in this open letter which can be quoted with advantage. I have reproduced enough to warn us of the lurking danger. Of course, it may be only a scare and there may be nothing beyond it. There may be no secret circular

There is, however, prudence in not disregarding such warnings. I am hoping that the writer's fears are wholly groundless. I agree with him that all promise of protection by authority in isolated places is vain. It simply cannot be done, no matter how efficient the military and police machine may be, which, it must be admitted it is not at present. Protection must come first from within, i. e. from rock-like faith in God and secondly from the goodwill of the neighbouring population. If neither is present, the best and the safest way is to leave India's inhospitable shore. Things have not come to such a pass. The duty of all of us is to regard with special attention all the Britishers who choose to remain in India as its faithful servants. They must be free from every kind of insult or disregard. The Press and public bodies have to be circumspect in this as in many other respects if we are to render a good account of ourselves as a free and self-respecting nation. Those who respect themselves cannot make good the claim if they will not respect their neighbours, however few or insignificant they may be.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 21-10-'47*

### ANOTHER CRIME

In his post-prayer speech Gandhiji said he had heard of another sad incident. It was not a communal murder. The victim was a Hindu Government officer. A soldier shot him dead, because he would not act as he was directed. This tendency to use the gun on the slightest pretext was a grave portent. There were barbarous people in the world, with whom life had no value. They shot dead human beings as they would shoot down birds or beasts. Was free India to be in that category ? Man had not the power to create life, hence he had no right to take it. Yet the Muslims murdered the Hindus and the Sikhs and vice versa. When this cruel game was finished, the blood lust was bound to result in the Muslims slaughtering the Muslims and the Hindus and the Sikhs slaughtering the members of their own communities themselves. Gandhiji hoped they would never reach that savage state. That was their fate, unless they (both the States) pulled themselves together and set things right before it was too late.

### NO INTERFERENCE WITH LAW

Gandhiji then referred to another question. In some places authority had arrested several people who were implicated in rioting. Under the old regime people appealed to the Viceroy for clemency, who had to follow prescribed rules however faulty they were. Now they appealed to their ministers. Were they to act according to their own sweet will ? He thought not. The ministers could not act capriciously. They were bound to let the law take its own course. Clemency of the State had a definite place and had to be exercised under due safeguard. The only way such cases could be withdrawn was by complainants appealing to the courts concerned to release the prisoners concerned. Heinous crimes did not admit of such easy discharges. In such cases it was not enough for the

complainants to abstain from giving evidence against the accused. The latter had to confess their crimes and ask for mercy. And if there was sincere co-operation from the complainants free pardon was a possibility. What he wanted to stress was that no minister had the right to interfere with the course of justice even for his dearest ones. It was the function of democracy to make justice cheap and expeditious and to ensure all possible purity in the administration. But for ministers to dare to replace or influence courts of justice was the very negation of democracy and law.

A friend had warned Gandhiji that as his speeches were recorded on the Radio, he should not talk for more than 15 minutes at the outside. He appreciated the warning. He had, therefore, cut down further remarks and hoped thenceforth to follow the practice.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 22-10-'47*

Speaking after prayers Gandhiji said that he was still receiving blankets and money for blankets. He was glad for the generous nature underlying the gift.

#### A PARAGRAPH FROM AN URDU DAILY

A friend had read out a passage from an Urdu daily to him in the afternoon. He hardly ever read Urdu newspapers. He knew Urdu but he could not read it with the required ease. Friends read out to him passages from Urdu newspapers from time to time. In the paragraph that was read out to him that day, the editor had stated among other inciting things that the Hindus were determined to turn out the Muslims from the Union. They must either go or have their heads cut off. He hoped that it reflected the opinion of the editor only. If it reflected the opinion of a substantial section of the public, it was a matter of great shame, and anxiety for the very existence of India. He had told them the consequences of this ruinous policy the previous evening. It was bound to lead to the Hindus and the Sikhs killing each other ultimately. A friend had told him that a start in that direction had already been made. The newspapers had taken the place of the *Gita*, the Bible and the *Quran* with the people. For them the printed sheet was gospel truth. The fact threw a great responsibility on the editors and newswriters. The kind of stuff that was read out to him that afternoon should never be allowed to be published. Such newspapers should be banned.

#### WITHER STATES?

Another friend had spoken to him of the chaos that was to be found in the States. The British exercised a certain amount of control over the States. With the lapse of paramountcy that was gone. The Sardar had taken the place but he had not the might of the British bayonet to help him. It was true that most of them had acceded to the Indian Union. Nevertheless, they did not feel bound to the Central Government. Many fancied that they were freer than under British suzerainty to treat the ryots as they chose. He himself belonged to a State and was a friend of the Princes. As such he wished to warn the Princes that the only

way to save themselves was to become real trustees for their people. They could not live as autocratic rulers. They could not annihilate their people. Whatever might be in store for India, if any of the Princes dreamt of becoming absolute rulers, they were greatly mistaken. They could only live on the goodwill of their people. The millions of India had resisted the might of the British Empire and won their freedom. Today they seemed to have gone mad. Let not the Princes follow suit. Autocracy, profligacy and drunkenness would lead to sure ruin.

#### DUSSEHRA AND BAKR ID

Lastly Gandhiji referred to the approaching festivals of *Dussehra* and *Bakr Id*. Everyone was anxious. In the Indian Union, trouble, if it arose, could only be started by the Hindus. He reminded them of the origin of the *Dussehra* festival. It was to commemorate the victory of Rama over Ravana. *Durga Puja* meant worship of the all-pervading *Shakti*. The ten days were followed by *Bharat Milap*. All this connoted self-restraint not lenience. The nine days were the days of fasting and prayer. His mother used to fast during these nine days. They, her children, were taught to practise as much abstinence as they could. Were they to celebrate the sacred occasion by killing and harrassing their brothers? The Muslims in the Union, including the Nationalist Muslims, did not know what was in store for them on the morrow. Were they to live in the Union on pain of being forcibly converted? The last state was worse than the first. He had protested against forcible conversions of the Hindus and the Sikhs to Islam. He would expect them to prefer death to forcible conversions. The same thing applied to the Muslims. He had no use for people who could change their religion like their clothes. They would not be an asset to any religion. Hinduism could not be saved by following any of the three alternatives. The only honourable way was for those in the Union to live as brothers. Let them shed all enmity and bitterness on the occasion of these festivals. Then he would proceed to Pakistan with renewed self-confidence. He could not be satisfied until every Hindu and Sikh returned to his home in safety and honour and the Muslims did likewise.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 23-10-'47*

#### TO REFUGEES STAYING WITH FRIENDS

Gandhiji read out a note written to him by two refugees from Rawalpindi. They were staying with friends in the city. They had lost everything and wanted to know if there was any means of people like them getting blankets or quilts. Gandhiji's reply was that free blankets and quilts were meant for really destitute refugees who were staying in the refugee camps. It was the duty of friends and relatives to supply covering for those staying with them. But he could well imagine the difficulty of those who were hardly able to make the two ends meet. They could not give blankets to those staying with them. He was clear that there should be some means of helping such people. The difficulty was

(Continued on p. 394)

# HARIJAN

November 2

1947

## OF NEW UNIVERSITIES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There seems to be a mania for establishing new universities in the provinces. Gujarat wants one for Gujarati, Maharashtra for Marathi, Carnatic for Kannad, Orissa for Oriya, Assam for Assami and what not. I do believe that there should be such universities if these rich provincial languages and the people who speak them are to attain their full height.

At the same time I fear that we betray ourselves into undue haste in accomplishing the object. The first step should be linguistic political redistribution of provinces. Their separate administration will naturally lead to the establishment of universities where there are none. The province of Bombay absorbs three languages - Gujarati, Marathi and Kannad and, therefore, stunts their growth. Madras absorbs four: Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannad. Thus, there is overlapping also. That Andhradesh has an Andhra University is true. In my opinion it does not occupy the place it would if Andhra was a separate administrative unit, free from foreign control. India attained that freedom only two months ago. The same thing can be said of the Annamalai University. Who can say that Tamil has come to its own in that University?

There should be a proper background for new universities. They should have feeders in the shape of schools and colleges which will impart instruction through the medium of their respective provincial languages. Then only can there be a proper milieu. University is at the top. A majestic top can only be sustained if there is a sound foundation.

Though we are politically free, we are hardly free from the subtle domination of the West. I have nothing to say to that school of politicians who believe that knowledge can only come from the West. Nor do I subscribe to the belief that nothing good can come out of the West. I do fear, however, that we are unable as yet to come to a correct decision in the matter. It is to be hoped that no one contends that because we seem to be politically free from foreign domination, the mere fact gives us freedom from the more subtle influence of the foreign language and foreign thought. Is it not wisdom, does not duty to the country dictate that before we embark on new universities we should stop and fill our own lungs first with the ozone of our newly got freedom? A university never needs a pile of majestic buildings and treasures of gold and silver. What it does need most of all is the intelligent backing of public opinion. It should have a large reservoir of teachers to draw upon. Its founders should be far-seeing.

In my opinion it is not for a democratic State to find money for founding universities. If the people

want them they will supply the funds. Universities so founded will adorn the country which they represent. Where administration is in foreign hands, whatever comes to the people comes from top and thus they become more and more dependent. Where it is broad-based on popular will, everything goes from bottom upward and hence it lasts. It is good looking and strengthens the people. In such a democratic scheme money invested in the promotion of learning gives a tenfold return to the people even as a seed sown in good soil returns a luxuriant crop. Universities founded under foreign domination have run in the reverse direction. Any other result was perhaps impossible. Therefore, there is every reason for being cautious about founding new universities till India has digested the newly-acquired freedom.

Then take Hindu-Muslim question. The poison has assumed dangerous proportions, such that it is difficult to forecast where it will land us. Assume that the unthinkable has happened and that not a single Muslim can remain in the Union safely and honourably and that neither Hindu nor Sikh can do likewise in Pakistan. Our education will then wear a poisonous form. If, on the other hand, Hindus, Muslims and all the others who may belong to different faiths can live in either communion with perfect safety and honour, then in the nature of things our education will take a shape altogether pleasing. Either people of different faiths having lived together in friendship have produced a beautiful blend of cultures, which we shall strive to perpetuate and increasingly strengthen the shape, or we shall cast about for the day when there was only one religion represented in Hindustan and retrace our steps to that exclusive culture. It is just possible that we might not be able to find any such historical date and if we do and we retrace our steps, we shall throw our culture back to that ugly period and deservedly earn the execration of the universe. By way of example, if we make the vain attempt to obliterate the Muslim period, we shall have to forget that there was a mighty Juma Masjid in Delhi second to none in the world, or that there was a Muslim University in Aligarh, or that there was the Taj in Agra, one of the seven wonders of the world, or that there were the great forts of Delhi and Agra built during the Moghal period. We shall then have to rewrite our history with that end in view. Surely, today we have not the atmosphere which will enable us to come to a right conclusion about the conflicting choices. Our two months old freedom is struggling to get itself shaped. We do not know what shape it will ultimately take. Until we know this definitely, it should be enough if we make such changes as are possible in the existing universities and breathe in our existing educational institutions the quickening spirit of freedom. The experience we will thus gain will be helpful when the time is ripe for founding new universities.

Last but not least remains Basic Education. It is an infant not more than eight years old. Therefore, actual experience does not take us beyond



what may be termed the matriculation stage. Thus, though it is limited in scope, the mind of those who are engaged in making the experiment has grown far beyond that stage. It would be unwise for any educationist to put aside the recommendations of a body which has behind it the solid experience of eight years. It should be borne in mind that this Basic Education has grown out of the atmosphere surrounding us in the country and is in response to it. It is, therefore, designed to cope with that atmosphere. This atmosphere pervades India's seven hundred thousand villages and its millions of inhabitants. Forget them and you forget India. India is not to be found in her cities. It is in her innumerable villages. The cities rose in answer to the requirements of foreign domination. They exist as they were two months ago, for though foreign rule has disappeared, its influence has not and cannot quite so suddenly. Thus, I am writing these lines in New Delhi. If I know nothing of the villages of India how can I draw, sitting here, a true picture of the villages? What applies to me applies more forcibly to the ministers.

Let us now glance at the fundamentals of Basic Education

1. All education to be true must be self-supporting, that is to say, in the end it will pay its expenses excepting the capital which will remain intact.
2. In it the cunning of the hand will be utilized even up to the final stage, that is to say, hands of the pupils will be skilfully working at some industry for some period during the day.
3. All education must be imparted through the medium of the provincial language.
4. In this there is no room for giving sectional religious training. Fundamental universal ethics will have full scope.
5. This education, whether it is confined to children or adults, male or female, will find its way to the homes of the pupils.
6. Since millions of students receiving this education will consider themselves as of the whole of India, they must learn an inter-provincial language. This common inter-provincial speech can only be Hindustani written in *nagari* or *urdu* script. Therefore, pupils have to master both the scripts.

Therefore, it is hoped that all educationists will come to the conclusion that judicious delay is necessary for founding new universities.

New Delhi, 25-10-'47

(Adapted from the original in Gujarati)

### SELF-RESTRAINT v. SELF-INDULGENCE

[Revised one volume Edition]

By Gandhi

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## HOW TO GROW MORE FOOD

I

Sometimes things don't get taken up, just because they are so simple. "Grow More Food" is one such thing. It is not the process of growing more food which is the insurmountable hurdle, but the job of getting peoples' minds and hearts drawn to the matter.

Has not Gandhi told us time after time that it is possible for us to make up India's food deficit by our own efforts within the country, and that it is wrong for us to look to other countries for help? We ought to be ashamed to be sitting in this listless manner, making no personal effort, and consoling ourselves with the news, which keep coming in the papers, of grain-ships reaching us from abroad. These grain-ships do not come here and deposit grain for nothing! Crores of rupees out of India's hard-squeezed budget have to go out of the country for this. And we sit watching! Is this the way to build up our new-born liberty?

We must pull ourselves together, and stop sliding down this slope of degeneration. Everyone can help, from the private individual to the huge Government machine

1. The people who have not got even an inch of land, can collect together old broken pots, pails and boxes, put a little earth in them, and raise salads and vegetables.

2. The owners of bungalows and houses can supply the city and town markets throughout India with green vegetables roots, potatoes, pumpkins, marrows and the like at reasonable rates.

3. The municipalities can augment this supply (adding grain crops where the land is sufficient) through the cultivation of public gardens parks, etc.

4. The Governments can aid the villagers far more effectively than they are doing at present, in the better development of already cultivated land.

These are no new suggestions, but except in a few rare cases, they have been quietly slept over, while the country has been passing through an ever worsening food crisis!

We suffer deplorably from big schemes and little field-work, big talk and little action. What I have suggested above needs no big outlay in money or equipment. It needs *active human interest*. No schemes, however heavily financed, will succeed without this vital force, and any scheme, even if devoid of financial aid, will do wonders if that force is present.

Just see how simple it will be if that *active human interest* is awakened.

1. The landless folks will be producing and eating, within a few days, crisp, health-giving mustard salads, and within a few weeks their verandahs and roofs will be edged and festooned with attractive vegetable bearing plants and creepers.

2. The owners of bungalows will discuss matters with their *malis*, and the local Agriculture Department Officers. They will then supply their *malis* with the necessary seeds and manures, and will themselves give their spare time to working in their gardens. (Better health owing to the fresh

air and exercise gained in the garden will be a pleasant by-product.) The money spent on seeds and manures will be far more than covered by the value of the garden produce.

3 The municipalities will turn their *males'* activities from flower and lawn-grass cultivation to food production, and they will draw from the city public squares of volunteer workers who will take their air and exercise by working on the land in these municipal grounds. It will become the pride of the city folk to lend a voluntary hand in the cultivation of their city's soil. Here again the produce will more than repay the cost. Labour is what puts up the price of production, and labour does not have to be counted in this situation. The *males* are already there, spending their time on work which brings in no returns, and the rest of the labour will be voluntary.

4. The Government assistance to the villagers is a much bigger job, but without any increased finances great strides can be made when once that vital force, the *active human interest* is awakened in the Government departmental staff. From the Secretaries of Departments, sitting in the Secretariates down to the smallest officials in the field-work they have the wrong outlook, and the wrong approach. The vast Government machinery is such that, if a good man gets into it he has either to deteriorate or get out. The big officers are paid too much, and the petty officials are paid too little and all have to maintain an artificial standard of living and dress. Lazy indifference nurtured by red-tapism, inefficiency, corruption, and lack of living contact with the masses, are characteristics which the Government machine inevitably develops in its employees. So the pre-requisite for any successful "Grow More Food" scheme, through Government, is cleansed and completely reorientated Government machinery. It is not a case of the Government spending more money, but of the Development Departments spending the money already at their disposal, in the right way, without the delays, and wastes and wrong approaches at present prevailing. The drawing up of development schemes which is at present going on at the Centre and in the Provinces, is putting the cart before the horse. The first scheme, which has to be thought out and put into action, is the creation of administrative machinery which will be able successfully to implement the Development schemes. Everywhere in the Government circles I find the admission that the machine is bad, but because of the nature of the problem, everyone tries to evade the fact that revolutionary changes need to be carried out. To talk of big schemes without openly facing up to this fact is to hoodwink the public.

Therefore, I say, to develop the food-growing resources of the country through Government agency, we must at once and completely readjust the administrative machinery. Through that achievement all else will grow and flourish, with less cost and increased production.

New Delhi, 23-10-'47

MIRABHAI

(To be continued)

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

(Continued from p. 391)

that some people would ask for free gifts of blankets etc. when they were not destitutes in reality if he started supplying free blankets to all who asked for them, it would be impossible to cope with the demand. He had given them to some hoping that no one would deceive him and those who came to him with requests for blankets really needed them.

Birla Mandir was full of refugees. Birla Brothers took pains to give relief to as many as they could. Goswami was trying his level best to help the refugees. But the problem was so colossal that it was difficult to cope with it adequately. All that he could say was that he did not wish a single individual to suffer for lack of blankets in the fast approaching winter.

### YET ANOTHER CRIME

He had heard with sorrow of another murder. A poor Muslim, who had a spectacles shop, went to open it hoping that things had at last settled down. He was murdered as he was opening his shop. Why should such a thing happen? Where were the police and the military? The shop was not in a lonely place. Why did not any of the neighbours try to stop the act? He could understand the bitterness of the Hindus and the Sikhs at the sufferings of their brethren in Pakistan. But the desire for revenge and retaliation must be checked. They must not degrade themselves by wreaking vengeance on innocent Muslims in the Union. Delhi was as much the home of the Muslims as of the Hindus and the Sikhs.

### LEPROSY CONFERENCE AT WARDHA

But he had thought of reserving his remarks for the evening to the problem of leprosy in India. There were lacs in India suffering from leprosy. People abhorred the disease and those suffering from it. He considered those entertaining unclean thoughts worse lepers than those who were suffering physically. Why should there be a stigma about leprosy any more than about any other illness?

In the past, service of leprosy patients was more or less the sole privilege of the Christian missionaries. But later on philanthropic Indians (though very few) had come out for the service. He saw one such institution in Calcutta. Another such philanthropist was Shri Manohar Diwan. He was Shri Vinoba's pupil and was prompted by the latter to take up the service. Gandhiji would call him a true *mahatma*. He was not a doctor. But he had studied the subject and as a result of his whole-hearted efforts had arisen a colony of leprosy patients near Wardha. There was the Maharogi Seva Mandal, which directed and organized leprosy relief work in C. P. Under the aegis of the Maharogi Seva Mandal, a conference of leprosy workers was being called at Wardha on the 30th of the month. The idea originally was started by Shri Jagadisan, an admirer and disciple of the late Shri Srinivasa Sastriar. Shri Jagadisan had himself suffered from leprosy. He put it before the Advisory Medical Board of

the Kasturba Trust and the result was the coming conference. Dr Sushila Navyar was going to Wardha in connection with the conference. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Dr. Jivraj Mehta should have attended it. But they could not leave Delhi at present being engaged in national work. He was telling them about the conference in order to draw their attention to one of the pressing problems before them. Were they to concentrate their energies on nation-building work or continue to dissipate them in fratricide? The communal hatred was perhaps the worst kind of leprosy imaginable. How he wished that people would develop abhorrence and horror of this leprosy so that they could be cured of the fatal malady!

*Brita House, New Delhi, 24-10-'47*

#### ONE AND ONLY PASSION

In his after-prayer speech Gandhiji said that it had appeared in the Press a few days ago that he would open the Asiatic Labour Conference which was meeting in Delhi on the 27th instant. He did not know who had given that news to the Press. He knew nothing about the whole thing. He had asked a newspaper man to contradict the report but no contradiction had appeared. He wanted to say that he was at present concentrating all his energies on the one pressing problem of the day. He could not put his mind to anything else. Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians and others were equally the sons and daughters of India and had equal rights of citizenship. This was the ideal he had before him from early youth. With the achievement of independence that ideal seemed to be melting away. The *bhajan* that they had just heard said, "Whether anyone praises one or abuses, it should not matter for all was to be dedicated to God." That is what he (Gandhiji) was trying to do. He would go on repeating what he believed to be the truth irrespective of whether anyone liked it or not.

#### KEEP YOUR FAITH BRIGHT

He referred with sorrow to the sad plight of monied men of yesterday who were today homeless refugees without shelter and clothes. God would end their sufferings before long, if they kept their faith bright and stuck to the right path.

#### PROBLEM OF LEPROSY

He then turned to the problem of leprosy. He had spoken about it the previous day. Shri Jagadisan, who had suffered from the disease himself and was still a convalescent, had been doing a great deal for the service of leprosy patients. He usually stayed in Madras. But he had come to Wardha two weeks back to help in making arrangements for the Leprosy Conference. He (Shri Jagadisan) had sent him some articles and correspondence which he (Gandhiji) had read only in the morning. In that Shri Jagadisan had pleaded for the disuse of the word leper, which had come to have a stigma about it. He had said that those suffering from leprosy should be called leprosy patients and not lepers. There were many other contagious diseases like scabies, cholera, plague, even common

cold. Leprosy was far less infectious perhaps than these. Why should there be a stigma about leprosy any more than about other infectious diseases? The Speaker had told them that real leprosy was attached to an unclean mind. To look down upon fellow human beings, to condemn any community or class of men, was sign of a diseased mind, which he considered far worse than physical leprosy. Such men were real lepers of society. He himself did not attach much importance to names. A rose would not lose its fragrance if it was called by any other name.

He had remarked yesterday that Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Dr. Jivraj Mehta would not be able to attend the conference at Wardha because of pressing work at Delhi. He was glad, however, to learn that Dr. Jivraj Mehta would be able to attend the conference.

Lastly he informed the audience that the following evening the prayers would be held in the jail and, therefore, he would not be able to have communion with them on Saturday.

*District Jail, Ferozshah Kotla, New Delhi, 25-10-'47*

#### DELHI PRISONERS

Prayer was held in the Delhi Central Jail this evening for the sake of and in the presence of the prisoners of whom there were not less than 3000. Speaking after prayers Gandhiji said that he was very pleased when he received the invitation to hold the prayer meeting amidst prisoners. He was a seasoned ex-prisoner himself. He had served various terms in South Africa and in India. In South Africa there were Indians described then as coolies, Negroes and the third class were Europeans. All the three were kept separately in jails. When there was an influx of *satyagrahi* prisoners, they put the Indians and Negroes in the same compound. Jail rules were very strict. There was no distinction between political and non-political prisoners. They were all criminals. In a way it was right. All those who broke the law committed a crime against it.

#### CLASSES UNDESIRABLE

In India their struggle for independence was a mighty one and the topmost people took part in it. As a result there was not only a distinction between political and non-political prisoners, but there were again A, B and C sections amongst the politicals. He did not believe in those divisions. He also believed that all men committed offences, big or small. Some were caught and put in jail. Others managed to escape detention. He was told by the Chief Jailer of an Indian jail that he often thought himself to be a bigger criminal than the prisoners under him. No one, however, would be able to deceive the biggest Jailer above.

#### JAILS AS MENTAL HOSPITALS

What should their jails be like in free India? He had long held the opinion that all criminals should be treated as patients and the jails should be the hospitals admitting this class of patients for treatment and cure. No one committed crime

for the fun of it. It was a sign of a diseased mind. The causes of a particular disease should be investigated and removed. They need not have palatial buildings when their jails became hospitals. No country could afford that, much less could a poor country like India. But the outlook of the jail staff should be that of physicians and nurses in a hospital. The prisoners should feel that the officials were their friends. They were there to help them to regain their mental health and not to harass them in any way. The popular governments have to issue necessary orders, but meanwhile the jail staff could do not a little to humanize their administration. What was the duty of the prisoners?

#### DUTY OF PRISONERS

As an ex-prisoner he would advise his fellow prisoners that they should behave as ideal prisoners. They should avoid breach of jail discipline. They should put their heart and soul into whatever work was entrusted to them. For instance, the prisoners' food was cooked by themselves. They should clean the rice, *dal* or whatever cereal was issued so that there were no stones and grit or weevils in them. Whatever complaints the prisoners might have should be brought to the notice of the authorities in a becoming manner. They should so behave in their little community as to become better men when they left the jail than when they entered it.

Gandhi had learnt that there were Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims amongst the prisoners. Let not the poison of communalism enter their ranks. They should all live together as friends and brothers so that when they went out they might be able to check the madness outside. He wished *Id Mubarak* to all Muslim prisoners and hoped that the non-Muslim prisoners would do likewise to their Muslim brethren.

Birla House, New Delhi, 26-10-47

#### LESSON OF DUSSEHRA

Gandhi began his post-prayer speech by referring to a letter in which a member of the audience asked whether it was any use saying that retaliation and revenge were wrong when his followers year after year depicted Rama as burning the effigy of Ravana on Dussehra day and thus encouraged the sentiment of revenge. Gandhi said that there were two fallacies in the question. He did not know who his followers were unless it was he himself. Again the interpretation of the ceremonial was quite wrong. It not only did not encourage private revenge but discouraged it by showing that it belonged exclusively to God known to Hinduism as Rama. He was the sole infallible reader of men's hearts and therefore knew who was Ravana. If everyone arrogated to himself the position of Rama, who would be Ravana? Imperfect men had no right to judge other imperfect men. It was unmanly and irreligious for the Hindus to lay their hands on the Muslims and vice versa. That way lay ruin of Hinduism and Islam. He, the speaker, was therefore glad that as a *sanatani* Hindu he

represented not only the Hindus but the Muslims and members of the other religions.

#### HAPPENINGS IN KASHMIR

They might ask whether he was aware of the happenings in Kashmir. He certainly was so far as the newspapers gave the news. If the newspaper reports were correct, the happenings in Kashmir were certainly bad. The charge was that the Pakistan Government was coercing Kashmir to join Pakistan. No one could coerce Kashmir or for that matter Hyderabad or little Junagadh or any other State into joining one or the other dominion. What was the solution? He humbly put it to all the Rajas and Maharajas that they were not the real rulers of their States. The present Princes were the creation of British imperialism. The British power had quitted India. The real rulers of all the States were their people and their will must be supreme. The Rajas and Maharajas would remain only as trustees. The people of Kashmir must decide without any coercion or show of it from within or without to which dominion it should belong. The rule was of universal application.

#### PEACE CONTINUES IN CALCUTTA

He had received a telegram from Calcutta saying that there *Dussehra* and *Id* had passed off most peacefully. At Calcutta a *Shanti Sena* had been raised during his stay there. The telegram said that *Shanti Sena* was working strenuously in that behalf. They had sent their members to East Bengal also. There too *Dussehra* and *Id* appeared to have passed peacefully. Why should not they in Delhi and everywhere else follow in the footsteps of Calcutta? Some Muslims had been to see him during the day. He was friend of all and, therefore, people of all communities came to him. He wished these Muslim friends *Id Mubarak*, but his heart was heavy in the midst of distrust.

#### WELL DONE RATLAM!

He had received a telegram from the secretary of the Harijan Seva Sangha at Ratlam. The Maharaja there had declared that there would be responsible Government in the State and he would be a trustee henceforth and that all the temples in the State were declared open to the Harijans. Harijans and caste Hindus went with the Maharaja to the State temple. If Hinduism was to live, the last trace of untouchability had to be eradicated from every Hindu heart. The communal trouble was closely connected with the canker of untouchability. All men were equal before God. To look down upon a human being because he was not of their faith was a sin before God and man. It was a species of untouchability.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

12 Pages

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ALMEIDA ROAD SUNDAY NOVEMBER 1934

TO A...

## LEST WE COPY THE BRITISH

August 15 has come and gone. The people all over India celebrated the deliverance day with wild joy and enthusiasm. They had rightly thought that all the trials and tribulations that they had to undergo under the imperialist regime would become a relic of the bygone age. The sunken eyes of the lowliest *kisan* in the village flashed with joy for the first time. The depressed heart of the *mazdoor* in the city began to rise with hope on this occasion. Every down-trodden man and woman in this sub-continent celebrated the day spontaneously, as at long last there came a glimmering of hope for the Indian underdog: a whisper of better times and lighter burdens.

But no sooner had the joy of this day died out, than came a communique from New Delhi announcing the salaries and emoluments fixed for the heads of the provinces. The public had fondly cherished the hope that along with imperialism will also go the top-heavy administration which was created to maintain the imperial hold on a slave country. Time and again in the past every political leader, every reputed economist, had criticized in unmistakable terms the fabulous salaries and emoluments paid to the heads of the administration. This topic formed the subject of several resolutions of the Indian National Congress. In the famous resolution passed at the Karachi session of the Congress, the target for the highest head of the Government was fixed at Rs. 500 per month. But perhaps all that is forgotten now and the salaries of Governors are fixed at the high figure of Rs. 5,500 per month.

Let us first of all see as to what is the remuneration attached to the office of such high dignitaries in other countries. The richest State in the richest country in the world, viz. New York, pays its Governor \$ 10,000 a year, which works out at less than Rs. 3,000 per month. The salary of the Governor of Idaho, a State in the U. S. A., comes to less than Rs. 1,500 per month; that of Maryland, another State in the U. S. A. comes to a little over Rs. 1,000. The Governor of Illinois, the population of which is equal to that of Orissa or Assam, gets a little over Rs. 3,000. The salaries of administrators of provinces in the Union of South Africa, who are the counterparts of Governors in India, range between Rs. 2,200 and Rs. 2,700 per month. The pay of the Governor of Queensland in Australia is a little over Rs. 3,000 per month. It is well-known that Stalin used to be paid Rs. 300 per month. The salaries of the

Cabinet Ministers of the United Kingdom cannot be compared with the salaries of Governors, as the former rule over the entire country of theirs. And yet the salary of a British Cabinet Minister is not more than that of the Indian Governor. It is instructive to note that none of these salaries are free of income tax and other taxes of their respective countries. Hence, it can be safely remarked that the salary of an Indian Governor is the highest in the world.

Let us look at these facts from another angle. A Governor is servant No. 1 of his province and so let us compare the income of the servant with that of his masters. The annual per capita income of an Indian was computed at Rs. 65 per annum before this war. If we take the average income of an ordinary peasant or a labourer it will be much less than this. Prof. Kumarappa estimated it at the unenviable figure of Rs. 12 and Principal Agarwal fixes it at Rs. 18 per year. Taking these averages into consideration, we find that the income of an Indian Governor is 1,000 times more than that of his master. And if we take the annual average income of the lowest class who constitute the bulk of the population, the disparity of incomes between the servant and the masters, increases to 4,000 times. Even in the U. S. A. which is called the greatest capitalist country and the land where the greatest economic inequality prevails, the income of the Governor is not more than 20 times the average income of the American citizen.

Another comparison may throw further light on the problem. At the lowest rung of the ladder of the provincial administration stands the peon in Government Offices whose salary is Rs. 11 per month in the C. P. and may be a little more or less in other provinces. How can the entire administrative machine work as one man with enthusiasm towards the social and ameliorative legislation for the benefit of the masses when there is such a colossal difference between the salary of the peon and that of the Governor? In short, whether one takes our lowest national income or the salary paid at the base to the peon or at the top to the Governor, India stands without a parallel throughout the world.

When such high sums are paid to the heads of the provinces, with what face can we think of reducing the salaries of the other highly paid Government servants? And if the reduction of the high salaries and the raising of the low salaries cannot be done, wherefrom is the provincial Financial Minister to have money for undertaking

vast schemes of universal education or medical facilities etc. ? Let us not be under the illusion that with the advent of freedom, the nation of the grinding poverty of yesterday will become a rich and prosperous nation in a short time, so that it can afford such high salaries for gubernatorial functions. The Soviet Union required three five-year plans to increase their national income. Even the optimistic framers of the Bombay Plan have envisaged a meagre income of Rs. 130 per annum at the end of fifteen years with a capital investment of Rs. 10,000 crores. Hence, sooner the rosy dreams of India becoming rich overnight are got rid of the better for all of us. Reality is hard and we should squarely face it. We cannot afford to pay these fabulous sums.

T. K. BANG

[Whilst I cannot vouch for the figures given by Prof Bang, there is no hesitation in endorsing his remarks about the high salaries he refers to and the gross disparity between the highest and the lowest salaries paid to their servants by our Governments.

New Delhi, 2-11-47

M. K. G.]

### FUTILITY OF ARMS

[Advocate Venkatarama Shastri of Madras sends me some relevant verses from the Mahabharata with his brief comment. They are reproduced below with his comment and English translation. I have omitted from the comment what was meant only for me. —M. K. G.]

Having won the great Mahabharata War and attained his supreme end, Yudhishthira (धर्मराज) deeply affected by the death of those near and dear and by the general havoc and destruction wrought by force of arms, reflected thus:

आत्मानमात्मना हत्वा किं धर्मफलमाप्नुमः ।  
विगस्तु स्यात्प्रमाचारं विगस्तु बलमोरसम् ।  
विगस्तु चार्थं येनेमाम् आपद् गमिता दयम् ॥  
साधु क्षमा दमः शौचम् अविरोधो विमत्सरः ।  
अहिंसा सत्यवचनं मित्र्यानि व्रतचारिणाम् ॥  
वर्यं तु लोभान्माहाव दंभं मानं च संश्रितः ।  
इमास्तवस्थां सुश्रमाः राज्यक्षेत्रवृक्षमा ॥

"Having destroyed ourselves by our own hands, what righteous result can we obtain ?

\*Fire upon military practice,

Fire upon physical force.

Fire upon the purpose in pursuit of which we have been led into this calamity

"Good is forgiveness, self-restraint, clean life, no enmity, no quarrel, *ahimsa* and true speech virtues obligatory to forest-dwellers (retired from life's conflicts).

"But we in our greed and folly inspired by vanity and pride, have landed ourselves in this situation, in our desire to enjoy a kingdom's sorrowful burden."

Thus wailed दुर्भिक्ष (Firm-in-battle) who was also धर्मपुत्र (Son of Righteousness)

The ideal of realizing both freedom and justice under equal laws is the ideal for countries like India —and that is, or should be the ideal of the world.

### HARIJANS IN RATLAM

[The following is the text of the Ratlam Proclamation to which I referred in one of my post-prayer speeches. It was issued on *Vijayadashami* day, i. e. the 2nd September, 1947. —M. K. G.]

1. All State temples be thrown open to Harijans for *darshan* and *pooja* just as they are open to any one of my caste Hindu subjects.

2. All existing public wells and wells constructed by the State hereinafter, tanks, water taps etc. shall be invariably open to Harijans.

3. All public places such as *dharmashalas*, hotels, restaurants, shops, theatres, cinema houses which have not been for the exclusive use of any one section of the community before the passing of this Order shall be thrown open to Harijans and they shall be given the same facility or service as any other caste Hindu is given. They are hereby allowed to make use of public conveyances licensed by Government or the Municipality

4. Harijans shall have unrestricted admission to State educational institutions and no tuition fees shall be charged from them.

5. There shall be no restriction in the matter of recruitment of Harijans to State services.

6. All State public offices, courts, hospitals and other State buildings are open to Harijans for entry

7. There shall be no restriction on the wearing of ornaments and good clothes, the taking out of processions and performance of ceremonies by Harijans

8. There shall be no restriction on Harijans owning lands and houses in any part of towns and villages of the State

Whoever contravenes the above Order or prevents Harijans from enjoying the rights conferred upon them hereby shall, on conviction before a Magistrate of the First Class, be liable to a fine which may extend to Rs. 50. The offence under the above Order shall be cognizable and bailable but not compoundable

Propaganda will have to be carried on to implement the above Proclamation. Habits of cleanliness have to be inculcated amongst Harijans. A Committee consisting of both officials and non-officials will soon be formed for the purpose of helping Harijans to educate themselves and to improve their standard of living. A non-lapsable grant of Rs. 500 p. m. will be sanctioned for this Committee which will be authorized to administer the funds kept at its disposal.

All the State Departments, particularly Education, Police and Revenue, are hereby directed actively to co-operate with this Committee for the speedy removal of untouchability and the restrictions which follow in its wake.

I have great pleasure in announcing a donation of Rs. 2,000 to the Harijan Sevak Sangh, Indore, for the excellent services they have rendered in connection with Harijan work in this and in the neighbouring States.

MAHARAJA OF RATLAM

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

*Birla House, New Delhi, 27-10-'47*

## FORCED TO LEAVE ?

Complaints are being repeatedly made that Muslims are being forced to leave their ancestral home in the Union and migrate to Pakistan. Thus it is said that in a variety of ways they are being made to vacate their houses and live in camps to await dispatch by train or even on foot. I am quite sure that such is not the policy of the Cabinet. When I tell the complainants about this they laugh at it and tell me in reply that either my information is incorrect or the services do not carry out the policy. I know that my information is quite correct. Are the services then disloyal? I hope not. Yet the complaint is universal. Various reasons are given for the alleged disloyalty. The most plausible one is that the military and the police are largely divided on a communal basis and that their members are carried away by the prevalent prejudice. I have given my opinion that if these members, on whom depends the preservation of law and order, are affected by the communal taint, orderly government must give place to disorder and if the latter persists, to disruption of society. It is up to the upper ranks of these services to rise superior to communalism and then to infect the lower ranks with the same healthy spirit.

## MORAL FORCE v PHYSICAL

It is suggested with much force that the popular Governments established in the country have not the prestige that the ability to overawe the Indian members of the services gave the foreign bureaucracy. This is only partly true. For, the popular Government wields a moral force which is infinitely superior to the physical force that the foreign government could summon to its assistance. This moral force presupposes the possession of political morale that popular support would give to an indigenous government. It may be lacking today. There is no means of checking it save by the resignation of the Ministry at the Centre. What we are examining specially this evening is the condition of the Central authority. It must never be and, what is perhaps more important, never feel weak. It must be conscious of its strength. Therefore, if it is at all true that there is the slightest insubordination among the services, the guilty ones must go or the ministry or the minister-in-charge must resign and give place to the one who would successfully deal with official disorderliness. Whilst I voice, not without hesitation, the complaints that persistently come to me, I must cling to the hope that they have no bottom to them and that if they have, the superior authority will satisfactorily deal with them in so far as they have any justification.

## DUTY OF CITIZENS

What is the duty of the affected citizens of the Union? It is clear that there is no law that can compel a citizen to leave his place of residence. The authority will have to arm itself with special powers to issue orders such as are alleged to have

been given. So far as I am aware, there are no written orders issued to anyone. In the present case thousands are involved in the alleged verbal orders. There is no helping those who will be frightened into submission to any order given by a person in uniform. My emphatic advice to all such persons is that they should ask for written orders whose validity in case of doubt should be tested in a court of justice, if appeal to the final executive fails to give satisfaction.

The public in this case representing the majority community, (that hateful expression), should rigidly refrain from taking the law into their own hands. If they do not, they will be cutting the very branch on which they are sitting. It will be a fall from which it will be difficult to rise. Let wisdom dawn on them while there is yet time. Let them not be swayed by ugly events even when the report thereof happens to be true. They must trust the representative Ministers to do the needful for the vindication of justice.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 28-10-'47*

## HONEST DEALING

In his post-prayer speech Gandhiji referred to a letter from a member of the audience. In it the correspondent stated that he had hired on payment some screens and tents from a Muslim tent merchant. The shopkeeper had now gone to Pakistan. The correspondent did not know to whom he was to deliver the hired articles in the absence of the owner. Gandhiji said that the matter should be referred to either the Sardar or Shri Neogy.

## ALIGARH STUDENTS

Gandhiji then referred to a visit from an Aligarh College student who told him that many students from Pakistan had not returned to Aligarh. But those who were in the college had decided that they would like silently to do whatever they could to promote communal harmony. The best way his visitor suggested was for some of them to go to the Hindu and the Sikh refugee camps and distribute blankets etc. among the refugees. Gandhiji, while he appreciated the desire to serve their Hindu and Sikh brethren, said that that kind of aid was unnecessary at the present stage. It was likely to fall flat. What he advised was that the students should go to Pakistan and ask the Muslims why the Hindus and the Sikhs had left their homes. They should also induce those whom it concerned to go to the refugees and ask them to return to their homes as he expected the Hindus and the Sikhs to do likewise for the Muslim evacuees. As a general rule nobody would care to leave his home without just cause. In Gandhiji's opinion peace between the two was not possible without this restoration.

## EVIL OF TICKETLESS TRAVELLING

Gandhiji next referred to the ticketless travel which had become a common disease these days. People evidently thought that under independence travelling by trains or buses was free for all. As a result of the ticketless travel Government had already incurred a loss of nearly 8 crores of rupees.

(Continued on p. 405)



# HARIJAN

November 9

1947

## HINDUSTANI WRITTEN IN NAGARI ONLY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Raihanabehn Tyabjee has written a well-argued letter to me favouring Hindustani as the inter-provincial language written exclusively in the *nagari*. She rigidly excludes the *urdu* script. As all her main arguments have been answered herein, the letter is not being translated. Her letter demands full consideration. Raihanabehn sees no distinction between a Hindu and a Muslim. Both, she holds, come from the same source and she acts accordingly. I have always held that there is no distinction between the two. Even though their observances differ, these do not separate them. They undoubtedly profess different religions but they, like others, come from the same root.

Nevertheless, I detect certain flaws in her arguments.

We are not two nations. Those who believe the Hindus and the Muslims to be two nations harm both the communities and India. It should not matter that the Qud-e-Azam believes the Hindus and the Muslims of India to be two nations or that there are Hindus too who entertain the same belief. Surely, it does not follow that because the whole world is in error, we, who believe otherwise, should follow it. This should never happen.

If Hindustani is taken to be the inter-provincial language of India, it follows that both the scripts, *nagari* and *urdu*, should be equally acceptable. If the State recognizes only *nagari* as the character in which Hindustani should be written, it would certainly be unjust to our Muslim brethren and when it is remembered that they are a minority the guilt is enhanced.

I have never contended that all the forty crores of Indians have to learn both the scripts. I have, however, held that those who have inter-provincial contacts and who want to serve not merely their own province but the whole of India should know both the scripts. The reason is obvious. They ought to be able to read letters written whether in the *nagari* or the *urdu* script. Hence, it is necessary that both the scripts are accepted as national.

If Hindi is to be the national language, naturally *nagari* alone will be the national script and if *urdu* is to take that place, *urdu* script alone will be the national script. But, if Hindustani, which is a resultant of the junction of Hindi and Urdu, is to be the national language, a knowledge of both the scripts is essential in the manner indicated by me.

It is worth remembering that in reality neither the *urdu* character nor the Urdu form of the same language is the exclusive property of the Muslims of India. There is quite a large number

of Hindus and others whose mother-tongue is Urdu and who know only the *urdu* character. It is further to be remembered that the necessity of knowing both the scripts was stressed by me on my return from South Africa in 1915. I submitted the same proposition to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in Indore as its President. So far as I recollect, there was hardly any opposition to the proposition. It is true that then I did not suggest any alteration in the name. The definition, however, was the same as that of today. When perfect anarchy prevails in the thought world and we express different views without regard to facts, it is obligatory that we should have one strong helm to weather any storm.

In so far as it is believed that the Muslims only are concerned with the retention of the *urdu* character, at this juncture it becomes our special duty to emphasize the necessity of Hindustani written in either character. This should appear self-evident. Whatever were the reasons in justification, it must be admitted that within the Union in many places the Muslims have been dealt with harshly. It would be beside the point to contend that Pakistan made the beginning with harsh treatment against the Hindus and the Sikhs. For the State to ordain that the inter-provincial script in the Union shall be only the *nagari*, it would be an imposition upon the Muslims. If the result of the act of justice is to be that the Muslims are to confine themselves to the *urdu* character and gratuitously regard the word Hindustani as synonymous with Urdu, it would amount to cussedness and perhaps a sign that their heart is not in the Union.

It would be confusion of thought for Raihanabehn to argue that keeping of the *urdu* character side by side with the *nagari* would be construed to be in pursuance of the policy of appeasement. Though the word has come to have a bad odour about it, I would submit that appeasement can be a praiseworthy duty, as it can also be at times a blameworthy gesture. Thus, for instance, it can conceivably be a duty on the part of a brother to walk with his brother towards the North whilst alone he would have gone to the South. But it would certainly be criminal for him, a confirmed teetotaler, to drink spirituous liquors with his drunken brother in order to appease him. He would then harm both himself and his brother. I must not recite the *Karma* in order to appease or flatter my Muslim brother, as he must not recite the *Gavatri* in order to appease or flatter me. It would be another matter if both of us recite either at will because we believe the two incantations as one in essence. I hold that it is so. Hence it is that in the daily recital of the Ashram prayers, among the eleven observances occurs equal respect for all the accepted religions in the world. The upshot of all this argument is that the policy of appeasement is not always bad. It may even become a duty at times.

This sister further says that the *nagari* script is, comparatively speaking fairly perfect, whereas

the *urdu* script is imperfect and difficult to decipher. To write Sanskrit words in the *urdu* script is, she holds, well-nigh impossible. There is some force in these three statements. They amount to this that the *devanagari* lipi though comparatively perfect admits of improvement and the *urdu* script demands it because it is imperfect. It will be difficult for Raihanabehn to sustain the charge that it is not possible to write Sanskrit words in the *urdu* script. I have in my possession the whole of the *Gita* transcribed in that script. Improvement is possible only when fanaticism has died out. After all, what is the *Sandhi* alphabet but an improved edition of the *urdu* script?

Lastly, I suggest to Raihanabehn that her letter under discussion is a fine specimen of Hindustani. She has woven in that letter Urdu words as freely as Sanskrit words. The beauty of Hindustani is that it has no quarrel either with Sanskrit or with Arabic words. In order to strengthen Hindustani consistently with its genius, if a language can be said to have a 'genius', it must borrow from all the languages of the world. Its grammar must remain as it always has been in indigenous Hindi. Thus the plural of 'Hindu' in Hindustani will always be *Hindu-o* (हिंदुओं) and not *Hunud* (हुनुद) as it is in highly Arabicized Urdu. Raihanabehn is an Urdu scholar. Though not a scholar in Hindi, she knows it well. She reads and writes both the *nagari* and *urdu* characters. When I was in the Yeravda prison she and Zohra Ansari were my Urdu teachers. Naturally, they taught me through correspondence. My advice, therefore, to her is that she should devote her energy to the strengthening and spreading of Hindustani and making the teaching of the two characters as easy as possible. This work she can only do, if her ignorance, as I call it, is removed. If, what she has now begun to believe is true, I could have nothing to say to her. Then indeed, I shall have to unlearn the past and learn a new lesson and displace the *urdu* character from the position which I think it should occupy.

New Delhi, 1-11-'47

(Adapted from the original in Hindustani)

### For Manufacturers of Flags

While turning over the pages of *What do you know* selected by S. C. Johnson (Foulsham), I lit upon an interesting piece of information which I think I must pass on to flag manufacturers.

Q Are the red white and blue bands of colour forming the French national flag equal in width?

A. Most people would say yes, but the answer is no. It was found that when the three bars were exactly equal in width, they appeared different. It was an optical illusion. As a consequence a national decree decided that they should be as follows: red 37 parts, white 33 parts and blue 30 parts. At a distance they now appear equal."

A. G. D.

## WITH THE EDUCATIONISTS

At a meeting of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh held on the 22nd and 23rd of April, 1947 at Patna, Gandhiji poured out his soul to the members.

### SELF-SUPPORT

At the very outset, while discussing the budget Gandhiji warned the members against any tendency to lean on the Governments. "They would be prepared to give us as much perhaps as we ask for. But if we begin to depend on them, it will mean the end of Nai Talim." The budget presented was for three years. They must become entirely self-supporting at the end of that period. They should, therefore, make the budget estimate accordingly. And if at the end of that period they were not able to succeed they would have to declare their bankruptcy before the country. Failure became a stepping stone to success when it was duly appraised.

### KNOW YOUR LIMITATIONS

Dealing next with the demand of Shri Avinashalingam, the Education Minister of Madras, that the Hindustani Talimi Sangh should run a training school in Madras, the expenses of which would be borne by the Madras Government, Gandhiji warned them against undertakings beyond their strength. Otherwise, they would dissipate their own energy and put the Madras Government also in a fix. Today, with the assumption of power, crores of rupees had come into the hands of the Congress Governments. It was upto the Sangh to weigh the pros and cons and to run the institution if they had teachers enough for the work and were sure of success. It was well to know one's limitations.

### THREE-FOLD DEVELOPMENT

"Our system of education," continued Gandhiji, "lead to the development of the mind, body and soul. The ordinary system cared only for the mind. Nai Talim was not confined to teaching a little spinning and a little sweeping. However indispensable these were, they were valueless unless they promoted the harmonious development referred to." Gandhiji assured the Sangh, "Today I am engaged in other work. But Nai Talim has never been out of my mind."

### THE PLACE OF KHADI

Next Gandhiji turned to the place of *khadi* in Nai Talim. "It was in South Africa in 1908 that *khadi* occupied an important place in my mind," Gandhiji said. He would not insist, however, on centering Nai Talim round *khadi* if he knew a better all-round village industry. He felt that if all spun for one hour daily, India would be able to produce all her cloth requirements. If, however, it required six hours a day, he had no room for *khadi*. For, people had to do other things also. They had to produce their food. Some intellectual work had also to be done. There was no room for slave-driving in Nai Talim. One hour spent in spinning should be an hour of self-development for the spinner.

### KHADI AND POST-BASIC

"When Saiyyaidain Sabab said that at least in the post-basic stage the processes in the mills

would have to be taught, I could not accept it. Not only was hand-spinning sound as a medium of education during the basic period, it did not cease to be so during the post-basic stage. What is more, millions of students could not be exempt from the necessary occupation. Yesterday Dev Prakash showed me what he had written on the *takli* and the broom. If all that he has written is true, a lot of knowledge is gained in the learning of the two processes. It could not be finished during the basic period. The trouble is that we have not evolved the science of these essential crafts consistently with the good of a.i. The basis of mill-spinning and weaving are the *takli* and the hand-loom. The West made mills because it had to exploit us. We do not want to exploit anyone. We do not, therefore, need mills, but we must know the science of the *takli* and the loom. If India were to copy Europe in these, it will mean destruction for India and the world."

#### KHADI AND MILLS

On Dr. Zakir Hussain pointing out the difficulty of educationists to think in these terms when the boys who came out of the schools looked to the mills for employment, Gandhiji said, "Boys that come out of the school of my conception will not look to the mills for employment. As a matter of fact, mill cloth should not sell side by side with *khadi*. Our mills may sell their manufactures outside India. In England you do not get the cloth manufactured in Lancashire. The whole of it is exported. Our mills may not be able to sell in foreign markets too far long."

#### THE WAY FOR US

"I can, however, realize your difficulty in view of the fact that the whole atmosphere around is surcharged with the idea of mills. Even our own ministers talk only of mills. The way for us is to die in living up to our faith. If we believe in the truth of *khadi*, we must live it, spread it and convince the ministers that we are doing the right thing in terms of national good."

"The Congress created the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, but never took any interest in it. Similarly, the Charkha Sangh is a progeny of the Congress, but it never made it its own. Who cares for these institutions today? When Congressmen had only a little money and a little experience they paid some attention to constructive work. Today, however, the entire Government has come into our hands. They have not yet digested the power it has brought. They will take time to do so."

#### NO LONGER THE SAME POWER

Gandhiji realized that work of Nai Talim meant propagation of a new social order. The ministers holding power, perhaps, did not fully share the Sangh's views. Dr. Zakir Hussain asked Gandhiji to help co-ordinate the activities of the Government and the Sangh or let the Sangh go into the wilderness. Gandhiji confessed that he no longer commanded the same influence as he used to do. "I do not blame the Government for apathy. They have inherited a machinery which they have

to work. If I had been a minister, perhaps, I too would have acted similarly. Still, I am talking things over with Pandit Jawaharlal and others. One task of the educationists is to explain things. Is not it?"

Dr. Zakir Hussain, "I believe that the fault lay in the fact that the Congress had never explained its educational policy to its ministers. I met Maulana Abul Kalam Azad before coming here. He had expressed sympathy and said that he would like to meet the Sangh. The Sangh has now decided to see him."

Gandhiji, "The Government should have invited you at the very outset. Mr. Sergeant should work under the guidance of the Sangh. I had suggested to the Government that they should send you an invitation."

#### RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Regarding religious education Dr. Zakir Hussain thought that facilities should be provided for and time apportioned for religious education in our schools so as to enable those, who understood religion, to come and teach. More than that the Government should not undertake, if it wanted to avoid the appearance of undue interference.

Gandhiji said in reply, "You should talk it over with Maulana Sahab. I do not agree that the Government should provide religious education. If there are some people who want to give religious education of the wrong type, you cannot prevent it. If you try to do so, the result can only be bad. Those who want to give religious education may do so on their own, so long as it is not subversive of law and order or morals. The Government can only teach ethics based on the main principles common to all religions and agreed to by all parties. In fact ours is a secular State."

#### QUESTION OF CERTIFICATES

Regarding the question of certificates to be granted to those passing out of the basic stage, Gandhiji said that the standard should have a short and precise name and the certificate should exactly state in clear Hindustani the qualifications of the candidate without the slightest exaggeration. "To give a thing a high-sounding name," added Gandhiji, "when its worth does not correspond to it, reflects no credit on the giver."

#### CO-EDUCATION

Shri Avinashalingam, the Education Minister of Madras, felt that the co-education policy of the Talimi Sangh in the matter was not suitable to Madras. He had no objection to co-education among children and among grown-ups, when they knew their own minds. But he was not in favour of co-education at the impressionable age of 15 or 16 when most of the girls came to training schools. Gandhiji, however, disagreed. "If you keep co-education in your schools, but not in your training-schools, the children will think there is something wrong somewhere. I should allow my children to run the risk. We shall have to rid ourselves one day of this sex mentality. We should not seek for examples from the West. Even in training-schools,

if the teachers are intelligent, pure and filled with the spirit of Nai Talim, there is no danger. Supposing if some accidents do take place, we should not be frightened by them. They would take place anywhere. Although I speak thus boldly, I am not unaware of the attendant risks. You, as a responsible Minister, should think for yourself and act accordingly.

#### KHADI AND SELF-SUPPORT

Shri Jajaji on the question of self-support said that the craft of spinning and weaving was much less paying than some other occupations as for example, carpentry. It was doubtful whether students passing out of the basic stage could be self-supporting even after seven years of training. They could earn six or eight annas a day at the Charkha Sangh rate. Gandhiji said, "We should not think in terms of money. Khadi is the centre of our activities because we all need cloth. We have the question of clothing the seven lakhs of villages. Today, we get our yarn woven by paying high rates to the weavers. It was wrong of me not to insist on everybody learning weaving as I did in the case of spinning. It must, however, be seen that it does not require more time than can be spared for it. If it occupies the whole of the time at our disposal, we shall have to think anew."

#### WORKING FOR THE LOVE OF HIS WORK

"The teacher of Nai Talim will be a craftsman educationist, not merely one for the sake of his pay. Pay or salary is a bad word. He is a workman worthy of his hire. His wife and children too will also be workers. Only thus will true co-operation be born. Only thus can Nai Talim spread in every village in India."

#### AGRICULTURE AS A BASIC CRAFT

"Some people ask me why agriculture could not be a basic craft. The answer is that it has not the educational potentialities of spinning. It cannot, for example, develop deftness as in spinning. The function of Nai Talim is not merely to teach an occupation, but through it to develop the whole man."

"But though I do not begin with agriculture, it is bound to come in ultimately. For, the field of New Education is comprehensive. The pupils and teachers of the school of my conception will together have to make provision for all they need. A teacher of Nai Talim will have to be a first-class craftsman. All the children of the village will be themselves drawn to the school. In this way, education would automatically become free and universal."

"Today, the condition of India is that vegetables grown in a village are not available for the use of the villagers themselves. The villagers of Travancore cannot use the coconuts that are grown there. They are collected at one place and sent to the towns. This anomaly will disappear where basic schools come into existence. Again, today we cultivate money crops such as opium, tobacco, cotton etc. Those trained in Nai Talim will cultivate food crops which they themselves need."

#### CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME, GOVERNMENT AND THE CONGRESS

Then the talk turned on the Constructive Programme Committee of the A. I. C. C. "Its work," said Jajaji, "will be carried on by the Provincial Congress Committees, who will be allowed to raise funds for the purpose."

At this Gandhiji remarked, "The machinery of the Congress seems not to be going smooth. Where the Congress is in power, there the Provincial Congress and the Provincial Government should work in perfect co-operation and be a source of strength to each other. Today, each pulls its own way. They should work as one organic whole."

DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

(Adapted from the original in *Hindustani*)

#### GANDHIJI—ROMAIN ROLLAND MEETING

##### AN IMPRESSION

The following, which is taken from *The Nation* (New York), is a letter written by the late Romain Rolland to an American friend of his on the visit of Gandhiji to his home.

MIRABEHN

"How I should have liked to have you here during the visit of the Indians! They stayed five days—from the 5th to 11th December at the Villa Vionette. The little man, bespectacled and toothless, was wrapped in his white burnoose but his legs, thin as a heron's, suits, were bare. His shaven head with its few coarse hairs was uncovered and wet with rain. He came to me with a dry laugh, his mouth open like a good dog panting and flinging an arm round me, leaned his cheek against my shoulder. I felt his grizzled head against my cheek. It was, I amuse myself thinking, the kiss of Saint Dominic and Saint Francis."

"Then came Mira (Miss Slade), proud of figure and with the stately bearing of a Demeter, and finally three Indians, one a young son of Gandhiji, Devadas, with a round and happy face. He is gentle, and but little aware of the grandeur of his name. The others were secretaries—disciples—two young men of rare qualities of heart and mind. Mahadev Desai and Pyarelal."

"As I had conceived shortly beforehand to get a severe cold on my chest, it was to my house and to the chamber on the second floor where I sleep at Villa Olga—you will remember it—that Gandhiji came each morning for long conversations. My sister interpreted, with the assistance of Mira, and I had also a Russian friend and secretary, Miss Kondacheff, who took notes on our discussions. Some good photographs by Schlemmer, our neighbour from Montreux recorded the aspect of our interviews."

"Evenings, at seven o'clock, prayers were held in the first-floor salon. With lights lowered, the Indian seated on the carpet, and the little assembly of the faithful grouped about, there was a suite of three beautiful chants—the first an extract from the Gita, the second an ancient hymn on the Sanskrit texts which Gandhiji has translated, and the third a canticle of Rama and Sita, intoned by the warm, grave voice of Mira."

"Gandhi held other prayers at three o'clock in the morning, for which, in London, he used to wake his harassed staff although he had not retired until one. This little man, so frail in appearance, is tireless, and fatigue is a word which does not exist in his vocabulary. He could calmly answer for hours the heckling of a crowd, as he did at Lausanne and Geneva, without a muscle of his face twitching. Seated on a table, motionless, his voice always clear and calm, he replied to his adversaries open or masked—and they were not lacking at Geneva—giving them rude truths which left them silenced and suffocated.

"The Roman bourgeoisie, and nationalist, who had at first received him with crafty looks, quivered with rage when he left. I believe that if his stay had lasted any longer, the public meetings would have been forbidden. He pronounced himself as unequivocally as possible on the double questions of national armaments and the conflict between capital and labour. I was largely responsible for steering him on this latter course.

"His mind proceeds through successive experiments into action and he follows a straight line, but he never stops, and one would risk error in attempting to judge him by what he said ten years ago, because his thought is in constant revolution. I will give you a little example of it that is characteristic.

#### "GOD IS TRUTH"

"He was asked at Lausanne to define what he understood by God. He explained how, among the noblest attributes which the Hindu scriptures ascribed to God, he had in his youth chosen the word "truth" as most truly defining the essential element. He had then said, 'God is Truth.' "But," he added, "two years ago I advanced another step. I now say, 'Truth is God.' For, even the atheists do not doubt the necessity for the power of truth. In their passion for discovering the truth, the atheists have not hesitated to deny the existence of God, and, from their point of view, they are right." You will understand from this, single trait the boldness and independence of this religious spirit from the Orient. I noted in him traits similar to Vivekananda.

"And yet not a single political ruse catches him unprepared. And his own politics are to say everything that he thinks to everybody, not concealing a thing.

"On the last evening, after the prayers, Gandhi asked me to play him a little of Beethoven. He does not know Beethoven, but he knows that Beethoven has been the intermediary between Mira and me, and consequently between Mira and himself, and that, in the final count, it is to Beethoven that the gratitude of us all must go. I played him the Andante of the Fifth Symphony. To that I added, "Les Champs Elysees" of Gluck—the page for the orchestra and the air for the flute.

"He is very sensitive to the religious chants of his country, which somewhat resemble the most beautiful of our Gregorian melodies, and he has

worked to assemble them. We also exchanged our ideas on art, from which he does not separate his conception of truth, nor from his conception of truth that of joy, which he thinks truth should bring. But it follows of itself that for this heroic nature joy does not come without effort, not even life itself without hardship. 'The seeker after truth hath a heart tender as the lotus, and hard as granite.'

"Here, my dear friend, are a few hints of those days of ours together on which I have taken much more detailed notes. What I do not dwell on to you is the hurricane of intruders, loiterers, and half-wits which this visit loosed on our two villas. No, the telephone never ceased ringing; photographers in ambuscades let fly their fusillades from behind every bush. The milkmen's syndicate at Leman informed me that during all the time of this sojourn with me of the 'King of India' they intended to assume complete responsibility for his 'victualing'. We received letters from 'Sons of God'. Some Italians wrote to the Mahatma beseeching him to indicate for them the ten lucky numbers for the next drawing of his weekly national lottery!

"My sister, having survived, has gone to take ten day's rest at a cure in Zurich. She returns shortly. For my part I have entirely lost the gift of sleep. If you find it, send it to me by registered mail!"

#### LOVE AS MEDICINE

I

Dr. Karl Menninger, M. D., writes in his book *Love against Hate* written during the war years:

"Science is a slave. It is commandeered by war to kill men and by medicine to save them. It fires guns and it allays fevers. It builds bridges and it blows them up. In science man found a slave to minister to his comfort and safety, but one which could take away both. The slave may even destroy his master, a possibility somehow seems to be imminent. But the slave can also save his master, if the master will give the command.

"No one will maintain today that 'all is right with the world'. It is full of hate and murder and bitterness and hunger and waste and pessimism and fear and sorrow.

"But why? We are all human. We all want the same thing in life, and there is enough for all."

"Two contrary laws seem to be wrestling with one another nowadays," said Louis Pasteur: "the one a law of blood and death ever imagining new means of destruction . . . the other a law of peace, work and health ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges that beset him."

Freud said, "Die we must ultimately, but in the meantime we can live, if we can love."

"This medicine, love, which cures all sorrow was prescribed by Jesus long before Donne and by Gautama Buddha long before Jesus."

It is this medicine, love, that Gandhiji has been presenting to us for the last 30 years. We seemed to listen to him for a while, but his words seem to be falling on deaf ears today. Passions are running high. The Hindus and the Sikhs who have suffered in

Pakistan tell him, "Non-violence was alright against the British. You cannot possibly use it against the Muslims. You do not know how cruel and unreliable they are." It reminds one of the arguments presented by Europeans against the efficacy of non-violence in dealing with Hitler. Gandhiji's reply then was that non-violence was effective in all situations provided it was used in sufficient concentration. The worst of criminals too is a human being after all and there is a spark of the divine in his or her breast, which can be ignited.

## II

During my stay in Noakhali I one day went to an old village practitioner's house in the village where I was stationed. Practitioners there were mostly men who had worked as compounders for some years in a hospital and had then settled down as village practitioners in their villages. This old practitioner also belonged to this class. I asked him how his house had been saved when all the others in the neighbourhood had been burnt. At this I was told that when the band of looters came to his house, they started looting and smashing religious pictures. A glass piece from the frame of one of these cut the foot of the leader of the party and he started bleeding profusely. The old practitioner took him to his half-ransacked dispensary and dressed his foot with the care and attention that he might have bestowed on his own son. It amazed the *goondas*. The chief ordered his men to go away. So the house was saved from fire. The nobility of the old practitioner had ignited the spark of goodness in the breast of the *goondas'* chief. It was a triumph of love over hate.

Again, during my stay at Wah Camp in West Punjab, I heard the romantic story of the bravery of seventythree women who had jumped into a well to save their honour. The Muslim mob had attacked the village and after a prolonged and brave armed resistance the Hindus and Sikhs had to surrender. The men were collected in the open *maidan* waiting to be converted to Islam if they wished to live. The women were to be taken away by the Muslims. Seventythree of them went inside the compound of their new well under the pretext of drinking water and said their prayers aloud for nearly an hour. The Muslim mob was shouting outside asking them to get ready quickly. At that the leader shouted back that they would never be able to touch them with their unclean hands, and seventythree women jumped into the well within three seconds. The mob was so impressed by this brave non-violent act that it slowly melted away without converting the Hindus and the Sikhs whom they had collected for the purpose. The self-suffering of these women had put the devil to shame and given a chance to the spark of goodness to assert itself.

New Delhi, 24-10-'47

S. N

## SELF-RESTRAINT v. SELF-INDULGENCE

[ Revised one volume Edition ]

By Gandhiji

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## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

(Continued from p. 399)

Who was to bear the loss? Over and above this there was the problem of feeding and clothing of lacs of refugees. India was not so rich as to bear this heavy burden. If things like these continued, India would be ruined. If the railway earnings ran into crores, it was equally true that the expenses of running trains were no less heavy. If, therefore, such things continued much longer, stark ruin faced India. He had heard that things in Pakistan were no better.

Gandhiji then impressed on the audience the necessity of observing the laws of sanitation in railway compartments. Spitting within the compartments was an instance in point. He also deprecated disregard of railway rules like pulling the alarm signals without sufficient cause.

If he were at the head of the railway administration, Gandhiji said, he would advise the railway management to tell the public that unless they purchased tickets trains would be stopped and they would resume journey only if the passengers willingly paid the fares due.

Birla House, New Delhi, 29-10-'47

DILIP KUMAR ROY

Speaking after prayers Gandhiji introduced to the gathering Shri Dilip Kumar Roy who sang the *bhajan* of the evening. Gandhiji said that though he knew nothing of the art of singing he felt that the voice of the singer was sweeter and richer than when he first heard him sing in the Sassoon Hospital in Poona where he had undergone an operation as a prisoner. Probably, very few persons in the world had Shri Roy's natural sweetness of voice. He belonged to the *ashram* in Pondicherry of *Rishi* Aurobindo. The audience should know that there was no race or religious distinction at the *ashram*. He remembered that the late Sir Akbar Hydari went to the *ashram* as on a pilgrimage. Naturally, Shri Roy was a chip of the old block, and had no prejudices. He had been to see him earlier in the day when he had sung two songs viz., the *Bande Mataram* and Lqbal's the *Sare Jehanmen Achchha*. The concluding line of the evening *bhajan* meant that the wealthy had their crores in palaces, horses etc. and the devotee had his all in and through his God whom he knew as Murari, Rama, Hari etc. If they all took the lesson to heart, they would shed all prejudices.

KASHMIR PANGS

Referring next to the situation in Kashmir Gandhiji said that when the Maharaja Salieb in his distress wished to accede to the Union, the Governor-General could not reject the advance. He and his Cabinet sent troops by air to Kashmir telling the Maharaja that the accession was provisional upon an impartial plebiscite being taken of the Kashmiris irrespective of religion. The Maharaja had wisely appointed Sheikh Abdullah as his minister with all the powers accruing to the office. And it pleased him to read in the papers that the Sheikh Sahib had risen to the occasion.

and made a hearty response to the invitation. What was the situation? It was stated that a rebel army composed of Afridis and the like, ably officered, was advancing towards Srinagar, burning and looting villages along the route, destroying even the electric power house, thus leaving Srinagar in darkness. It was difficult to believe that this entry could take place without some kind of encouragement from the Pakistan Government. He had not enough data to come to a judgment as to the merits of the case. Nor was it necessary for his purpose. All he knew was that it was right for the Union Government to rush troops, even a handful, to Srinagar. That must save the situation to the extent of giving confidence to the Kashmiris, especially to the Sheikh Saheb who was affectionately called Sher-e-Kashmir i.e., the Lion of Kashmir. The result was in the hands of God. Men could but do or die. He would not shed a tear if the little Union force was wiped out, like the Spartans, bravely defending Kashmir nor would he mind the Sheikh Saheb and his Muslim, Hindu and Sikh comrades, men and women dying at their post in defence of Kashmir. That would be a glorious example to the rest of India. Such heroic defence would infect the whole of India and we would forget that the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs were ever enemies. Then we would realize that not all Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs were fiends. There were some good men and women in all religions and races. The universe existed on its good men and women. Indeed, he would not be surprised if even the rebel army was itself converted to sanity. Let them remember the refrain of the *bhajan* - 'We were all of and from one and the same God, no matter by what name we worshipped Him.'

*Birla House, New Delhi, 30-10-'47*

#### WORKING OF AHIMSA

This evening when as usual before the prayer meeting the audience was asked if there was any objector to the Quran verses being recited as part of the prayer, one member spoke up and persisted in his objection. Gandhiji had made it clear that if there was such objection, he would neither have public prayer nor the after-prayer speech on current events. Consequently, he sent word that there would be neither prayer nor speech before the public. But the gathering would not disperse without seeing Gandhiji. He, therefore, went to the rostrum and said a few words on the reason for abstention and the working of ahimsa as he understood it. He said that it was unseemly for anyone to object to the prayer, especially, when it was on a private lawn. Nevertheless, his ahimsa warned him against disregarding even one objector when an overwhelming majority were likely to overawe one person into silence. It would be otherwise if the whole audience objected. It would then be his duty to have the prayer even at the risk of being molested. There was also the further consideration that the majority should not be disappointed for the sake of one objector. The remedy was simple. If the majority restrained

themselves and entertained no anger against, or evil design on, the solitary objector, it would be his duty to hold the prayer. The possibility, however, was that if the whole audience was non-violent in intention and action, the objector would restrain himself. Such he held was the working of non-violence. He further held that truth and non-violence were not the monopoly of a few adepts. All universal rules of conduct known as God's commandments were simple and easy to understand and carry out if the will was there. They only appeared to be difficult because of the inertia which governed mankind. Man was a progressive being. There was nothing at a standstill in nature. Only God was motionless for, He was, is and will be the same yesterday, today and tomorrow, and yet was ever moving. We need not, however, worry ourselves over the attributes of God. We had to realize that we were ever progressing. Hence he held that if mankind was to live, it had to come growingly under the sway of truth and non-violence. It was in view of these two fundamental rules of conduct that he and the audience had to work and live.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 31-10-'47*

#### EXAMPLARY BEHAVIOUR

Two persons had again objected to the recitation of the verses from the Quran at Gandhiji's prayer meeting, one of the objectors being the same who had objected the previous evening. Both were quite restrained in their objection. Gandhiji asked the audience if it was proper on his part not to hold the prayer because one or two men out of several hundred objected and thus disappointed the rest. Decency demanded that those who had any objection to the recitation from the Quran should desist from attending his prayers. The only way to avoid the impasse was for the audience, as he had said the previous evening, not to be angry with the objectors and not to molest them in any way whatsoever. He also asked the police not to interfere with the objectors. All with one voice said they would not in any way interfere with them. And the prayer proceeded. Shri Dilip Kumar Roy happened to be present again and he sang a *bhajan*.

Speaking after prayers, Gandhiji congratulated the objectors on their exemplary restraint and the audience for having maintained perfect calm.

#### MIND — A TEMPLE

Commenting next on the *bhajan* sung by Shri Dilip Kumar Roy Gandhiji said that although the *bhajan* sung was a simple tune, the trained voice of the gifted singer had imparted to the simple tune a sweetness all its own. The refrain of the *bhajan*, Gandhiji said, had likened the mind of the devotee to a temple of worship wherein pure love resided permanently and illumined the heart. The heart being illumined, the vision became clear. This was non-violence in action. A mind not set on God was given to wandering and lacked the quality of a temple of worship.

#### RICH AND POOR

Referring next to the wide gap that was still existing between the rich and the poor among the



refugees, Gandhiji said that he had noticed, while in Noakhali as in Delhi, that rich people managed to flee from affected areas, leaving the poor in a helpless condition. This should not be. The rich and resourceful should have fellow-feeling for the poor and never leave them in the lurch. They must all sink or swim together. Adversity should abolish all distinctions of high and low or rich and poor. Then their refugee camps would be models of sanitation and solid co-operation.

#### FORCIBLE CONVERSIONS CONDEMNED

Gandhiji then mentioned a visit of some Muslim friends, who had complained about forcible conversions of hundreds of Muslims to Hinduism and Sikhism. Condemning such reported conversions, Gandhiji said that religion could not be forced upon an unwilling heart. Every so-called convert to Hinduism or Sikhism should feel sure that the conversion was not to be recognized and that every such 'convert' was free to follow his original faith. This applied equally to so-called converts to Islam. If it was to be otherwise, it would mean death to the three religions. It was the duty of the people to see that the minorities lived without any fear of the majority. If the Muslims from the Union wanted to go to Pakistan, they should be allowed to do so. But due protection should be afforded to such Muslims as wanted to stay in the Indian Union. He was against the use of force under any circumstances. Therefore, his ambition was that the evacuees on either side should return to their homes in honour and safety. He, for one, would not like to live to witness the perpetuation of the present unnatural condition.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 1-11-'47*

#### ABODE OF GOD

The previous day's objector turned up at Gandhiji's prayer meeting today also. Gandhiji said that he was glad that the objector only courteously registered his dissent from the recitation from the *Quran*. The rest of the large audience renewed their declaration that they would bear no malice and do no injury to the objector. The prayer, therefore, went on as usual. Shri Dilip Kumar Roy sang the *bhajan*, whose first line, Gandhiji said, meant that the devotees belonged to the land where there was neither misery nor sorrow. Gandhiji explained that in his opinion it had a double meaning. The one was that they belonged to a country, i. e. India in which there was neither misery nor sorrow. He could not recall a time when there was no misery nor sorrow in India. The first meaning, therefore, meant an aspiration of the poet. The second meaning had reference to the soul and the body which was its abode. Thus the soul inhabited a body which was in the language of the *Gita*, the abode of true religion and not the abode of fleeting passions. The condition attached to the success of the pursuit was that the owner of the abode was free from the six noted enemies whose names were anger, malice, greed, passion etc. The blissful state was capable of attainment by everyone. And if that happened on any appreciable scale, the poet's dream about India would be quickly

realized. Describing the misery of India he related the conversation he had with a lady doctor who had come from the Kurukshetra Camp. It was a pitiful sight. The Camp could take in more doctors, more medicines, more covering and warm clothing. Many had no change of clothes. The mothers of babies could keep them warm with the greatest difficulty.

#### SHEIKH ABDULLA

Then he invited the audience to cast their mental eyes on Kashmir and picture to themselves the condition of the people there. When he listened to the sound which the aeroplanes above made in their journey to Kashmir, his heart went out to the Prime Minister, Sheikh Abdulla and his people. He was a friend of all and made no distinctions between man and man. He represented the non-Muslims as well as the Muslims. Gandhiji remarked that those who were fleeing from Kashmir out of fear should not do so. They should learn to be brave and fearless and should be prepared to lay down their lives in defence of their homes. This applied equally to all whether old or young or women or children. He would not mind if the whole of the military and the people of Kashmir died at their post in defence of fair Kashmir. How he wished that the Afghans and other freebooters were sensible enough to leave Kashmir alone.

#### REFUGEES IN KURUKSHETRA

Lastly, Gandhiji said that if the refugees in Kurukshetra suffered terribly, he was sure, the refugees of Pakistan could not suffer less. This senseless and consequent misery was too great a price to pay for the prevailing madness. He, therefore, commended to the audience to treasure the thought. The best contribution they could make towards the deliverance from misery was to shed all enmity and to regard every Muslim and others as friends.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 2-11-'47*

#### FULL CO-OPERATION NEEDFUL

Shri Brij Krishan had reported that there was a much larger audience than usual and about ten objectors to the recitation from the *Quran*. There was among the objectors the old friend too. But the objectors were perfectly restrained and courteous. Gandhiji was also told that there was a suppressed objection from a much larger number. Gandhiji, before proceeding with the prayer spoke to the meeting. He said that he was glad that the people were open enough to register their objection. He did not like to think that people came not to share the worship of God but they came to see him or hear him because he was called a *mahatma* or because of his long service of the nation. The prayer was all inclusive. God was known by many names. In the last analysis the names were as many as human beings. It was rightly said that even animals, birds and stones adored God. They would find in the *Bhajanavali* a hymn by a Muslim saint which said that the chirp of birds in the morning and evening signified that they adored their Maker. There was no sense in objecting to any part of the prayer because it was selected from the *Quran* or from any other scripture. Whatever might be the

them to do forbidden things. If he was in their place, he would wean the tribesmen from their error. They could meet Sheikh Abdulla Sahab if they thought he was harming Islam or India. He hoped his appeal would reach these officers and the tribesmen and that they would retrace their steps.

Gandhiji could not escape the conclusion that the Pakistan Government was directly or indirectly encouraging the raid. The Prime Minister of the Frontier Province was reported to have openly encouraged the raid and had even appealed to the Islamic world for help. Then he had seen in the Press that Pandit Nehru's Government was accused of fraud, in that assistance was being sent to Kashmir and that accession was being plotted from some time. He was amazed that such reckless charges were made by a Pakistan Minister against the Government of a sister dominion. He had brought in Kashmir in his remarks because he had good news from friends which he wanted to share with the audience. The news did not square with the Qaid-e-Azam's declaration that there was an enemy of Pakistan meaning the Union, he supposed. A Hindu friend from Karachi saw him and another from Lahore. Both informed him that things were better than a few days ago and that they were getting still better. He was told, too, that at least one Muslim family was seen by the friend to have given shelter to a Sikh friend and set apart one room for keeping the Sikh friend's *Grantha Sahib* with due respect. He was informed that such instances of the Hindus and the Sikhs having sheltered Muslims and vice versa could be multiplied. He had, too, some Muslim friends coming to him who deplored with him that vast and criminal exchange of populations was going on. These friends told him that the Muslim refugees in Pakistan suffered no less than the Sikhs and the Hindus in the Union. No government could cope with such a large mass of human beings uprooted from their homes and thrown on its shoulders. It was like an overwhelming onrush of waters. Could not this mad rush be stopped? the friends asked. He had no doubt that it could be if the suspicion and the flinging of charges (he thought baseless) was altogether and sincerely stopped. He invited the audience to pray with him that God would bring sanity to the unhappy land. He wished to congratulate the objectors on their wise restraint in allowing the prayer to proceed smoothly and without any interruption.

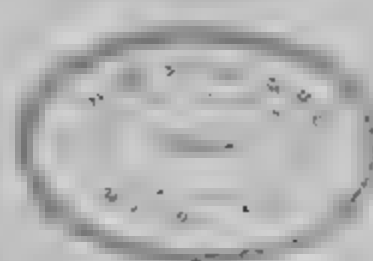
Referring to the Kashmir trouble Gandhiji said that the Indian Union continued to send more troops and other necessary help. The Government did not own any aeroplanes but he was glad to hear that private companies had placed their planes at the disposal of the Government. Time ran in favour of ordered troops and ordered Government and against the freebooters.

Gandhin was, however, sorry to learn that the freebooters in Kashmir were being led by two ex-officers of the Azad Hind Fauj which valiantly fought under the able leadership of the late Shri Subhash Bose. It was composed of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and others. They retained their own religion but there was no distinction of caste or creed. They were knit together in bonds of friendship and brotherhood. They were proud of being Indians. He had met them (if it was they) in the Delhi Fort and outside after their release. He could not understand why they led freebooters and took part in burning and looting villages and murdering innocent men and women. They were harming the Afghans and the other tribesmen by encouraging

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

*Birla House, New Delhi, 3-11-'47*

### VIRUS OF COMMUNALISM

If two quantities of poison mix together, who will decide which was first on the field and if such a decision could be arrived at what end would it serve? We know this, however, that the virus has spread throughout the Western Pakistan area and that it has not as yet been recognized as such by the powers that be. So far as the Union is concerned, it has been confined to a small part of it. Would to God that the virus would remain under isolation and control! There would then be cause for every hope that it would be expelled in due time and that soon from both the parts.

### REMOVE FOOD CONTROL

In view of the fact that Dr. Rajendra Prasad has called a meeting of the Premiers or their representatives and others to help and advise him in the matter of food control, I feel that I should devote this evening to that very important question. Nothing that I have heard during these days has moved me from the stand I have taken up from the beginning that the control should be entirely removed at the earliest moment possible, certainly not later than six months hence. Not a day passes but letters and wires come to me, some from important persons, declaring emphatically that both the controls should be removed. I propose to omit the other, i.e., cloth control for the time being.

### CONTROL BREEDS EVIL

Control gives rise to fraud, suppression of truth, intensification of the black market and to artificial scarcity. Above all it unmans the people and deprives them of initiative, it undoes the teaching of self-help they have been learning for a generation. It makes them spoon-fed. This is a tragedy next only, if indeed not equal, to the fratricide on a vast scale and the insane exchange of population resulting in unnecessary deaths, starvation and want of proper residence and clothing more poignant for the coming inclement weather. The second is certainly more spectacular. We dare not forget the first because it is not spectacular.

This food control is one of the vicious legacies of the last world war. Control then was probably inevitable because a very large quantity of cereals and other foodstuff were exported outside. This unnatural export was bound to create a man-made scarcity and lead to rationing in spite of its many drawbacks. Now there need be no export which we cannot avoid if we wish to. We would help the

starving parts of the world, if we do not expect outside help for India in the way of food.

I have seen during my lifetime covering two generations several God-sent famines, but have no recollection of an occasion when rationing was even thought of.

Today, thank God, the monsoons have not failed us. There is, therefore, no real scarcity of food. There are enough cereals, pulses and oil seeds in the villages of India. The artificial control of prices, the growers do not, cannot understand. They, therefore, refuse willingly to part with their stock at a price much lower than they command in the open market. This naked fact needs no demonstration. It does not require statistics or desk-work civilians buried in their red-tape files to produce elaborate reports and essays to prove that there is scarcity. It is to be hoped that no one will frighten us by trotting out before us the bogey of over-population.

### ADVICE OF EXPERIENCED MEN

Our ministers are of the people, from the people. Let them not arrogate to themselves greater knowledge than those experienced men who do not happen to occupy ministerial chairs but who hold the view strongly that the sooner the control is removed the better. A physician writes to say that the food control has made it impossible for those who depend upon rationed food to procure eatable cereals and pulses and therefore, he says, the people needlessly suffer from ailments caused by rotten stuff.

### DEMOCRACY AND TRUST

In the place of controlled food, the Government can easily run the vety stores for selling good grains which they will buy in the open market. They will thus bring about automatic regulation of prices and set free the hoarded cereals, pulses and oil seeds. Will they not trust the grain dealers and growers? Democracy will break under the strain of apron strings. It can exist only on trust. If the people die because they will not labour or because they will defraud one another, it will be a welcome deliverance. The rest will then learn not to repeat the sin of being lazy, idle or cruelly selfish.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 4-11-'47*

### OFFSPRING OF ANGER

Before he commenced his prayers Gandhiji said that though no one, except the courteous old friend who had registered his usual objection, had got up to object to the recitation from the Quran, he proposed to deal with a very pathetic letter of

objection received from a Punjabi Hindu refugee who had suffered much. He did not know whether the objector was present at the meeting or not. Whether he was present or not, the speaker would not ignore the letter, if only because it was written with deep pain. It was fairly well argued but was full of ignorance which was born of anger. Anger was written in every line of it. Practically the whole of his time was devoted to listening to the tale of woes, whether recited by the Hindu or the Sikh refugees or the local Muslim sufferers. His spirit was equally touched and wounded and if he allowed himself to be moody, it was no expression of *ahimsa*. He would be weeping the whole day long leaving no time either for obeisance, food or sleep. But from early youth he had used himself in terms of *ahimsa* not to weep over the sorrows that came under his notice but to harden his heart in order to enable him to combat the sorrows. Had they not been told by the seers of old that one who was full of *ahimsa* was bound to have a heart softer than a flower and harder than flint? He had endeavoured to live up to the advice and so when confronted with complaints like those in the letter in question or the recital of their anger and sorrow by his visitors, he hardened his heart so as to battle with the problem of the day. The letter was written in the *urdu* script. He had asked Shri Brijkrishan to note down the points of the letter.

#### HALF-TRUTH v. UNTRUTH

The first was the charge of breach of his (Gandhi's) word. Had he not said that if there was even one objector at his prayer meetings, he would respect the objection and not lead public prayer for the evening in question? This was a half-truth, more dangerous than full untruth. When he stopped the prayer meeting for the first time, he had announced that he suspended it for fear that the overwhelming majority of the audience might resent the objection even to the point of molesting the objector. This was several months ago. Since then the audience had learnt the art of self-restraint and when he got the assurance from the audience that they would harbour neither resentment nor anger in their hearts, he consented again to lead public prayer. The result was happy as he knew. The objectors were strictly courteous in their behaviour and beyond registering their objection they did nothing to interfere with the prayer. He hoped therefore, that the writer of the letter would see that there was not only no breach but that the result so far had been quite happy. He assured the audience that so far as he knew himself, he had not been guilty of any such breach throughout his long life of public service.

The writer of the letter then taxed him for reciting some verses from the *Quran* when he did not do so with reference to the *Japji* or the Bible. Here, too, the writer betrayed ignorance of the description he had given as to how the whole of the prayer verses had been adopted. He had already pointed out that very often *bhajans* were taken from the Bible as well as the *Granth Sahib*.

#### WELL-TO-DO REFUGEES

The third complaint of the writer was that there were known Congress leaders who had left the West Punjab or some other part of West Pakistan and did not live like refugees sharing their trials and difficulties, but were occupying buildings more palatial than those they had occupied in Pakistan. They lived a life of utter isolation from the refugees, who were often without shelter, without warm clothes or even change of clothes and without adequate food. If the complaint was true, it betrayed a disgraceful state of things. He (Gandhi) had not hesitated at the prayer meetings to condemn in general terms the richer refugees for isolating themselves from the poorer ones, instead of sharing the latter's tribulation.

#### DUTY IN DELHI

The complainant then in sarcastic language twitted him (Gandhi) for not going to Pakistan as he had intended. Why, Gandhi, was asked, he preferred to help his Muslim friends instead of going to Pakistan to the help of the Hindu and the Sikh sufferers? Little did the complainant know that he could not neglect his duty in Delhi and with any hope go to Pakistan to alleviate the sufferings of the Hindu and the Sikh brethren. He confessed that he was a friend of the Muslims and the others because he was an equal friend of the Hindus and the Sikhs. He did not believe in any exclusive service. If he served one, the spirit actuating him to render that service was that he served the one individual as part not only of India or one religion but the whole of humanity. It was for the Hindus and the Sikhs of Delhi, refugees and others, to prove by their friendliness towards the Muslims of Delhi that it was superfluous for him to be in Delhi. They would then find him rushing to Pakistan with full confidence that his visit would not be fruitless.

#### CHARGES ANSWERED

The complainant would not even leave the Kasturba Fund alone. He asks what is being done of the Kasturba Fund and why it cannot be diverted to the service of the refugees. In the first instance, the fund was raised whilst he was yet in jail, for a specific purpose, i. e. the service of the women and children of the villages of India. It had a board of trustees. Its secretary was the ever vigilant Thakkarbapa and accurate accounts were being kept which the public could see. Therefore, it could not be diverted as the writer suggested and there was no occasion for the diversion. Money was being liberally subscribed and the public knew how liberal the response was to his little appeal for blankets. Sardar Patel had issued a special appeal which had received and was still receiving generous response.

#### SLAUGHTER OF PIGS

The last complaint of the writer was why, when slaughter of pigs was prohibited in Pakistan, cow-slaughter could not be prohibited in the Union? Gandhi said that he had no knowledge of legal prohibition of the slaughter of pigs in Pakistan. If the information given by the complainant was true, he was sorry. He knew that use of

pork for food was prohibited in Islamic law. But even so, he could not justify the prohibition of the use of pork by those other than the Muslims.

#### IS PAKISTAN THEOCRATIC?

Had not the Qaid-e-Azam said that Pakistan was not a theocratic State and that it was purely a secular State? That the claim could not always be justified in action was, unfortunately, too true. Was the Union to be a theocratic State and were the tenets of Hinduism to be imposed on non-Hindus? He hoped not. The Indian Union would then cease to be a land of hope and promise, a land to which all Asiatic and African races looked, indeed the whole world. The world expected not littleness and fanaticism from India whether as the Union or Pakistan. It expected greatness and goodness from which the whole world could derive a lesson and light in its prevailing darkness.

#### TREATMENT OF CATTLE

He (the speaker) yielded to none in his devoted worship of the cow, but that devotion could not be imposed by law. It would only come by cultivation of friendship with all non-Hindus including the Muslims and by correct conduct. The Gujaratis and the Marwaris were supposed to be the foremost in their wish for the protection of the cow, but they had so far forgotten the dictates of Hinduism that they would gladly impose restrictions on others whilst they were grossly ill-treating the cow and her progeny. Why were the cattle of India the most neglected? Why had they, as was contended, become a burden on the land by reason of the poorest yield of milk in the world? As beasts of burden why were they grossly ill-treated?

The various *panjrapoles* were not institutions to be proud of. Much money was invested in them, but scientific and intelligent treatment of cattle was hardly to be found in them. They would never bring about the regeneration of the cattle of India. They could only do so by strict regard to the humane treatment of cattle. He (the speaker) claimed that without the assistance of law, but because of his being able to cultivate friendship with the Muslims of India, he had been instrumental in saving more cows from the butcher's knife than any other individual.

*Bula House, New Delhi, 5-11-'47*

#### THE HARIJAN'S ADAPTABILITY

As there was no opposition to the recitation from the *Quran*, save from the usual courteous friend, the prayer took place without any preliminary remarks from Gandhiji. The *bhajan* of the evening was sung by a Harijan inmate of the *Harijan Nivas* in Kingsway. Remarking upon the well-modulated voice of the Harijan, Gandhiji said that it was a matter of pleasure to him, as it must be to the audience, that man for man, given equal opportunity a Harijan was in no way inferior to any caste Hindu or any other man. Indeed, he had found that in certain things, as for instance, vocal and instrumental music or in artisanship, an average Harijan showed greater adaptability. He did not wish to convey that the Harijans were not as prone to vice as any other class of human beings. But he

did wish to convey that in spite of the severe disability which untouchability placed upon the Harijans, it did not prove any bar to equal progress provided equal opportunity was given to them. Another matter of pleasure was that the ancient and celebrated temple of Pandharpur was thrown open to the Harijans precisely on the same terms as to the other Hindus. The chief credit belonged to Sane Guruji who had undertaken to fast unto death if it was not finally opened. He wished to congratulate the trustees and the general public of and around Pandharpur upon the right step they had taken. He hoped that the last trace of untouchability would soon be a thing of the past. Such a step would make no small contribution towards the dissolution of the communal poison that had taken possession of both the parts of India.

#### HOW TO SPREAD VEGETARIANISM

Gandhiji then dealt with several questions that had come to him through the post. A Muslim friend complained that in his part of the Union vegetarian Hindus insisted upon the Muslims living in their midst, abstaining even from fish and mutton. He (the speaker) had no patience with such intolerance and narrow-mindedness. Vegetarians in India, from religious conviction, were said to be in a minority. The vast majority of the Hindus throughout India, whenever they got an opportunity, did not hesitate to eat fish, fowl or mutton. What right had vegetarians to impose their cult on the Muslims? They would not dare to impose it on their Hindu non-vegetarians. The whole thing appeared to him to be ridiculous. The correct way for people to spread vegetarianism was to reason out its beauties, which should be exhibited in their lives. There was no other royal road to bringing round others to one's view.

#### REMAIN IN YOUR HOMES

A Hindu critic said that he (Gandhiji) and others like him were never tired of preaching to the Muslims that in spite of hardships entailed by their obstinacy, they should not leave their homes, even though they might be able to do so in safety. Whereas, if they stuck to their pockets, they would not be able to stir out to earn their livelihood or the manufactures of their honest labour might be boycotted by a vast majority of the Hindu public. It was too much to expect the remnant of the poor Muslims who had seen others slaughtered before their eyes and yet others going away to Pakistan to remain in their homes in spite of the disabilities before mentioned. Gandhiji admitted that there was much truth in the criticism, but he had no other advice to offer them. He thought that leaving their hearth and home was likely to result in greater distress. He, therefore, sincerely believed that if the remnant honestly and heroically remained in their homes in spite of the sufferings, they were bound to melt the hard hearts of their Hindu neighbours. Then there would be certain deliverance for others in both the parts of India. For, unexampled bravery born of non-violence coupled with strict honesty

(Continued on p. 413)

## HARIJAN

November 16

1947

TWO AMERICAN FRIENDS'  
CONSOLATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Of the many letters that come to me from American friends whom I do not know, the following extracts from two such friends are worth quoting.

'Your great distress due to the unhappy situation in your country demands that I intrude upon your contemplation of the painful events now taking place in India, to remind you that your beautiful words have taken root in all the corners of the earth.

"That you should feel a degree of disillusionment because of these sad happenings is natural. That, that disillusionment should be measured and certainly not turn into discouragement is the purpose of my letter.

"Never does the seed turn directly into a beautiful fragrant flower without first going through certain phases of growth and development. And, if at some stage of its development — or growth — it falters, the presence of the gardener is more than ever required. In the complete absorption of the selfless task of nursing his ailing plant, the gardener perhaps cannot fully observe the growth of other plants in his garden, he just sees him in his compassion for their stricken brother.

"I plead with you to give consideration to the countless numbers of people in all countries on earth, of all classes, races and creeds who are now also praying for peace. These people, whose hopes you have so well expressed and who seek fresh courage from his victories which you did achieve with the Science of Peace, must now join me in prayer that the Master bless you and preserve you to continue your noble work, so much of which is still to be done.

What they say may prove true and that the senseless blood-bath through which India is still passing, though the original fury seems to have abated, may be nothing unusual as history goes. What India is passing through must be regarded as unusual. If we grant that such liberty as India has gained was a tribute to non-violence as I have repeatedly said, non-violence of India's struggle was only in name, in reality it was passive resistance of the weak. The truth of the statement we see demonstrated by the happenings in India.

New Delhi, 6-11-'47

## NOTES

## Outside His Field

Major General Cariappa is reported to have said as follows:

"Non-violence is of no use under the present circumstances in India and only a strong army can make India one of the greatest nations in the world."

I fear, like many experts, General Cariappa has gone beyond his depth and has been unwittingly betrayed into a serious misconception of *ahimsa*, of whose working in the nature of things, he can only have very superficial knowledge. By reason of lifelong practice of *ahimsa*, I claim to be an expert in it, though very imperfect. Speaking in absolute terms, the more I practise it the clearer I see how far I am from the full expression of *ahimsa* in my life. It is his ignorance of this, the greatest duty of man in the world, which makes him say that in this age non-violence has little scope in the face of violence, whereas I make bold to say that in this age of the Atom Bomb unadulterated non-violence is the only force that can confound all the tricks put together of violence. It would have become the General, unaided as he can only now be, by his British teachers of military science and practice, not to have gone out of his depth. Generals greater than General Cariappa have been wise and humble enough frankly to make the admission that they can have no right to speak of the possibilities of the force of *ahimsa*. We are witnessing the tragic solvency of military science and practice in its own home. Should a bankrupt, who has been by the gamble in the share market, sing the praise of that particular form of gambling?

New Delhi 7-11-'47

## "For Muslims Only"

A correspondent draws attention to the fact that whereas I have condemned the use at Railway Stations of different pots of water for Muslims and Hindus, now there are compartments reserved for Muslims only and non-Muslims or Hindus. I do not know how far the evil has spread, but I do know that this distinction is a matter of great shame for the Hindus and the Sikhs. I suppose it became necessary for the railway administration to make the distinction for the simple protection of Muslim life. It is any lay possible (the sooner the better) to stop the practice by the Hindus and the Sikhs making up their minds never to dispose of Muslim fellow passengers, as if they were chattels and to assure the railway administration that the offence will never be repeated. This can happen when there is an open confession of sin and return to sanity. This I say, irrespective of what has happened or may still happen in Pakistan.

New Delhi, 6-11-'47

M. K. G.

## Removal of Inequalities

The Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education was held in China early in September. A bulletin issued by the Publicity Department of the Government of India contains the following text of Gandhiji's message and comments thereon.

"I am deeply interested in the efforts of the United Nations Economic, Social and

Cultural Organization to secure peace through educational and cultural activities. I fully appreciate that real security and lasting peace cannot be secured so long as extreme inequalities in education and culture exist as they do among the nations of the world. Light must be carried even to the remotest homes in the less fortunate countries which are in comparative darkness, and I think that in this cause the nations which are economically and educationally advanced have a special responsibility. I wish your Conference every success, and I hope that you will be able to produce a workable plan for providing the right type of education particularly in countries in which opportunities for education are restricted owing to economic and other circumstances."

Commenting on the above message the bulletin added

"The message was received with great respect and reverence, and the entire audience that had gathered there stood up while it was being read. The Conference also sent a letter of thanks and appreciation to Gandhiji for his inspiring message. New Delhi, 7-11-47

### GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

(Continued from p. 411)

shown by a fair number of Muslims was sure to infect the whole of India

#### FIRM ON NON-VIOLENCE

Another letter rebuked him for having dared to advise Mr Winston Churchill, Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese, when they were likely to lose all, that they should adopt his technique of non-violence. The writer of the letter then went on to say that if he could give that advice when it was safe for him to do so, why did he abandon his non-violence when his own friends in the Congress Government had forsaken it and even sent armed assistance to Kashmir? The letter concluded by inviting Gandhiji to point out definitely how the raiders were to be opposed non-violently by the Kashmiris. Replying Gandhiji said that he was sorry for the ignorance betrayed by the writer. The audience would remember that he had repeatedly said that he had no influence in the matter over his friends in the Union Cabinet. He held on to his views on non-violence as firmly as ever, but he could not impose his views on his best friends, as they were, in the Cabinet. He could not expect them to act against their convictions and everybody should be satisfied with his confession that he had lost his original hold upon his friends. The question put by the writer was quite apposite. Gandhiji's answer was quite simple.

#### NO DENIAL OF CREDIT

His *ahimsa* forbade him from denying credit, where it was due, even though the creditor was a believer in violence. Thus, though he did not accept Subhas Bose's belief in violence and his consequent action, he had not refrained from giving unstinted praise to his patriotism, resourcefulness and bravery. Similarly, though he did not approve

of the use of arms by the Union Government for aiding the Kashmiris and though he could not approve of Sheikh Abdulla's resort to arms, he could not possibly withhold admiration for either for their resourceful and praiseworthy conduct, especially, if both the relieving troops and the Kashmiri defenders died heroically to a man. He knew that if they could do so, they would perhaps change the face of India. But if the defence was purely non-violent in intention and action, he would not use the word 'perhaps', for, he would be sure of change in the face of India even to the extent of converting to the defender's view the Union Cabinet, if not even the Pakistan Cabinet.

The non-violent technique, he would suggest, would be no armed assistance to the defenders. Non-violent assistance could be sent from the Union without stint. But the defenders, whether they got such assistance or not, would defy the might of the raiders or even a disciplined army in overwhelming numbers. And defenders dying at their post of duty without malice and without anger in their hearts against the assailants, and without the use of any arms including even their fists would mean an exhibition of heroism as yet unknown to history. Kashmir would then become a holy land shedding its fragrance not only throughout India, but the world. Having described non-violent action he had to confess his own impotence in that his word lacked the strength, which perfect mastery over self as described in the concluding lines of the second chapter of the *Gita*, gave. He lacked the *tapashcharya* requisite for the purpose. He could only pray and invite the audience to pray with him to God that if it pleased Him, He might arm him with the qualifications he had just described.

Birla House, New Delhi 6-11-47

#### DISTORTED FACTS

After prayer Gandhiji referred to two newspaper cuttings that a friend had sent him. He knew the writer's name but he did not propose to give the name or the particulars in the two extracts. All that he wanted to say was that the writings were meant to serve Hinduism; yet they were full of deliberate untruths. Facts were distorted when there was no invention. He made bold to say that that was not the way to serve any cause, much less that of religion. It did not hurt the persons who were attacked when the attack was not founded on facts, but was backed by fiction. He, therefore, warned the public against countenancing such newspapers, no matter how well-known the writers might be.

#### REMOVE CONTROLS

The second thing that Gandhiji mentioned was that he had the pleasure of meeting the Ministers from the various Provinces or their representatives who had come to Delhi to assist Dr. Rajendra Prasad in coming to a decision upon the recommendations of the Committee of non-officials, which the Food Minister had called into being and which had presented its report to him. When, therefore, Gandhiji heard about the meeting he asked Dr. Rajendra Prasad to give him an opportunity



of addressing them in the hope of being able to clear their doubts, if they had any. For, he (the speaker) felt quite sure of the stand he had taken up. Dr. Rajendra Prasad readily accepted his proposal and Gandhiji was glad to meet old friends. He (Gandhiji) had been saying that so far as his opinion on the communal trouble was concerned, he had become a back number, but he was glad to be able to say that such was not the case with reference to his stand on the food question. He had held the view that there should be no food control nor cloth control, as long ago as when Mr. Casey, the Governor of Bengal, and he had the pleasure of having several interviews. At that time he did not know whether he had any backing or not. But during the recent controversy he was agreeably surprised to discover that he had a very extensive backing from members of the public, unknown and well-known. Among the voluminous correspondence he had on the subject, he could not recall a single writer who dissented from him. He knew nothing about the view held by magnates like Shri 'Ghanashyamdas Birla and Lala Sri Ram nor did he know that he was to have any support from the Socialist circles except when Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia met him and expressed his wholehearted approval of the ground he had adopted. He had no hesitation in suggesting that in the circumstances that faced the country on the food question Dr. Rajendra Prasad should be guided by one member or more from his committee rather than by the permanent staff.

#### KHADI v. MILL CLOTH

He then referred to the control on cloth. Though in this matter he personally was, if possible, on surer ground than in the matter of removal of food control, nevertheless he was afraid that about cloth control he had not the backing that he had about food control. His submission was incredibly simple. The Congress had readily supported the opinion he had held about *khadi* as an entire substitute for any mill-cloth, foreign or indigenous. It had established the Khadi Board under the late Jamnabai, which after his (Gandhiji's) discharge from the Yeravda Prison was expanded into the All India Spinners' Association. India had 40 crores of inhabitants. If the Pakistan area was deducted from it, it would still have more than 30 crores. They had as much cotton growing in the country as they needed. There were enough spinners to turn their cotton into weavable yarn and they had more than the required number of weavers in the country for weaving the hand-spun yarn. Without any outlay of very large capital they could manufacture in the country all the wheels, handlooms and other accessories without difficulty. All that was needed, therefore, was robust faith in themselves and the determination to use nothing but *khadi*. They had known that it was possible to have as fine *khadi* as could be desired and to produce patterns superior even to those manufactured by mills. And now that India was free from the foreign yoke, there could be no hostility such as *khadi* had

to face from the representatives of the foreign rulers. It was, therefore, a most surprising thing for him (Gandhiji) that now that they had come to their own, nobody talked of *khadi*, nobody seemed to have his faith in the possibility of *khadi* and that they could think of nothing but mill-cloth for clothing India. He had not the slightest doubt that *khadi* economics was the only sound economics for India.

Birla House, New Delhi, 7-11-47

#### VISIT TO TEHAR VILLA

Gandhiji, having gone to meet the Muslim sufferers at Tehar and having been obliged to give more time than was expected, went directly to the prayer meeting on his return. After the usual prayer Gandhiji referred to his visit and said with sorrow that the Muslims in and near Tehar were obliged to go through needless suffering. Several of them were land-owners but their land they could not till for fear of molestation. They had sold their cattle, ploughs and some other movables. They were guarded by the military. The sufferers, who had gathered round him and had swelled to over 2000, said through their spokesman that they were anxious to go to Pakistan as life had become impossible and many of their dear friends and relatives had already gone there. It would be a mercy, therefore, if they were sent away to Lahore as early as possible. They said that they had no complaint to make against the military patrol. But he did not intend to take up the time that evening with a full description of the meeting at Tehar. He had told the gathering there that he had no power, but he would gladly carry their message to the Prime Minister and his deputy, who was also the Home Minister.

#### A LESSON

He then dealt with the problem that the refugees were said to have become in Delhi. He was told that the refugees, being the aggrieved party, felt that they had certain special rights accruing to them, that when they went to do some shopping, they expected the shopkeepers sometimes to give free of charge what they wanted and sometimes to make considerable reductions. Individual shopping at times amounted to a few hundred rupees each. Some refugees expected the *tongawallas* to charge nothing or to charge a lower hire than usual. Gandhiji said that if the report given to him was true, he was bound to remark that the refugees had failed to learn the lesson that misfortune ordinarily taught the sufferers. They were thereby harming themselves and the country and further complicating a cause that was already sufficiently complicated. If such conduct continued, they were bound to estrange the Delhi shopkeepers from them.

#### ADVICE TO REFUGEES

At the same time he could not understand how the refugees, who were said to have been deprived of all their belongings, could make large purchases. He would also wish that no refugee would use anything but his God-given legs for locomotion except on rare and justifiable occasions. He was told further that after the influx of refugees, the

revenue derived from spirituous liquors had increased to an enormous extent. As a matter of fact they should realize that if the Governments, Central and Provincial were true to the Congress requirements, there would be no spirituous liquors or intoxicating drugs such as opium, ganja and the like to be had in either Dominion for, Muslim friends did not need a Congress resolution to induce them to declare for complete prohibition. Could not the refugees, who had suffered extraordinary hardships, learn to restrain themselves from using drinks and drugs or indulging in luxuries? He hoped that the refugees would follow the advice he had given them during his previous after-prayer discourses; that they would so behave as to be like sugar to milk and resolutely refuse to become a burden on those in whose midst they lived; and that the rich and the poor refugees would live together in the same compound or camp and work in perfect co-operation so as to become model citizens and self-supporting.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 8-11-'47*

There were three objectors to the recitation from the Quran apart from the usual courteous objector. Before commencing the prayer, therefore, Gandhiji asked the audience whether they would abide by the original condition that they would harbour no anger against the objectors and patiently and calmly with undivided attention go through the prayer meeting. The audience immediately said with one voice that they would abide by that condition. The objectors remained silent throughout the prayer. It went on without any interruption. This earned Gandhiji's congratulations at the end.

#### RECITATION FROM SIKH SCRIPTURES

Gandhiji then referred to a letter he had received from a Sikh friend who said that he was a constant attendant at the prayer meetings, which he (the writer) liked. The correspondent appreciated the tolerant spirit behind the prayer. He had specially appreciated Gandhiji's references to the *Granth Sahib, Sukhamam, Jappi* etc. But he felt he could speak for the whole of the Sikh community in saying that they would be touched by Gandhiji's having daily recitation which he (Gandhiji) could choose from the many extracts from the Sikh scriptures, which the correspondent offered to recite before Gandhiji. The speaker at once accepted the offer adding that he would come to a decision after he had listened for himself to the recitation by the writer. To that end he suggested that the writer should get an appointment from Shri Brijkrishnanji.

#### APPEAL FOR COTTON BALES

Next he referred to the offer that had come to him from Bombay from cotton merchants in response to his mention that the refugees should get cotton and calico and a supply of needles so that they could make *rezaus* for their own use, which would save probably lakhs of rupees and give the refugees the required cover without any difficulty. Such a procedure would also increase the self-esteem of the refugees and they would learn the first lesson in healthy co-operation. He at

the same time added that there was no dearth of cotton mills in Delhi itself. There were several mills running in the city, but he welcomed the offer from Bombay because he did not wish to put an unnecessary strain upon willing donors. The larger the number of donors, the better it was for them and the country. He hoped, therefore, that the cotton merchants would, as early as possible, send all the bales they could. Such co-operation from minded men would lessen the burden that lay upon the Government. When they had come to their own, everyone was a willing partner in the government of the country if he did his duty as a citizen in the fullest sense of the term.

#### MANUFACTURE OF KHADI

He did not doubt that when the cotton bales came, he would be able to induce the mill-owners to give enough calico for the *rezaus*. The mention of cotton bales brought him to the subject of cloth control. He held that manufacture by the hand of enough *khadi* for the needs of the whole people was as easy as possible in India, given the condition that the raw material, i. e. cotton was available in sufficient quantity in the country. He never knew that there ever was a cotton famine in India. There never could be any for the simple reason that they always grew more than enough cotton in the land. Thousands of bales were exported from the country and yet there was no scarcity of cotton for their mills. He had already drawn the attention of the audience to the fact that all the instruments of production for hand-carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving were available in India, as also a very large population. He could, therefore, only say that there was nothing but inertia which made them think that there was scarcity of cloth in the country. Nobody wanted cloth control. Not the mills, not the mill-hands, nor the buying public. The controls were turning the country, increasing the army of idle hands who, for want of useful occupation, were a constant source of mischief.

#### SELF-HELP AND CO-OPERATION

Harping back to the refugees in this connection, Gandhiji said that if the refugees were determined to occupy themselves usefully, they would first prepare *rezaus* for themselves and then use every moment, men and women, for ginning, carding, spinning, weaving etc. The energy set free by this co-operative effort by so many lakhs of refugees would electrify the country and make the people follow the refugees and turn every idle hour to the growing of more food and preparing of *khadi* in their own homes. Let it also be remembered that if cotton, instead of being baled, was taken directly from the field to the homes of the spinners in the neighbourhood, one process would be saved, cotton would be undamaged, carding would be easy and cotton seed would be left in the village homes into the bargain.

#### THE SISTER OF MERCY

Lastly, the speaker referred to a visit he had received from Lady Mountbatten. She had become a Sister of Mercy, was constantly on the move in

both the Dominions, visited the refugees in the various camps, saw the sick and the suffering and thus tried to give them what comfort she could. During her visit to the Kurukshetra Camp she was asked by the inmates when Gandhiji would visit them. She heard the yearning from so many lips that she held out every hope that he (Gandhiji) would pay them a visit. Gandhiji assured her that she was quite justified in holding out the hope. As a matter of fact he had arranged to go to Panipat where both the Hindus and the Muslims were anxious for him to visit them. In the same trip he had thought of combining the visit to the Kurukshetra Camp. But he had found that Kurukshetra could not be included in the same trip. Therefore, it was necessary to defer his visit to Kurukshetra till after the conclusion of the forthcoming meeting of the A. I. C. C. It was, however, suggested to him that whilst it was cumbersome to arrange for a loudspeaker in a big camp like Kurukshetra, there was no difficulty in speaking through the radio to the inmates of the Camp from Delhi, provided that the necessary connecting instrument was installed in the Camp. He could then speak to the inmates on Tuesday or Wednesday and later visit them. In the meantime he hoped to finish his visit to Panipat.

Birla House, New Delhi, 9-11-'47

I regret that as I have to go to Panipat tomorrow, I had to take silence early today so as to be able to speak to the Hindus and the Muslim of Panipat on reaching there. I hope to return to Delhi in time for the prayer when I shall be able to speak. The newspapers wrongly report that I am going to Kurukshetra tomorrow. I said definitely that I did intend to go to the Kurukshetra Camp though not before the conclusion of the forthcoming A. I. C. C. meeting. I expect to speak to them through the radio probably on Wednesday at a time to be announced in due course.

#### NO DIWALI CELEBRATION

Diwali will be on us in a few days. A sister who is herself a refugee writes—

"The question whether we should or should not celebrate Diwali as a festival agitates most of us. I wish to put before you our thoughts on the question, no matter how lapsing my Hindi words may be. I am a refugee from Gharanwala. I have lost my all in that place. Nevertheless, our hearts are full of the joy that after all we have our independence. This will be the first Diwali in Independent India. Therefore, it behooves us to forget all our sorrows and wish to have illuminations throughout India. I know that your heart is sore over our sufferings and you would urge all India to abstain from the rejoicings. We are thankful for your sympathy. Notwithstanding the fact that your heart is full of sorrow, I would like you to tell all the refugees and the rest of India that they should rejoice during the festival and ask the moneyed men to help those who are without means. May God Almighty give us the wisdom to rejoice over all the festivities that might come to us after Independence."

I cannot help saying that she and those who think like her are wrong. It is well-known that a family which is overtaken by sorrow abstains from participation in festivities according to capacity. It is an illustration of the doctrine of oneness on a very limited scale. Break through the crust of limitation and India becomes one family. If all limitations vanish, the whole world becomes one family, which it really is. Not to cross these bars is to become callous to all fine feelings which make a man. We must not be self-centred or being falsely sentimental, ignore facts. My advice to abstain from the rejoicings is broadbased on many solid considerations. The refugee problem is there affecting lakhs of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. There is as well want (albeit man-made) of food and clothing. The deeper cause is dishonesty of the many who can mould public opinion, obstinate refusal of sufferers to learn from their sufferings and extensive inhumanity of man to man. I can see in this misery no cause for joy. A resolute and wise refusal to take part in festivities will be an incentive to introspection and self-purification. Let us not do anything which will throw away a blessing which has been won after hard toil and tribulation.

#### FREEDOM IN FOREIGN SETTLEMENTS

I must now refer to a visit of friends from French India during the week. They complained that what I had said regarding what was claimed to be a *satyagraha* in Chandranagore, was misused to suppress the aspiration of the people in French India for the fullest measure of autonomy under the Indian Union, whilst retaining at the same time, the wholesome influence of French culture. They also told me that, as under the British Government, there were, in French India, those who might be likened to fifth columnists, who, in order to serve their selfish purpose, co-operated with the French authorities who, in their turn, were aiming at suppressing the natural aspiration of the inhabitants of French India. I would be very sorry indeed if the account given by the visitors from French India were accurate. Anyway, my opinion is quite emphatic. It is not possible for the inhabitants of these small Foreign Settlements to remain under servility in the face of the millions of their countrymen who have become free from the British rule. I am surprised that my friendly act towards Chandranagore could be distorted by anyone to suggest that I could ever countenance an inferior status in the little Foreign Settlements in India. I hope, therefore, that the information given to me has no foundation in fact, and that the great French nation would never identify itself with the suppression of people, whether black or brown, in India or elsewhere.

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# HARIJAN

Editor. PYARELAL

16 Pages

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T. J. ANNAS

## GANDHIJI'S BROADCAST TO THE KURUKSHETRA CAMP

I do not know if it is only you or whether others too are listening in to me today. Though I am speaking from the Broadcasting House, I am not interested in such talks. To suffer with the afflicted and try to relieve their suffering has been my life's work. I hope, therefore, that you will accept this talk in that light.

### SUFFERINGS OF THE REFUGEES

I was distressed when I heard that over two lakhs of refugees had arrived at Kurukshetra and more were pouring in. The moment the news came to me, I longed to be with you but I could not get away at once from Delhi because the Congress Working Committee meetings were being held and my presence was required. Seth Ghanashyamdas Birla suggested that I should broadcast a message to you and hence this talk.

Quite by accident, General Nathusingh who has organized the Kurukshetra Camp came to see me two days ago and told me about your sufferings. The Central Government asked the military to take over the organization of your Camp, not because they wanted to coerce you in any way, but simply because the military are used to doing such organization and know how to do so efficiently.

Those who suffer know their sufferings best of all. Yours is not an ordinary camp where it is possible for everyone to know each other. Yours is really a city and your only bond with your co-refugees is your suffering.

### CO-OPERATION WITH AUTHORITY

I was sorry to learn that there is not that co-operation with authority or with your neighbours that there ought to be in order to make the camp a success. I can serve you best by drawing attention to your shortcomings. That has been my life's motto, for therein lies true friendship and my service is not only for you or India; it extends to the world for I know no barriers of race or creed. If you can rid yourselves of your failings, you will benefit not only yourselves but the whole of India.

It hurts me to know that many of you are without shelter. This is a real hardship, particularly in the cold weather which is severe in the Punjab and increasing daily. Your Government is trying to do everything it can for you. The burden is heaviest, of course, on your Prime Minister. The Health Department which is served by Rajkumar

and Dr. Jivraj Mehta is also working very hard to lighten your sufferings. No other government could have done better in this crisis. The calamity is immense and the Government too has its limitations. But it is up to you to face your sufferings with as much fortitude and patience as you can summon to your aid and as cheerfully as you can.

Today is *Diwali*. But there can be no lighting of *chirags* for you or for anyone. Our *Diwali* will be best celebrated by service of you and you will celebrate it by living in your camp as brothers and looking upon everyone as your own. If you will do that you will come through victorious.

General Sahab told me of all that still needed to be done in Kurukshetra. He told me that no more refugees should be sent there. It seems as if there is no proper screening of refugees and it is hard to understand why they come and are dumped in various places without proper intimation to the local authority. In my post-prayer speech last evening I criticized the East Punjab Government for this state of affairs. I have just had a letter from one of their ministers to say that the fault is not theirs but the Central Government is responsible.

Now that all Governments, whether Central or Provincial, belong to the people, it does not befit one to throw the blame on the other. All must work together for the general good. I tell you this in order that you may realize your own responsibility also.

### MAINTAIN DISCIPLINE

You must help in the maintenance of discipline in the Camp. You must take the sanitation of the place in your hands. I have known the Punjab well since the Martial Law days. I know the qualities and failings of the Punjabees. One of them, and that is not confined to the Punjab alone, is the utter lack of knowledge of social hygiene and sanitation. Therefore it is that I have often said that we must all become Harijans. If we do, we shall grow in stature. I ask you, therefore, to help your doctors and your camp officials—everyone of you, men, women and even children to keep Kurukshetra clean.

### SHARE YOUR RATIONS

The next thing I want to ask you to do is to share your rations. Be content with what you get. Do not take or demand more than your share. Community kitchens are a thing which should be cultivated. In this way too you can serve each other.

## GET OVER IDLENESS

I must also draw your attention to the danger of refugees getting accustomed to eat the bread of the Government. They are apt to think that it is Government's duty to do everything for them. Government's duty is certainly there but that does not mean that your own ceases. You must live for others and not only for yourselves. Idleness is demoralizing for everyone and it will certainly not help us successfully to get over this crisis.

## BE SELF-SUPPORTING

A sister from Goa came to see me the other day and I was delighted to learn from her that many women in your Camp were anxious to spin. It is good to have the desire to do creative work which helps. You must all refuse to be a burden on the State. You must be as sugar is to milk. You will become one with your surroundings and thus help to share with your Government the burden that has fallen on them. All camps should really be self-supporting but perhaps that may be too high an ideal to place before you today. All the same I do ask you not to despise any work but rejoice at doing anything that comes your way in order to serve and thus make Kurukshetra an ideal place.

The response to my appeal for warm clothing and quilts and blankets has been very good. People have responded well to the Sardar's appeal too. Your share of these is also there. But if you quarrel among yourselves and some take more than their due, it will not go well with you. Your suffering is great even now but wrong action will make it even greater.

## REINSTATEMENT OF REFUGEES

Finally, I am not one of those who believe that you who have left your lands and homes in Pakistan have been uprooted from there for all time. Nor do I believe that such will be the case with the thousands of Muslims who have been obliged to leave India. I for one shall not rest content and will do all that lies in my power to see that all are reinstated and are able to return with honour and safety from where they have today been driven out. I shall continue as long as I live to work for this end. The dead cannot be brought back to life, but we can work for those who are alive. If we do not do so then it will be an eternal blot on both India and Pakistan and therein will be ruin for both of us.

12-11-'47

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## IN PRAISE OF DECONTROL

[ The following extracts are taken from a very long thesis sent by a correspondent in favour of decontrol at least so far as food is concerned. — M. K. G. ]

" By reducing rations from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. to  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb the Government has further created a bigger vicious circle. The more the ration is reduced, the more the secret hoarding by the agriculturist. He knows that the lesser is the ration the greater is the demand of the blackmarket and the more his earnings. He will hoard secretly and the correct figures of food grain production will not come to the Government. The lower production figures will cause a stir in the Government Department and they will contemplate a further reduction in the ration ! The Government thus put themselves in anxiety and also plunge the whole country in it. The vicious circle thus goes on !

\* \*

" If we think over what we import and what is being spoiled and thrown away at storage places, it will be realized that our wastage is greater than the imports ! Hence we must not import. We must reduce wastage.

" If grain is sold freely as in normal times, will a house-wife allow a single grain to be spoiled and wasted ? She will look after it, clean it, store it very carefully, will again look after it at intervals and make such arrangements that not a single grain has to be thrown away on account of its being spoiled. If we compare this with the Government policy and their arrangement for storing food grains, we fail to understand how the leaders at the helm of affairs and now governing us, coming as they do from the public, do not know the practice followed all over the country and how they do not follow the simple and practical procedure instead of carrying on as they are doing today. Why have our leaders kept themselves entangled in the net created for us for specific reasons by their predecessors, the British ? How is it that things do not become clear to them ? Why are they guided by the figures put before them by the officers which in some cases are neither complete nor accurate ?

\* \*

" Food crop production is not less today than what it was six years back. The corresponding increase in population is not also excessive. In rationed areas false increase in population is seen to a certain extent by issue of fictitious ration cards. During the war period a large quantity was supplied to the military with certain unavoidable wastages. Foodgrains were also supplied to the Middle East. These conditions do not obtain today. The public was then given  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lbs daily ration. Thus, it seems more stock was then available for the purpose than today. Six years back, in every house people stored their requirements for a period of a fortnight or more up to two years according to their capacity. In every village, grain was stored according to old customs in underground stores.

Every merchant whether in village, urban area or city, had big stocks of gram. Wherever we went, godowns full of grams were seen. There were heaps of foodgrains. Where has all that gone? Why has it disappeared from all over the country? Why do everywhere people talk of famine? Today, neither the consumer nor the businessman nor the Government has any stock. If the production is less, naturally there cannot be any export. It must be lying somewhere. How can it be brought out? The public is showing a critical tendency towards the Congress. There must be some good reason for their doing so, and this change in their attitude should not be ignored. The Congress, which is in power, is not able, owing to defects in the present procedure, to give to the public what as a matter of fact is really available in the country and the public is displeased and interested parties are taking advantage of this situation to make the Congress unpopular. It is only the Congress which can maintain peace in the country and if it once loses its hold over the public, which may happen if the situation does not show signs of improvement and is allowed to deteriorate from day to day as it is doing, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, for it to avoid the storm that may come."

### ACT AS YOU THINK

( By M. K. Gandhi )

From a letter received by Rajkumari from Dr. Maude Roydon and which she has given to me for reading. I have extracted the following relevant passages :

" I marvel that the best Christian in the world should not be a Christian ! I have been reading these last two or three weeks a new biography of Albert Schweitzer and there again I have this same paradox. I don't know if the name of Schweitzer is known in India, but to my mind he is perhaps alone in the world in his greatness . . . . .

And as you may perhaps know, Schweitzer is regarded with suspicion by the " orthodox " because it is held that he has not a sufficiently exalted view of our Saviour. And yet there is not a Christian in the entire world who has followed Christ with the same heroic faith and utterly selfless devotion. And when I read of his philosophy, his " reverence for life ", and how he constantly refers himself to Jesus of Nazareth, I know that no one has ever exalted Jesus to such a height in the minds of those who read Schweitzer . . . . .

He differs from most philosophers only in the fact that he must live all that he thinks, writes or says. I realise now why his thought strikes one as having such stark and terrifying honesty. If you are engaged in thinking without thought of action, it is easy to think all sorts of untrue things. If you know that you are going to live everything that you think, with what a searching eye and with what profound sincerity you are going to think ! "

New Delhi, 8-11-'47

### WASTEFUL EXPENDITURE

Most respected Mahatmaj.,

Mahatmaji is face to face with the deadliest evil and worst tragedy in the history of our country. Here is another—the tragedy of ever soaring prices of commodities essential to meet the very elementary needs of the people. Too much currency (paper, nickel, and the other useless stuff) and short supply of commodities (real money) have given rise to this phenomenon, call it what you will, inflation or rise of price level. This is the root cause of all evils in society: strikes, black-market, corruption, starvation of crores of people less rich and misery to all. Ask a worker why he strikes and he says his wage is not enough to pull him through one quarter of the days in the month. Ask a servant of the Government why he is corrupt and the reply is the same. Ask a blackmarketeer why he does an unsocial act and he retorts that he has to pay several times more for the things he needs.

What then is the remedy? The simplest remedy is that the price level should be brought down to manageable limits which could only be done by the withdrawal of this useless currency from circulation. Spending less and saving more are essential for the reduction of currency. The Government of the country is the worst and most wasteful spender and the primary responsibility for this useless currency is its own. Hence, the Governments of England and France have adopted austerity budgets and are slashing all useless expenditure right and left. But exactly the opposite is taking place in our country. The terrible waste of absolutely unproductive new departments coming into existence and the expansion of the old ones are staggering to think of. For example, taking one of the several instances, there are two fire engines stationed in Anantpur, whose personnel of twelve gets a monthly salary of Rs. 120 each and over them is an officer with a pay of Rs. 300 p. m. There is not even a single second's work in the year for these people. There is no telephone and by the time the fire station is got into contact by the runner messenger, the hut on fire would have been reduced to cinders. The other day Mahatmaji gave the wisest advice to the Governors when he pointed out that they should live in a hut accessible to all people like Caliph Omar and to be less extravagant and serve the people. In many cases Mahatmaji's advice is bypassed, but still I am sure that his voice should prevail as it is the only truth. I, therefore, make a fervent appeal to Mahatmaji to save the fast crumbling economic edifice so that the destruction of both the soul and the body of millions of our people may be staved off. Mahatmaji has solutions correct for many problems and he would certainly find one for this.

I am etc.

G. SOMI REDDI, BAR-AT-LAW

Anantpur, 14-10-'47

# HARIJAN

November 23

1947

## A PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPLANATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following is from Mr. Richard B. Gregg, whom many readers of the *Harizan* know as an American friend who used to live in Shantiniketan as also with me in Sabarmati years ago:

"Though because of my ignorance I am hesitant, yet I venture to send you an idea that seems to me not only to explain with perhaps less moral blame a part of our recent communal violence in India but also to offer hope for the future.

"It seems to me probable that much of this violence is an expression not so much of inter-communal suspicion and hatred, but rather, and more deeply and originally of the long pent-up resentments of the masses because of their oppression. The oppression was not only by foreign political rule but by foreign modern social, economic and financial ways which are contrary to the ancient habits of *dharma* which were a very part of the nature of the masses. By foreign ways I mean such things as the English land-holding system, usurious money lending, heavy taxes payable not in kind but in money, and other interferences with long established village life common to all Indian communities.

"Psychological studies have shown clearly that severe frustrations suffered during the childhood of an individual generate resentments which are suppressed and remain suppressed long after the person who caused the original frustration has died, but later some occasion pulls a trigger as it were, and releases the pent up energy of the old resentment which then pours forth in violence upon some perfectly innocent person. This explains many crimes of violence, and perhaps some of the cruelties against the Jews in Europe. In India the establishment of religious estates created a channel into which it was easy for this energy to flow, but I believe the fearful energy of the explosion of wrath comes from the other cause I have mentioned. Such an idea as this would help explain why in all countries all through history a major change of political power results in more or less violence and disorder. The masses always suffer some oppression and, therefore, have resentments which flare up upon a shift of control or may be exploited by selfish leaders.

"If this surmise is true, it suggests that the suspicion and hatred of one community towards another is not so deep as now appears. It also means that as soon as the masses can be guided back into their ancient ways of life with the chief emphasis on religion and small organizations—village *panchayats* and communal family systems—the energy of the people will be turned from violence into creative channels. I would expect that *khadi*

work among the refugees might help start such a diversion of energy into sound channels. In such a development I see hope.

"Forgive me if this seems to be presumptuous. I write it only in the hope that an humble outsider, just because he is outside, may see a gleam of encouragement that is not so easy to see in the dust and distraction of the struggle. Anyhow, I love you and India.

Though many psychologists have recommended a study of psychology, I am sorry, I have not been able, for want of time, to study the subject. Mr. Gregg's letter does not mend matters for me. It does not fill me with any impelling enthusiasm for undertaking the study. Mr. Gregg gives an explanation which mystifies the mind instead of clearing it. "Hope for the future" I have never lost and never will, because it is embedded in my undying faith in non-violence. What has, however, clearly happened in my case is the discovery that in all probability there is a vital defect in my technique of the working of non-violence. There was no real appreciation of non-violence in the thirty years' struggle against British Raj. Therefore, the peace, the masses maintained during that struggle of a generation with exemplary patience, had not come from within. The pent up fury found an outlet when British Raj was gone. It naturally vented itself in communal violence which was never fully absent and which was kept under suppression by the British bayonet. This explanation seems to me to be all-sufficing and convincing. In it there is no room for failure of any hope. Failure of my technique of non-violence causes no loss of faith in non-violence itself. On the contrary, that faith is, if possible, strengthened by the discovery of a possible flaw in the technique. New Delhi, 11-11-'47

## WHEN BLESSING BECOMES A CURSE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In declining to give a blessing I said the following to a friend:

"No one who wants to start a worthy enterprise should ever wish to have anybody's blessings, not even of the highest in the land. A worthy enterprise carries its own blessing. On the other hand, if an unworthy project receives any blessing from outside, it becomes, as it should become, a curse. Indeed, I have come to the conclusion that a blessing from outside interferes with the even progress of one's enterprise, because it very often induces a false hope and turns one away from the industry and watchfulness required for the success of a cause."

Though I have often said some such thing to many persons, it is best that this considered opinion is reproduced for the benefit of those who continue to ask for a blessings for their enterprises. Thus, I have been asked to bless memorials about great men and I have been felt compelled to give much the same answer as the above.

New Delhi, 11-11-'47



## GANDHIJIS POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

*Birla House, New Delhi, 10-11-'47*

### BECOME SERVANTS OF GOD

Referring to the *bhajan* of the evening Gandhiji said that all their ills would be over if like Mirabai they became servants of God and God alone. They would understand the reference when they heard what was to follow. They had seen in the papers all about Junagadh. From two telegrams received by him from Rajkot he was satisfied that the newspaper report was fairly accurate. The Prime Minister, Bhutto Sahab was in Karachi, so was the Nawab Sahab. The Deputy Prime Minister, Major Harvey Jones was in Junagadh. They all were party to Junagadh acceding to the Union. The audience had a right to infer that Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah was party to this transaction. If he was, they were justified in inferring that the Kashmir and Hyderabad troubles would also be over. And if he could go further, he would say, things would take a happy turn and that the two Dominions would become friends and do everything in co-operation. He was thinking of the Qaid-e-Azam not as a Governor-General. As a Governor-General he had no legal right to interfere with the affairs of Pakistan. As such he occupied the same position as Lord Mountbatten, who was merely a constitutional Governor-General. He could go to the wedding of one who was more than a son to him and who was to be married to the heir-presumptive to the British throne only with the permission of his Cabinet and was to return on the 24th of this month. He, therefore, thought of Jinnah Sahab as the maker of the present day Muslim League and without whose knowledge and permission nothing regarding Pakistan could be done. Therefore it was that Gandhiji thought that if Jinnah Sahab was behind the Junagadh accession, it was a happy augury.

### VISIT TO PANIPAT

What, however, he wanted to tell the audience was about his visit to Panipat. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was with him. The Rajkumari was also to be with him, but she was at the Government House and he could not afford to wait beyond 10-30 a. m. by his watch. He was glad that he went to Panipat. He saw the Muslim patients in the hospital. Some of them had suffered ghastly wounds but they were receiving all the attention possible because the Rajkumari had sent four doctors, nurses and medical accessories. They then met the leader of the Muslims, the local Hindus and the representatives of the refugees who were reported to be over 20,000. They were told that more were coming in daily to the dismay of the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police, both of whom, he was glad to report to the audience, were highly talked of by the Hindus as well as the Muslims, not to mention the refugees. They were also able to see the refugees, who were assembled near the Municipal House. He was glad to find that in spite of the terrible hardships the refugees had to

go through in Pakistan and also in Panipat, where there was no settled life some of them had to live on the station platform and many absolutely in the open without adequate covering—he did not see any irritation in them and they were glad that we had gone there. It seemed to him cruel that the refugees were dumped on in Panipat without any previous notice to the Deputy Commissioner or anybody else. They came to know how many were coming only when the trains drew up at the station platform. This was most unfortunate. There were among the refugees women and children, also old men. He was told that there were women refugees who delivered on the station platforms.

### DR. GOPICHAND

All this was in East Punjab, whose Prime Minister was Dr. Gopichand. Dr. Gopichand was a valued associate of his. He had known him for years as an able organizer with great influence over the Punjabeers. He worked for the Harijan Sevak Sangh, the All India Spinners' Association as also the All India Village Industries Association. The speaker said that he should not have thought that the task of East Punjab would be beyond him, but if Panipat was a sample of his workmanship, it was a sad reflection upon his Government. Why were the refugees dumped down anywhere without notice? Why were there inadequate arrangements for their reception? Why should the officers not know beforehand who and how many were coming? Added to this was the information he had received the day before that there were three lakhs of Muslims in the Gurgaon District who were frightened into leaving their homes. They were living in the open, alongside the public road with the expectation that they, with their wives, children and cattle were to undertake a march of 300 miles in the severe winter weather of the Punjab. He did not believe the story. He thought that there was some mistake in the narrative given to him by his friends, and still hoped that it was altogether wrong or exaggerated. But after what he had seen in Panipat, he was shaken in his disbelief. Anyway, he hoped that Dr. Gopichand and his Cabinet would wake up betimes and not rest till all the refugees were well looked after. This could only be done by foresight and extreme vigilance.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 11-11-'47*

### JUNAGADH

Addressing the prayer gathering this evening Gandhiji said that the previous day he had given them the news about the entry into the Junagadh State of the Provisional Government in answer to the request of the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of Junagadh. He did so partly in astonishment and partly in joy for he was not prepared for what appeared to be such a happy ending of the struggle of, and on behalf of, the Junagadh people. Gandhiji expressed also the fear that the joy would be premature if the request made by the Junagadh authorities had not the *imprimatur* of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah. They could not, therefore, but feel painfully

surprised to find that the Pakistan authorities resented this occupation of Junagadh by the Provisional Government on behalf of its ryots and demanded "the withdrawal of Indian troops from the State territory and relinquishment of the administration to the rightful Government and stoppage of violence and invasion of the State by people from the Indian Union." They further contended that neither the Ruler nor the Dewan was legally entitled to negotiate any settlement, temporary or permanent, with the Dominion of India, and that the action of the Government of India was "a clear violation of the Pak stan territory and a breach of international law."

#### ACCESSION TO THE UNION

According to the statements in the Press the day before, he could see no breach of international law and no occupation by the Union Government. So far as he could see there was no unlawfulness about the whole of the movement of the Provisional Government on behalf of the people of Junagadh. The Union Government had certainly lent the use of its troops at the request of the Kathiawad princes for the safety of Kathiawad as a whole. Therefore, he detected no unlawfulness about the whole transaction, nor did he see any justification for what appeared to him to be a *volte face* on the part of the Prime Minister of Junagadh. The way he looked at the whole thing was this - the Nawab Sahab of Junagadh had no authority to accede to Pakistan without the consent of his people, of whom 85%, he was told, were Hindus. The sacred hill of Gurnar with all its temples was part of Junagadh on which the Hindus had spent a lot of money and which was visited by thousands of pilgrims from all over India. In Azad Hind the whole of it belonged to the people. Nothing of it belonged to the princes as individuals. Their claim could only be sustained by their being trustees of the people and, therefore, producing the authority of the people for every transaction. That they had not realized their representative capacity and that the ryots in the States, with honourable exceptions, had not yet realized their capacity as true owners, in the aggregate, of the States they inhabited, derogated nothing from the doctrine he had enunciated. If, therefore, anybody had the legal right to accede to one or the other of the two Dominions, it was the ryots belonging to a particular State and if the Provisional Government did not at any stage represent the ryots of Junagadh, they became usurpers to be driven out by both the Dominions and neither Dominion could stand before the world to justify accession by a Prince in his individual capacity. In that sense he held that the accession by the Nawab Sahab of Junagadh was *ab initio* void, unless the ryots of Junagadh could be proved to have set the seal upon the accession by the Nawab Sahab. To which Dominion Junagadh would finally accede could only be decided, in case of dispute, by a properly conducted referendum without the use of violence or show of it, accompanying the process.

The attitude taken by the Pakistan Government and now also by the Prime Minister of Junagadh created a curious situation. Who was to decide upon the right or the wrong of the case for Pakistan and the Union Government? Appeal to the sword was not to be thought of. The only honourable way out was the ancient method of arbitration in the usual manner. There were enough men and women in India who could shoulder the burden. If, however, the parties could not agree upon arbitration by Indians, he for one had no objection to any impartial person from any part of the world.

#### KASHMIR AND HYDERABAD

Finally, what Gandhiji said about Junagadh equally applied to Kashmir and Hyderabad. Neither the Maharaja Sahab in Kashmir nor His Exalted Highness the Nizam had any authority to accede to either Dominion, without the known consent of their people. This was, so far as he knew, made clear in the case of Kashmir. If the Maharaja alone had wanted to accede, Gandhiji could not defend such accession. The accession was provisionally agreed to by the Union Government because both the Maharaja and Sheikh Abdulla, speaking for the people of Kashmir and Jammu, wanted it. Sheikh Abdulla came on the scene because he claimed to represent the people of Kashmir and Jammu, not merely the Muslims but the whole of the people.

#### DIVISION OF KASHMIR?

He had heard whispers that Kashmir could be divided into two parts. Jammu going to the Hindus and Kashmir to the Muslims. He could not think of such divided loyalties and splitting up Indian States into so many parts. He hoped, therefore, that wisdom would rule all India and an ugly situation would be avoided without delay if only for the sake of the lakhs of Indians who felt compelled to become helpless refugees.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 12-11-'47*

#### DIWALI FELICITATIONS

As that day was *Diwah*, Gandhiji began by saying that he ought to congratulate them on the occasion. It was a great day in their calendar year. New year according to the *Vikrama Samvat* would begin from Thursday. They should understand why it was always celebrated by illuminations. In the great battle between Rama and Ravana, the former, representative of the forces of good, overcame the latter who represented the forces of evil. This victory established *Rama Rajya*.

#### REAL ILLUMINATION

Today alas! there was no *Rama Rajya* in India, therefore, how could they celebrate *Diwali*? He alone could celebrate victory who had Rama in his heart for it was God alone who could illumine their souls and such illumination alone was worth while. The *bhajan* emphasized the writer's desire to see God. Crowds went to see man-made illuminations but the light they needed today was the light of love in their hearts. Then alone would they be worthy of receiving congratulations. Today thousands were in the most dire suffering. Could

everyone in the audience lay his hand on his heart and say that everyone of these sufferers, whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh, was as his own brother or sister? That was the test for them. Rama and Ravana represented the eternal duel going on between the forces of good and evil. The real illumination came from within.

#### MARRIED KASHMIR

Gandhiji then went on to relate how Pandit Jawaharlal had just returned from seeing wounded Kashmir. He had been unable to attend the Working Committee meetings either the day before or that day in the afternoon. He had brought Gandhiji some flowers from Baramulla. These gifts of nature were always beautiful. But the beauty of that lovely country was that day marred by the shedding of blood and loot. He had gone to Jammu, too, where all was not well.

The Sardar had had to go to Junagadh at the request of Shri Samaldas Gandhi and Dhebarbhai, who wanted his guidance. Both Jinnah Saheb and Bhutto Saheb were angry because they felt that the Indian Government had practised a deception on them and were forcing Junagadh to accede to the Union.

#### BANISH HATRED AND SUSPICION

In order to bring about peace and goodwill throughout the land, it was the duty of everyone to banish hatred and suspicion from their hearts. No victory in Kashmir or in Junagadh would avail if they did not feel the existence of God within them and forget all their petty internal differences. *Diwali* could never be properly celebrated until they had brought back to India all those Muslims who had fled from here out of fear. Nor could Pakistan live unless it did likewise for the Hindus and the Sikhs.

He then referred to his visit to Broadcasting House from where he spoke to the refugees in Kurukshetra.

Regarding the Working Committee meetings Gandhiji said that he would tell them the next day what was possible for him to tell. He concluded by hoping that all would go well with them and with India during the next year that was to begin from Thursday and that God would illumine their hearts so that they might be enabled to serve not only each other and India, but through it the whole world.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 13-11-'47*

#### VIKRAMA SAMVAT

In his post-prayer speech this evening Gandhiji referred to the New Year's day as he had also referred to the *Diwali* Day.

He drew the attention of the audience to the universal custom that on their New Year's Day they read sacred resolutions to do better than before so as to justify their celebration of the next *Diwali*. That celebration should mean that the participants had successfully carried out their resolutions.

#### CONQUER EVIL FORCES

He hoped that his listeners would make one supreme resolution, namely that whatever others

did or did not do, whether in Pakistan or in the Indian Union, they would carry out their resolution to be good friends of the Muslims. That meant that throughout the year they would conquer the evil forces within themselves and establish the supremacy of Rama, the God of good. Incidentally, Gandhiji said that he would like to refer to the fact that whereas every year that day had magnificent illuminations, in the opinion of his informants, the day before there was only an apology for illuminations just to satisfy the superstition that if there was no illumination at all, it would be an ill omen following them throughout the year. He called this superstition because no amount of outward illumination, however brilliant it might be, could possibly serve any good purpose when it was not a visible sign of the light within.

#### NO GOING BACK

The speaker then began to redeem of his promise of the previous evening that he would give them what he could of the deliberations of the Congress Working Committee during its three sittings. He was glad to inform them that although the Working Committee had passed no definite resolution to be put before the forthcoming A. I. C. C., the members and the special invitees were unanimously of the opinion that the Congress, which had stood from its inception for over sixty years for perfect communal harmony, was not to go back upon that unbroken record of perfect harmony persisted often in the face of heavy odds. They were quite clear that even though the Congress might for a time find itself in a minority, they should cheerfully face that ordeal rather than succumb to the prevalent insanity.

#### RELIGION ADMITS OF NO COERCION

Freedom, without equality for all irrespective of race or religion, was not worth having for the Congress. In other words, the Congress and any government representative of the Congress must remain a purely democratic, popular body leaving every individual to follow that form of religion which best appealed to him without any interference from the State. There was so much in common between people living in the same State under the same flag owing undivided allegiance to it. There was so much in common between man and man that it was a marvel that there could be any quarrel on the ground of religion. Any creed or dogma which coerced others into following one uniform practice was a religion only in name, for a religion worth the name did not admit of any coercion. Anything that was done under coercion had only a short lease of life. It was bound to die. It must be a matter of pride to them whether they were four-anna Congress members or not that they had in their midst an institution without a rival which disdained to become a theocratic State and which always believed and lived up to the belief that the State of their conception must be a secular, democratic State having perfect harmony between the different units composing the State. When he, the speaker, thought of the plight of the Muslims in the Union, how in many places ordinary life had

become difficult for them and how there was a continuing exodus of the Muslims from the Union, he wondered whether the people who were responsible for creating such a state of things could ever become a credit to the Congress. He, therefore, hoped that during the year that had just commenced, the Hindus and the Sikhs would so behave as to enable every Muslim, whether a boy or a girl, to feel that he or she was as safe and free as the tallest Sikh or Hindu.

#### A. I. C. C. MEETING

The A. I. C. C. meeting would be held on next Saturday. He hoped that the members would pass resolutions that would be up to the best traditions of the Congress and that they would tend to promote the welfare of the whole of the people, the poor as well as the rich, the prince and the peasant. Then and then only would the Congress be able to keep up the prestige of India for which it had become responsible, a prestige that would make India a custodian of the rights and dignity of all the exploited nations of the earth.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 14-11-'47*

#### RAMANAMA EXCELS EVERYTHING

Gandhiji took the *bhajan* of the evening as his text for his discourse. When he was fasting in the Aga Khan Palace which was converted into a prison to accommodate Devi Sarojini Naidu, Mirabehn, Mahadevbhai and him, this *bhajan* had gripped him. He did not wish to go into the causes of the fast. Its relevance simply was that he was sustained throughout the twentyone days not by the quantity of water he drank or for some days by the quantity of orange juice he took, or by the extraordinary medical care and attention he was receiving, but by enthroning in his heart God whom he knew as Rama. He was so much enamoured of the lines of the *bhajan*, but whose words he had then forgotten, that he asked his associates to send a telegram for the exact words of the *bhajan*. To his joy he received the full text of the *bhajan* in the reply telegram. Its refrain was that *Ramanamu* was everything, and that before it the other Gods were of no consequence. He wished to recall this instructive episode from his life in order to emphasize to the audience the fact that the momentous session of the A. I. C. C. which was to meet in New Delhi on the day following, i. e. Saturday, should carry on their deliberations with God in their hearts. Thus they were bound to do as they were representatives of Congressmen and as such they would not be worth their salt if their chiefs, the Congressmen, had God in their hearts instead of Satan.

#### RETURN OF THE REFUGEES

The Working Committee gave full three hours to a discussion of the resolutions to be put before the A. I. C. C. It turned upon the question as to how best to bring about an atmosphere whereby all the refugees, the Hindus and the Sikhs could be returned with honour and in safety to their homes in West Pakistan. They contended that the wrong commenced in Pakistan, but they realized also that the question of commencement dwindled into insignificance when

the wrong was copied on a large enough scale by the Hindus and the Sikhs, who took terrible reprisals in the East Punjab and the adjacent parts of the Union. If the A. I. C. C. could with confidence say that so far as the Union was concerned the days of madness were over and that sanity reigned from one end of the Union to the other, the Committee could say with perfect assurance that the Pakistan Dominion would feel obliged to invite the refugees to return to their homes with honour and in perfect safety. This condition would be brought about if only the audience and the other Hindus and Sikhs could install *Ramanama*, i. e. God in their hearts instead of Ravana or Satan. For, when they had displaced Satan and shed the present madness, every Muslim child would roam about as freely as a Hindu or a Sikh child. Then he had no doubt that the Muslim refugees who had left their homes under pressure would gladly return to their homes and the way would then be cleared for safe and honourable return of every Hindu and Sikh refugee.

Would that his word could find an echo in the hearts of his audience and the A. I. C. C. would be able to come to a wise and just decision!

*Birla House, New Delhi, 15-11-'47*

#### FATHER OF THE NATION?

Gandhiji felt the audience would naturally expect him to tell them something of what he had said at the A. I. C. C. meeting in the afternoon but he did not feel like repeating himself. As a matter of fact it was what he had been saying to them all these days. If he was called, in all sincerity, the Father of the Nation, it was true only in the sense that he had had a great hand in making the Congress what it had become after his return from South Africa in 1915. That meant that he influenced the nation greatly. But today he could no longer claim such influence. This fact, however, did not, at least should not, worry him. All had but to do their duty and leave the result in God's hands. Nothing happened without God's will. There was only to strive. So he had gone to the A. I. C. C. meeting as a matter of duty, to tell the members what he believed to be the truth if he got the permission to speak to the members before they commenced the business of the meeting.

#### CONTROLS HARMFUL

What he wanted to tell the audience, however, was about controls. He could no more than just touch upon the subject in the A. I. C. C. meeting as he had taken a long time over the other matters of moment.

He felt that it was criminal to have controls. The control system might have been good during war time. It might be good also for a military nation. It was harmful for India. He was sure that there was no scarcity of foodstuffs or cloth in the land. Rains had not failed them. They had enough cotton in the land and enough hands to work at the spinning wheel and the loom. Moreover, they had mills. He felt, therefore, that the two controls

were bad. There were other controls too as for instance on petroleum, sugar etc. He could see no justification for them. They tended to make people lazy and dependent. Laziness and dependence were any day bad for the nation. He had daily complaints about these controls. He hoped that the nation's representatives would come to a wise decision and advise the Government to remove these controls which promoted corruption, hypocrisy and black-marketing.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 16-11-'47*

#### FINDING GOD

The *bhajan* of the evening said that man's highest endeavour lay in trying to find God, said Gandhiji. He could not be found in temples or idols or places of worship built by man's hands, nor could He be found by abstinences. God could be found only through love, not earthly, but divine. That love was lived by Mirabai who saw God in everything. He was all in all to her.

#### RAMPUR STATE—THEN AND NOW

Applying the refrain of the *bhajan* in daily life he (Gandhiji) went on to talk of the Rampur State. Its ruler was a Muslim but that did not mean that it was necessarily a Muslim State. Many years ago Gandhiji had been taken there by the late Ali Brothers and had stayed there in their house. He had the pleasure of meeting the then Nawab Saheb also for he was a friend of the wellknown nationalist Muslims of the day, the late Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan and the late Dr. Ansari. The Hindus and the Muslims used to live in comparative peace and amity then. But the Hindu friends from there who came to see him on Sunday told him a different story. They said that though the State had acceded to the Indian Union, the insidious influence of the Muslim League was there. If that were the only obstacle they might have overcome it easily. But there was the Hindu Mahasabha assisted by the Rashtriya Savak Sangh men whose ambition was to rid the Union of all Muslims.

#### SATYAGRAHA — MIGHTIEST WEAPON

The question was how the Congressmen, who were true to their Congress objective, were to make their position good. Could they offer *satyagraha* with hope of success? It gladdened their heart that the A. I. C. C. was staunch to the Congress objective and refused to envisage an India in which only the Hindus could live as masters. The Congress creed was broad-based enough to include all communities. There was no room in it for narrow communalism. It was the oldest of all political organizations. Its motto was service of the people. All that was happening in the A. I. C. C. nerved them for the struggle. Nevertheless, they wanted a word from him. Gandhiji said that he could not lay down the law for them as he had no knowledge of the local circumstances. Nor had he the time for any such study. But he could say with confidence that *satyagraha* was the mightiest force in the world before which the hostile combination which his

visitors had mentioned could not stand for any length of time.

#### IMPLICATIONS

It was the fashion nowadays to use the word *satyagraha* for any kind of resistance, armed or otherwise. This looseness harmed the community and degraded *satyagraha*. If, therefore, they understood all the implications of *satyagraha* and knew that the living God of Truth and Love was with the *satyagrahi*, they would have no hesitation in believing that it was invincible. Gandhiji said that he was sorry to say what he did about the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Savak Sangh. He would be glad to find that he was wrong. He had seen the chief of the Rashtriya Savak Sangh. He had attended a meeting of the members of the R. S. S. Since then he had been upbraided for having gone to the meeting and had many letters of complaints about the organization.

#### HINDU-MUSLIM SOLIDARITY ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA

Gandhiji then said that while they were all engaged in trying to quench the fire of communal strife in their own country, they must not forget their countrymen abroad. He referred to the Indian case which was being fought with such unity and gallantry by the Indian delegation before U. N. O. They all knew Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. She was not there because she was Pandit Jawaharlal's sister but because she was able and did her work efficiently. She had a good team with her and they were all speaking with one voice. What had pleased him immensely, Gandhiji said, was Ispahani Saheb's and Zaffarulla Saheb's speeches reported in the Press that day. They told their audiences in plain language how Indians were being discriminated against in South Africa and treated as outcastes. True, Indians in South Africa were not penniless, they were not hungry but man could not live by bread alone and money was nothing as compared with human rights which were denied them by the South African Government. The Hindus and the Muslims in India had no different opinions on the question of the Indians overseas which went to prove that the two-nation theory was incorrect. The lesson Gandhiji had learnt from this and what he wanted the audience also to learn from what he had said was that love was the highest thing. If the Hindus and the Muslims could speak with one voice abroad, they could certainly do so here if they had love in their hearts. To err was human. It was also human to mend one's ways. To forgive and forget was always possible. If they could do that today and speak with one voice here as they did abroad, they would surely win through. So far as South Africa was concerned, he hoped that the Government and the Whites of South Africa would profit by what was being said in this matter by the distinguished Hindus and Muslims and that with one voice.

## RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Now that the political wash consequent on the British leaving India is dying down, the Governments are thinking in terms of rural development once again. Therefore, it will be necessary for us to consider the lines on which this work could be done. In the main there are three forms in which this programme may be approached

1. We may look upon the villages as possible sources of raw material supply to the mills situated in the towns.

2. The rural population may be regarded as the main consumers or markets for the production of towns.

3. The village may be looked upon as an entity in itself affording complete facilities for the development of the individuals composing the population of the village.

### AS SOURCES OF RAW MATERIALS

When the village is looked upon as producer of raw materials for the towns and cities, the whole economic order is shaped according to the needs of the town-dwellers. Often the villagers are exploited and do not enjoy all the fruits of their labour. The fields are utilized for growing crops which are not directly connected with the needs of the villagers. The regulation of crop-growing is done by the price mechanism in which money plays the leading role. Under the pretext of placing more purchasing power in the hands of the villagers the towns make the villager do what the town wants even though it may ultimately prove to be inimical to the interests of the villager. Raw material crops such as long staple cotton, sugar-cane and tobacco, drive out food crops and the people are left to face starvation in spite of having much purchasing power in their hands, which latter also may be represented by inflated currency tokens.

Under this system of rural development the villages cannot flourish. Their interests are secondary to the requirements of mills and town-dwellers. Unfortunately the present day economic order encourages people to proceed on these lines.

### AS MARKETS

Similar to the type of rural development that we saw in the first instance, attempts are being made to convert the villagers into consumers of the production from towns. Here again the price mechanism is allowed free play and the villagers are driven to buy town-made goods as being cheap. Apart from our own towns, this outlook is one in which foreigners also are interested in making out enormous population into an insatiable market for their products. Articles such as polished rice, mill-ground flour, tea, coffee, sugar, preserved foods, *vanaspathi* oil, rubber shoes, mill cloth, etc. are being dumped on the villagers against their own interests. Here again the villagers are being deprived of their opportunities of employing themselves in various industries and in the processing of food. Thus their field of work is restricted and the pressure on land is increased.

In the above two methods of rural development the needs of the villagers are not the deciding

factors and much less the consideration of opportunities for the development of the citizen's personality

### PERSONALITY-CENTERED

We have to consider whether the material interests of the towns and the cities are more important than the interests of the villager himself. If so, the first two methods of rural development will have to yield place to a system that will centre, not on the material production and distribution alone, but on making the villager into a worthy citizen of a democratic State. We look upon work as a means through which an individual could be educated. Of course, in the process the individual will also be producing articles for his own consumption. The villager has to be an entity in himself. To this end the whole social, economic and political structure will have to be moulded to enable the citizen to develop himself from childhood to old age. The village economy ought to be a training ground in the various phases of human development.

### SOCIAL

The needs of society in the form of water-supply, communications, health and hygiene, disposal of waste, satisfactory housing, etc. will have to be looked after by the people themselves. Education of the children through a craft, to train them for the art of living, in logical method and good conduct with moral considerations as background, will also be a duty falling on the people.

### ECONOMIC

The people will have to organize themselves in such a way as to enable them to produce all their requirements in food, clothing and shelter. For this purpose the land available may have to be apportioned according to the needs of a balanced diet, and with reference to the quality of land and availability of water. They should raise cereals, pulses, oil seeds, fruits and vegetables, and dairy products to supply, as far as possible, the whole needs of the village and where there is a surplus that surplus could be exchanged with other neighbouring localities for articles which they require.

The processing of this agricultural production will provide a considerable amount of occupation to persons who are not required on the land. Pottery, tanning, oil pressing, gar making, spinning and weaving, carpentry and blacksmithy will provide outlets for people's requirements in art and for a fuller expression of their emotional personality. Fairs and festivities should also be organized to enable them not only to market their goods, but also to produce a culture based on village life.

### POLITICAL

The control of all these aspects of life will have to be done on a democratic basis by the organization of village *panchayats* which will not only control the social and economic life but will also mete out justice and to some extent raise funds necessary for the administration and execution of an overall plan for all the activities of the village or locality.

### CONCLUSION

Unless we take to the third method of rural development with our interests centered on the

lages, it will be futile for us to hope to be able to solve our problems in a democracy, as the people will not be sufficiently educated to bear this great responsibility. While our country is preparing plans for our future, it is necessary for us to bear these different aspects of rural development in mind so that the plans that are made out now will bear fruit according to our requirements in due time without creating further complications not only in our country but also in relationship with other peoples of the world. Our form of rural development, therefore, will, in the main, be based on self-sufficiency. So long as every member of the society aims at this ultimately, there could be no shortage of goods, especially in primary necessities, and there should be no commerce and trade in such articles if we wish to establish peace among the nations.

Such a scheme of rural development will not be a patchwork made by government officials according to the whims of the various departments, but being based on self-help and local contribution in labour and in kind, it will be an ideal training ground in the art of living which is a laudable end in itself.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

## HOW TO GROW MORE FOOD

### II

For those who have taken interest in what I wrote last week, I am giving this week, a few practical hints and suggestions. The season is advanced and no time should be lost, so those of you who mean business should already be digging the soil. I address first the private individuals. After the soil has been dug (once, if cultivated soil, twice—once each way if new ground) the clods of earth should not be broken up and smoothed out. The soil should be left just as it is, all lumpy so that the sun and the air can penetrate under the surface. In this state it should be left for about a week. If it were not for the short time at our disposal, the soil could be left open with advantage for 3 or 4 weeks. In the meantime if any well-rotted manure is available, this should be collected and reduced to a fine texture. At the end of the week the manure should be scattered evenly on the dug soil, which will then be broken up, well mixed with the manure, and smoothed out. After that, give it a good watering and leave it until it is only slightly damp, with no stickiness about it. Now you can prepare the beds for sowing. A good size for each bed would be about 5' x 6'. This can be varied to suit circumstances. There should be a little bank all round the bed about 5" broad and about 4" high. According to the space available you will have one bed after another, and if you have a pump or tap, or other convenience for irrigation, you will make a small water channel running along the side of the beds at a slightly higher level, so that when you make an opening in the bank of a bed, and block up the water channel immediately beyond, the water will flow naturally into the vegetable plot.

This week we will consider the sowing of four excellent winter vegetables viz., 1. Carrots (*ganar*), 2. Turnips (*saljam*), 3. Radish (*muli*) and 4. Spinach (*palak*).

1 Carrots. Prepare the bed as mentioned above. Mix up and smooth out the surface of the earth, then sow the carrot seeds broadcast. Take care to scatter them as evenly as possible. Not very thick, but at the same time no bare spaces. After sowing, the earth should be very lightly raked, or brushed with a hard brush made of twigs. The plot may then be watered very lightly with a fine watering pot. The irrigation channels should not be used until the seeds have sprouted and taken firm root in the soil, otherwise you will get a dense mass of growth at the lower end of the plot and a desert near the upper end where the water enters. In the early stages the soil should be lightly watered from time to time so as to keep it slightly damp. When the plants grow big they may be more heavily watered at longer intervals. When the little carrots come up, if they are very dense in any part of the plot, they may be thinned out, otherwise their roots will not have space to swell and grow freely.

2 Turnips. The seed can be prepared the same as for carrots, but instead of sowing broadcast, the seeds should be lightly pressed about 1 of an inch below the ground and covered over (the soil should not be pressed down) at an all round distance of about 6' from one another. Watering will be the same as for carrots. Here, of course, no thinning will be required.

3 Radishes. These should be sown in the same way as turnips. But they are best sown on ridges the banks round the edges of the plots in which the other vegetables are grown on, therefore, be utilized. Take care to water the ridges also with the watering pot, and when the watering is done by flooding, the water should be sufficient to soak the banks properly.

4 Spinach. This should be sown broadcast like carrots. The sowing should be as even as possible and closer than carrots. No thinning need be done. It should be kept well watered, and three to four cuttings may be obtained from the same crop.

All this should not alarm you, as being difficult. On the contrary, it is most fascinating. Much more fascinating and health-giving than sitting in an office or working in a factory! How much richer life becomes when we associate with Nature! If we will but approach her with a loving heart, we find her ever ready to respond. So much so, that even with half an inch of earth in an old *thali* she will give us salads in a few days!

I will explain this in more detail.

Take any broad, shallow vessel—a *thali* or tray—and spread in it half an inch of finely powdered soil. Then flood it with water and shake the vessel gently so that the watery earth settles down perfectly level. Immediately sow in it *adason* or *rai* (mustard), so thickly that seeds are practically



touching one another, but not overlapping. Keep the vessel in a temperate place where the soil will not dry quickly, at the same time where the warmth will be enough to germinate the seeds. The soil should never be allowed to dry up. When the dampness begins to go out of it water should be given very gently so as not to disturb the seeds in the soil. No flooding now, only a little soft sprinkling with the hand, often enough to keep the earth slightly damp. The mustard seeds should germinate within two or three days, and within 10 days the growth should be 1 to 1½ inches high and ready for cutting. The pace of growth varies with the season of the year. The vessel should be kept indoors in a shady place, but may be put out in the sun for half an hour or so once a day, as this strengthens the colour of the leaves. Always feel the soil after bringing it in from the sun to make sure that it is still damp.

There is another plant called cress, which can be treated in the same way, but, whereas mustard seed can be obtained everywhere, cress is available only at big horticultural seed merchants. Those of you who can, should certainly obtain it. Sow the two in separate vessels, and when cutting, take a little from both and mix them together as a salad.

You may say, "What is the good of taking all this trouble just for a little salad? What nourishment is there in this?" Well, food is not only a matter of bulk. It has to be balanced. A little salad, added to a meal of *roti* and *dal*, helps much to give it that balance. It strengthens the digestion and enables the system to extract more nourishment out of the wheat and pulse. A man who eats four *rotis* would get more nourishment and better health out of his meal if he ate three *rotis* along with a little raw salad or cooked green vegetables. Hence, the cultivation of salads and vegetables, even in *thalis* and pots or boxes, means a very real addition to the nourishment at our disposal.

To the Municipalities I would say:

Have you yet called meetings and discussed what grounds to cultivate? The decision should not be delayed, because digging must begin at once. You must also have meetings of your citizens, and call upon them to lend a free hand in this urgent national work.

To the Governments I would say:

Though the remodeling of the administration machinery is essential before the successful development of any schemes, day-to-day efforts must be made to put the existing machinery to better use. The Government Seed Stores should be looked into. There should be frequent and surprise tours of inspection, and every effort should be made to see that the seed supplied by the Stores is of the kind the *kisans* need, that it is of good quality and that it is tested properly before being distributed. I have had shocking experiences of these Stores. There should be a nation-wide drive for compost making. Today, the outskirts of villages are covered with disorderly rubbish heaps and the village lanes themselves are all littered with rubbish. If the Agricultural

Departments made a concentrated drive for teaching the villagers how to turn all this rubbish into valuable compost, it would not only result in a substantial increase of the crops, but it would at the same time clean up the villages and reduce disease. I reproduce below an appeal I have addressed to *kisans* in U. P. in the form of a little pamphlet regarding compost making.

"Brother *Kisans*

We do not treat our Mother Earth properly. She does her best to feed us all, but we do not feed her in return. How can she sustain us, her children, if we do not serve her as dutiful children should serve a revered Mother? Year after year we plough, sow and reap harvests from the fields, but very rarely do we give any manure to the soil, and even what we give is usually half-*kachni* rubbish. Just as we need well-cooked food, so does the soil need well-prepared manure.

Unfortunately half the cattle-dung in our villages is used for fuel. To prevent this loss of manure for the fields we have got to grow more trees. Ad of us should save *keekar* (*babool*) and other seedlings in our lands. *Keekar* does not harm the crops, in fact growth is often better under a *keekar* tree. If we look about carefully after the rains we can easily choose out a few good seedlings each year, that have sown themselves, clean the earth round them and protect them from harm by placing thorns around. Once we have plenty of trees we shall be able to save much more cattle-dung for manure.

Now I will explain how to make the best use of the cattle dung left over from household needs. We must gather it all up, both that which is left out on the grazing lands and that which is under the feet of the cattle in our homes. It is most precious stuff and none of it should be wasted. We must also collect up all the old fodder, grass and other rubbish lying about our yards and in the village lanes. We will no longer throw the cattle-dung down in basketfuls on heaps of rubbish, but we will dig a pit 10 ft. broad, 20 ft. long and 3 ft. deep. Each day we will collect two heaps on the edge of the pit, one of cattle-dung and one of rubbish. After it is all collected we will daily spread it out in the pit, leaving four feet empty at one end. First a thin layer of rubbish (about 3 inches) and then a thin layer of cattle-dung (about 1 inch) one after another, finishing each day with a layer of rubbish to protect the cow-dung from sun and wind. Every third day we will soak the layers with water. When half the pit is filled right up to the top in this way, we will cover it over with 2 or 3 inches of earth and leave it for 7 or 8 weeks. Another pit must now be dug alongside the first one, and we will begin filling half of it in the same fashion. If this half pit is filled in less than 7 weeks, then we will dig a third pit, and start filling that. When the manure in the first pit has been lying covered up with earth for 7 or 8 weeks we will take *phavara*, step down into the four feet open end, and turn over the compost so that it fills up at the end, and finally leaves four feet open at the

opposite end. While carrying out this operation we will take care thoroughly to mix up the layers and break up any solid lumps. We will then pour plenty of water on it, cover it up again with earth, and leave it for another 7 or 8 weeks. When we open it up at the end of this time we shall find good, well-mixed and rotted manure. It is given the special name of Compost. There are various methods. Most of them are rather complicated. The method I have described is the method I employ in the Kisan Ashram. It is quite simple work and, therefore, possible for all of us to do. I have given it the name of Kisan Compost.

You can see from the above description that Kisan Compost needs turning only once, and takes not more than 3 to 4 months to ripen. The breadth and length of the pits can be increased if necessary. The rotting process is hastened if a sprinkling of old compost is added at the time of spreading the fresh layers. Ash, finely sprinkled, is also helpful. Thick or hard matter like *bajra* stalks, sugar-cane refuse, etc. should not be put straight into the compost. It should either be soaked in water until rotted, or burnt to ash. If the compost in the pits is ready before it is needed in the fields, it can be removed from the pits piled in a long heap on the ground, and then covered over with 2 or 3 inches of earth. If necessary, it can be lightly plastered to keep out sun and air.

If we will take the trouble to collect all the available cattle-dung and rubbish, and treat it as I have described, we shall be able to nourish our poor famished Mother Earth, and she in return will nourish us and our starving cattle with bumper crops.

(This Kisan Compost can be prepared on a smaller scale in private gardens. Good sizes for pits would be—

1. 14 ft. long, 7 ft. broad, 3 ft. deep.
2. 10 ft. long, 5 ft. broad, 3 ft. deep.
3. 8 ft. long, 4 ft. broad, 2½ ft. deep.

If dung is not available on the premises a small amount of cow-dung may perhaps be available from outside—from some *goshala* or grazing ground. To make this go as far as possible it should be mixed with water in a basket and then sprinkled over the rubbish.)

The Agricultural Departments in each province can also help private individuals, anxious to grow vegetables, by immediately publishing small pamphlets giving lists of suitable vegetable seeds for each season along with directions regarding sowing and cultivation. At the same time their local Departmental Staff should offer advice and guidance to the city and town public, and distribute free seeds in the first instance, on the understanding that people will save seed for themselves from their own gardens. Something of this sort has been attempted here and there, but there has been no concerted and concentrated effort such as is needed in the present crisis.

New Delhi, 3-11-47

### III

By the time this reaches you I address individual growers—your vegetable seeds will be in the ground, and you will be looking anxiously each day,

for some sign of their sprouting. It is so tempting just to scrape away the earth and see what is going on underneath, but resist the temptation, it spoils the little seeds. Keep patient for at least ten to fifteen days. After that, if nothing has come up to the surface, examine carefully in one place. If you find the seeds lying in the soil ungerminated, the plot may be dug up and resown. Causes for failure may be bad seed, or badly prepared soil, or again under- or over-watering. As I explained last week the soil should never be allowed to get bone-dry, nor should it be kept sodden. Another possible reason might be the situation. Vegetable plots should not be right alongside a hedge, or surrounded by thick bushes. The strong roots of these woody shrubs draw away the nourishment from the soil. Under big shady trees is, of course, also bad, except for a few special types of vegetables.

When the seeds first sprout they will put forth two little succulent roundish leaves (cotyledons)—their "milk teeth." After some days two more leaves will appear between these baby ones, which will now gradually dry up and drop off. The new leaves will bear the shape and style of the plant to come. *Palak* and carrots are such: they put up first, two tiny long-shaped baby leaves. I may mention here, that the mustard salad to be grown in a *thali*, which I described last week, is cut during the "milk teeth" stage, and that is why it is so succulent and crisp to eat.

When your vegetables have grown up a little bit, and become well rooted in the soil, you must look to the weeding of the plots. All grass and other weeds which may make their appearance, must be pulled out by the roots. Do not weed just after watering, when the ground is wet, otherwise much soil will come up with the weeds, and this will disturb the roots of the young vegetables. Whatever thinning has to be done should be carried out at this time.

The next stage will be when the plants are getting well grown. The soil should now be lightly dug and loosened, with a *khurpi*, all around the plants. Great care must be taken not to cut or disturb their roots. This job should be done between two waterings. That is to say, the soil should not be wet, and after it has been loosened it should be left for a day or two to let the sun and air penetrate the earth, before the next watering.

If you have sufficient space, you can have one more sowing each of carrots, turnips and spinach. This will give you a prolonged supply. Radish (*muh*) you can go on sowing in small quantities every 10 days till the end of January.

I hope those of you who have room in your gardens, have made compost pits, and started filling them. Remember, that everything that is put into a compost pit must be scattered freely. No lumps or heaps must be allowed. This means fighting against the easy, lazy habit of throwing things into the pit, and leaving them there all in a heap. Taking just a little trouble makes all the difference.

In the next article I will close this series with a comprehensive list of useful vegetables.

New Delhi, 8-11-47

## A. I. C. C. RESOLUTIONS

### (1) RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

15-11-'47

The All India Congress Committee welcomes the attainment of foreign rule in India and the establishment of a free and independent State and a government responsible to the people of the country. The achievement of freedom is the culmination of the long struggle of the Indian National Congress and outcome of the sufferings and tribulations of the Indian people. Freedom brings responsibility and new burdens and problems.

The freedom achieved was not the kind that the Congress had envisaged during its long history. It has been accompanied by secession of parts of the country and disasters of unparalleled magnitude. Hardly was free India born when grave crisis overtook it and events happened which have besmirched her fair name and brought death and desolation to vast numbers of innocent people in circumstances too tragic for words. There have been arson and loot and murder on a mass scale in West Punjab, N. W. F. Provinces, Baluchistan, East Punjab and adjoining areas. The Committee cannot find words strong enough to condemn these inhuman acts by whatever community perpetrated. It extends its sympathy to all those who have been the innocent victims of this colossal tragedy.

At this moment of crisis, it is necessary that the Congress should declare its faith and policy in clear terms and that the people as well as the Government should follow that policy unwaveringly. Even though the Congress agreed to a division of the country in the hope, which has thus far proved vain, that thereby internal conflicts might cease, it has never accepted the theory that there are two or more nations in India. It has firmly believed in the whole of India as a nation bound together by indissoluble cultural and historical links which had been further strengthened in the course of the national struggle for freedom. It was on the basis of this faith that the Congress grew up as a national institution open to all Indians without difference of creed or religion. India is a land of many religions and many races, and must remain so. Nevertheless India has been and is a country with a fundamental unity and the aim of the Congress has been to develop this great country as a whole as a democratic secular State where all citizens enjoy full rights and are equally entitled to the protection of the State, irrespective of the religion to which they belong. The Constituent Assembly has accepted this as the basic principle of the constitution. This lays on every Indian the obligation to honour it.

The Congress wants to assure the minorities in India that it will continue to protect, to the best of its ability, their citizen rights against aggression. The Central Government as well as the Provincial Governments must accordingly make every effort to create conditions wherein all minorities and all citizens have security and opportunity for progress. All citizens have also on their part not only share in the benefits of freedom but also shoulder the burdens and responsibility which accompany it, and must above all be loyal to India.

The All India Congress Committee calls upon all Congressmen and the people of India to adhere strictly

to these well established principles of the Congress and not to allow themselves to be diverted into wrong channels by passion or prejudice or by the tragic events that have happened. Real good and progress of India have yet to be achieved and this can only be done by adhering to the ideals and policy of the Congress and discarding and opposing all false doctrines which have done so much mischief to India and her people.

### (2) REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES

15-11-'47

The tragic events that have taken place in recent months in the Punjab and elsewhere have resulted in vast migrations of populations, and consequently in tremendous suffering to millions of people. New problems of relief and rehabilitation have arisen of a magnitude which is unparalleled in history. The Government of India have faced these problems with courage and determination. Nevertheless it is necessary to state clearly what the national policy should be in dealing with these problems.

The A. I. C. C. has looked with disfavour on the large scale migration which brings suffering to millions, upsets the nation's economy, and does violence to the ideal which the Congress has held since its inception. It is of opinion that mass migrations should be discouraged and conditions should be created both in the Indian Dominion and in Pakistan for minorities to live in peace and security. If such conditions are created the desire to migrate to another part of the country will disappear. In the opinion of the Committee, it is wrong to coerce Hindu and Sikh inhabitants of Pakistan into leaving their homes and migrating to the Indian Union, and Muslims of the Indian Union into migrating to Pakistan.

While it is impossible to undo all that has been done, every effort should be made to enable the evacuees and refugees from either Dominion ultimately to return to their homes and to their original occupations under conditions of safety and security. Those who

have already migrated should be encouraged if they themselves desire to migrate, and those who are for migrating should be made available. It is the duty of the Central Government of the Indian Union and the Government of Pakistan to negotiate on this basis and to create conditions which would enable the evacuees and refugees to return with safety.

In any event the policy to be followed in the Indian Union is to protect the minorities still residing there and to prevent their removal by force or by creating circumstances which compel evacuation.

During these disorders large numbers of women have been abducted on either side and there have been forcible conversions on a large scale. No civilized people can recognize such conversions, and there is nothing more heinous than abduction of women. Every effort, therefore, must be made to restore women to their original homes with the co-operation of the Governments concerned.

The A. I. C. C. has noted with satisfaction the declarations made on behalf of the Governments of the two Dominions and East and West Punjab that forcible conversions will not be recognized and that they would co-operate in the recovery of abducted women.

Such being the policy of the Congress, the refugees in the Indian Union are entitled to every care and attention from the authorities and the people within the Union as long as they have to remain there. They are not to be regarded as interlopers grudgingly placed upon charity. They will have the same rights and be under the same obligations as any other citizen. Where they are living in camps they will be expected to render some social service in co-operation with fellow-refugees, subject to the rules framed for the good government of the camp. Sanitary and other services should be performed by the inmates of the camps under instructions from those fitted for the work and who will themselves take part in those services. Refugees should be engaged in productive work as far as possible on a co-operative basis.

Refugees from West Punjab shall as a rule be accommodated in East Punjab. Those from the other parts of Pakistan shall be accommodated in places that the Central Government, in co-operation with the Provincial Governments, may consider more suitable. Those from a particular locality should, as far as possible, be kept together.

In this task the Provincial Governments should offer their full co-operation and should take in and make suitable arrangements for as many refugees as they can.

No house, not vacated willingly by a Muslim, shall be used for the accommodation of refugees, except by proper legal authority.

The movements of refugees, which are already taking place by train, convey or otherwise, should be regulated in accordance with the policy laid down above and no one should be sent away unless he expresses his desire to migrate.

This principle should apply also to the States which have acceded to the Indian Union and from which large numbers of Muslims have been evacuated or driven out.

The A. I. C. C. trusts that the Central Government of the Indian Union, the East Punjab and West Bengal Governments, and the Governments of the States affected by these migrations, will give effect to the policy indicated above and will issue directions to all their officers to act strictly in accordance with it.

### (3) STATES

15-11-47

In view of the fact that in a number of States people's organizations instead of rising in power and influence as a result of freedom, are being suppressed and prevented from functioning, and further in view of the fact that Rulers in Punjab and some parts of Rajputana and Central India and in the South Indian States have shown an unpatriotic attitude and have betrayed a woeful lack of imagination and have been party to the liquidation of the Muslim and Hindu population by inhuman means, it becomes necessary to reiterate in unequivocal language the policy of the Congress in regard to the States.

Whatever may be the legal implications of accession and lapse of British Paramountcy, the moral result of the independence of India was undoubtedly the establishment and recognition of the power of the people as distinguished from that of Princes and feudal or other interests hostile to natural popular aspirations. This

power, the Congress is determined to uphold at any cost. Therefore, all such interests and specially the Princes should know that the Congress cannot uphold them unless they are demonstrably in favour of regarding the voice of the people as the supreme law. In such a democratic State the individual who wants to assert himself against the popular will cannot count, no matter how powerful he may be.

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. therefore hopes that the Princes will read the signs of the times and co-operate with the people, and those who have acted in a contrary spirit should retrace their steps and revise their undemocratic conduct and function through democratic organizations expressing the people's will. This they can best do by seeking the association and advice of the A. I. S. P. C. which has been endeavouring to act on behalf of the people of the States.

### (4) COMMUNAL ORGANIZATIONS

16-11-47

The A. I. C. C. has noted with regret that communal organizations like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League, and the Akali Party have sought to promote their respective interests based on so-called religious considerations in conflict with the national interest. The national interest must mean and include a healthy synthesis of all interests based not on religious but political, social, material and moral grounds. Political activities must accordingly be conducted by political organizations which are based on political and economic policies and which are open to members of all communities.

### (5) PRIVATE ARMIES

16-11-47

The All India Congress Committee has noted with regret that there is a growing desire on the part of some organizations to build up private armies. Any such development is dangerous for the safety of the State and for the growth of corporate life in the nation. The State alone should have its defence forces or police or home guards or recognized armed volunteer forces. The activities of the Muslim National Guards, the Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and the Akali Volunteers and such other organizations, so far as they represent an endeavour to bring into being private armies must be regarded as a menace to the hard-won freedom of the country. The A. I. C. C. therefore appeals to all these organizations to discontinue such activities and the Central and Provincial Governments to take necessary steps in this behalf.

### (6) CONTROLS

16-11-47

The A. I. C. C. has been alarmed at the disturbance of normal life by the various controls, specially in regard to foodstuffs and clothing. These have promoted blackmarketing, hoarding, corruption and other evils. They have interfered with the process of self-reliance and arrested the incentive to production specially in the matter of growing more foodstuffs and the manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven *khadi* in the thousands of villages in India. The Committee is, therefore, of opinion that the Central and Provincial Governments should give urgent consideration to the problem of decontrol as early as possible without detriment to the public good.

## (7) THE CONGRESS CONSTITUTION

12.11.47

As the goal of complete independence from foreign domination has been achieved and in view of the new role the Congress organization will have to play under the changed circumstances, the A. I. C. C. appoints the following committee to revise the present Congress Constitution, including the objective as contained in Article I and to submit the draft revised Constitution prepared by it to a special session of this All India Congress Committee, convened for the purpose, not later than the end of January, 1948 and pending the final approval of such a Constitution by the A. I. C. C. to postpone all Congress elections under the present constitution.

Shri R. B. Diwaker, Shri P. D. Tadjon, Acharya Narendra Das, Shri S. K. Patil, Dr. Pannabai Sitaramayya, Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh and Acharya Jugad Kulkarni.

## (8) CONGRESS OBJECTIVES

17

Political independence having been achieved, the Congress must address itself to the next great task, namely, the establishment of real democracy in the country and a society based on social justice and equality. Such a society must provide every man and woman with equality of opportunity and freedom to work for the unfettered development of his or her personality. This can only be realized when democracy extends from the political to the social and the economic spheres.

Democracy in the modern age necessitates planned central direction as well as decentralization of political and economic power, insofar as this is compatible with the safety of the State, with efficient production and the cultural progress of the community as a whole. The smallest territorial unit should be able to exercise effective control over its corporate life by means of a popularly elected *Panchayat*. Insofar as it is possible, national and regional economic self-sufficiency in the essentials of life should be aimed at. In the case of industries, which in their nature must be run on a large-scale and on centralized basis, they should belong to the community and they should be so organized that workers become not only co-sharers in the profits but are also increasingly associated with the management and administration of the industry.

Land, with its mineral resources, and all other means of production as well as distribution and exchange must belong to and be regulated by the community in its own interest.

Our aim should be to evolve a political system

of individual liberty and an economic structure which will

eliminate the concentration of wealth and

such a social structure can provide an

the Congress in accordance with the above-

mentioned principles, and the election manifesto of

the Congress dated December 19th, 1946, the following Committee is appointed

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shri Jai Prakash Narain, Prof. N. G. Ranga, Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda, Shri J. C. Kumarappa, Shri Achyut Patwardhan, Shri Shankarrao Deo with powers to co-opt.

(a)

17.11.47

The Committee would have liked Acharya J. B. Kripalani to continue as President of the Indian National Congress till the next elections in the normal course but as he has expressed his inability to reconsider his resignation, it regretfully accepts it.

The Committee places on record its appreciation of the services rendered by him both before and during the time he has held the office as President.

## NO INCONSISTENCY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A subscriber to the *Harijan* presents as follows what appears to him to be a conundrum to which I have sent the following reply

## CONUNDRUM

"The other day you admitted that you had not seen God face to face. In the preface to *My Experiments with Truth* you have stated that you have seen God in the embodiment of Truth from a far distance. The two statements appear to be incompatible. Kindly elucidate for proper understanding."

## REPLY

"There is a big gulf between 'seeing God face to face' and 'seeing Him in the embodiment of Truth from a far distance'. In my opinion the two statements are not only not incompatible but each explains the other. We see the Himalayas from a very great distance and when we are on the top we have seen the Himalayas face to face. Millions can see them from hundreds of miles if they are within the range of that seeing distance, but few having arrived at the top after years of travel see them face to face. This does not seem to need elucidation in the columns of the *Harijan*. Nevertheless, I send your letter and my reply for publication in the *Harijan* lest there may be some like you who think that there is any inconsistency between the two statements quoted by you.

New Delhi, 13-11-47

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# HARIJAN

Editor. PYARELAL

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Two Annas

## HOW TO GROW MORE FOOD

### IV

Are your little seedlings coming up well — are those of you, with no land, growing mustard and cress salads, and improving your health by eating them? These thoughts pass through my mind. And this big question is also always there. *How many of you are really doing the thing?* May God inspire you with energy and faith

Here is the promised list of vegetables. As it takes up a lot of space, the hot weather list will be carried over into the next issue of the *Harijan*.

New Delhi, 15-11-'47

MIRABEHN

Mirabehn's is an apposite question. It will be interesting to know how many are profiting by her hints. Will such please send their names to the editor of the *Harijan*, Ahmedabad?

New Delhi, 17-11-47

M. K. G.]

### GROWING OF COLD WEATHER VEGETABLES

No. of veg table	Seed rate per acre	Time of sowing (P. H. H. H.)	Depth of sowing	Distance apart	Time of thinning or transplanting	Period of availability of vegetable in p.
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#### Rows Plants

Beans (Lobia)	60 Lbs	P mid-Oct to mid Nov, H. March to end May	3	20 days	2' 1'5'	Feb. to March
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Remarks. Seed sown in trenches 2 wide, 3" deep and 5' apart. In each trench plant two rows 1' apart. Seed is sown 3" deep and 5' to 6" apart. Flood the channel to obtain good germination. When the plants are 15" high, fill the trenches. Pinch off growing points when plants are in flower.

Carrot		P mid-Aug. to mid-Oct. H. April to mid-June	15"	12 days	1'5' 1'5'	Feb. to March
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(a) Tall 20 lbs

(b) Dwarf 40 lbs

(French-bean)

Remarks. Tri-rives better at hill stations than in the plains. The situation selected in the plains should be sheltered by arboreal growth. Seed is sown on ridges or flat in rows 1'5' apart.

Beet-root (Chakanaar)	4-6 lbs	P Aug to end Oct, H. March to end May	25"	12 days	15" 4"-6"	Nov. to March
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Remarks. The seed is sown thickly in rows 15' apart. Seedlings are thinned out to 4" to 6" apart. The

seed requires continuous supply of moisture for germination.

Brussars' Sprouts	12 oz	P Sept. to end Oct. H. March to mid-May	1/8"	6 days	3' 1'5'	Feb.
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Remarks. Seed is sown broadcast in raised beds made in the open. Seedlings are transplanted when 4" to 5" high.

Cabbage (Bund-gobhi)	8 oz	P mid-Aug. to end Oct. H. March to end July	1/8"	6 days	2'5' 2'5'	Jan. to March
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Remarks. Manure the field @ 20 tons of well rotted farmyard manure and apply ammonium sulphate @ 2 Mds. per acre as top dressing. Raise seedlings as in case of Brussars' Sprouts. Transplant when 4 to 5 inches high.

Carrot (Gajar)	6-8 lbs	P mid-Aug. to end Nov. H. March to end May	5"	15-20 days	1'5' 2'5'	Dec. to March
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Remarks. Acclimatized varieties can be sown early in autumn and imported varieties sown late. Use 10 tons of well-rotted farmyard manure per acre. The percentage of germination of carrot seed being low, it should be sown thickly. Transplant when 4 to 5 inches high.

Cauliflower (Phool gobi)	8 or 10 lbs	P mid-June to end Oct. H. March to end April	5"	7 days	2'5' 1'5'	Oct. to March
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Remarks. Sow seed of early varieties from mid-June to end of August. The late variety (Snow Ball) is sown in October. Seed beds should be shaded during the hottest part of the day. Transplant when 4 to 5 inches high.

Coriander (Dhanya)	20 lbs	P Sept. to Nov. H. March to end May	5"	10 days	1' 1'	Seed in June. Leaves all the year
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Remarks. Break the fruit well by rubbing before sowing. For seed purposes, thinning is necessary. For leaves it can be grown throughout the year.

Egg-plant (Bengan)	8-10 oz	P 1 end Feb. 2. June 3. end Oct.	1/8"	6 days	2'5' 1'5'	March to Dec
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Remarks. Seed is sown broadcast in nursery, using 1.5 to 2 oz. seed per mulla. The seedlings of 1st and 2nd sowings are usually attacked by *Haemaphysalis* beetles, the grubs and eggs of which should be hand picked. Protect seedlings of 3rd sowing from frost and transplant when the danger of frost is over. Third crop is most popular.

Garlic	6-7	P Oct.	5"	7-12	1'	3'-4"	May
(Shahm)	mds.	H. Feb. to		days			onwards
of bulbs March							

Remarks: When the tops of leaves begin to turn yellow in the beginning of May, the plants are pulled out, dried, and stored for future use.

Lettuce	1-5 lbs	P. Oct.	1/8"	4-8	15"	12"	Jan. to
(Salad)		to Nov.		days			Feb.
H. March to mid-June							

Remarks: If the seed is to be sown direct in the field, it should be sown on both sides of raised beds about 2' wide, with furrows in between for irrigation. Furrows must be 18" wide and 9" deep. Irrigate immediately after sowing. Water must reach the seeds only by seepage.

Kool-Khol	1 lb	P mid-Aug.	5"	4-6	1-5'	9"	Dec. to
(Khol gold)		to end Oct.		days			March
H. Feb. to end May							

Remarks: Harvest when the turnip-like stem is about 2" to 3" in diameter.

Onion	7-9	P mid Oct.	5"	15-20	12"	3'-4"	May
(Piper)	lbs	to mid-Nov.		days			onwards
H. March to end May							

Remarks: Irrigate the seed-bed till the plants are well established. Irrigate immediately after transplanting and then after every 12 to 15 days, till the tops begin to fall over. Dig out the bulbs when the leaves turn yellow. Cut off the tops and spread the bulbs over the floor.

Pear	40 lbs	P. Oct. to	1"	7 days	3'-4"	2'	Feb. and
(Matar)		mid-Nov.			wide		March
H. March to end May							
raised beds							

Remarks: Frost does not affect the plants, but it kills flowers and pods. The width of the raised seed-beds varies from 3 to 5 feet depending upon the growth character of the variety. Irrigation is given immediately after sowing. When the seedlings are 5' to 6' tall a single row of stakes in the middle of each bed is provided.

Potato	8-12	P mid-Sept.	3"	7-10	2-5'	9'-12"	Dec. to
(Aloo)	Mds.	to mid-Dec.		days			March
H. mid-Feb. to mid-April							

Remarks: Fresh tubers require two months rest period before they can be sown. Plants are earthed up before tuber formation starts. For canal irrigation the tubers are planted on 6" to 9' high ridges and for well irrigation on 4" to 5' high ridges. Irrigate immediately after planting to avoid rotting of tubers. While irrigating the ridges must not be submerged. 8 to 10 irrigations are required to mature the crop.

Radish	3-4	P. mid-Aug.	1"	3-6	15"	2'-4"	Sept. to
(Mooli)	lbs	to end Jan.		days			Feb.
H. March to end Aug.							

Remarks: If grown during hot weather the roots would be very tough and pungent. Sow on ridges 1 1/2' apart and 9" high and irrigate immediately afterwards. Do sowings after intervals of 15 to 30 days to get a regular supply of tender roots.

Spinach	20-25	P Oct. to	5"	5-7 da			
(Palak)	lbs	Nov.					
H. March to end Apr.							

Remarks: Seed is sown broadcast and is lightly covered by a rake. Irrigate immediately after sowing and then after every 8 to 10 days. 3 to 4 cuttings are taken before the plants begin to develop seed stalks in spring.

Turnip	1-2	P Local in	5"	7 days	1-5'	4-5"	Oct. to
(Shahm)	lbs	Sept. and					March
exotic in Sept. to Nov.							
H. Feb. to mid-June							

Remarks: It is better to sow on ridges for better development of roots. Ridges are of the same specifications as for radish. When the plants are 2' to 3' tall, thinning should be done.

Tomato	1 Early	P 1 mid-July	25"	7-10	3'	2-5'	1 Oct. to
	crop	to mid-Aug.		days			Nov.
	8 oz.	2 mid-Aug.					2 Dec. to
	2 Main	to mid-Sept.					March
	crop	3 mid-Oct.					3 May to
	4-5 oz.	to mid-Nov.					July
(Main crop)							
H. mid-March to end May							

Remarks: Transplant seedlings of main crop in February when danger of frost is over. The fruit ripens when the weather warms up and is sunny. Seedlings are protected from sun by shading and are transplanted when 6 weeks old. If allowed to remain longer in the nursery they become laggy and do not transplant well. Staking should be done when the plants are 9" to 13" high. The plants must be protected fully from frost.

## THE BLESSINGS OF DISCIPLINE

When I was a small child I lived in my maternal grand-father's home: a big country house with extensive gardens, a big stable, some grass fields and a cowshed. I knew every corner of the garden, the different flowers, the vegetables, the fruit. I knew the handsome horses in the stable, and the beautiful sweet smelling cows in the farmyard. I got the fullest joy out of all these things, and can remember them today as if I were still six years old. But I did not enjoy it all because I could run wild there, and do what I liked. I enjoyed it because I had been taught to respect the things about me. That respect led me, from a very early age, to study my surroundings.

I was not allowed to pick the flowers myself, except from one little rose tree by the side of the garden door. The flowers—and there were masses of all kinds—I could look at, I could smell, but not pick or damage. This restriction never chafed me. I took it as quite reasonable and I am sure that it increased my happiness. I can remember to this day the joy I felt in picking those pink, very sweet smelling roses, from the bush by the garden door, and the admiration with which I looked at the special blooms in my grandmother's rose garden, where every plant was labelled. I studied their qualities, and the special smells associated with the different colours. If I had been allowed to tear the blossoms and do what I liked, I should never have learnt to enjoy them as I did. It was the same thing with the fruits. I could pick them for myself, only after taking permission. Naturally,



they tasted all the sweeter, and at the same time, I was saved from spoiling my stomach by over-eating.

The animals I was taught to look at, and later on to handle, with intelligent interest, I learnt how to milk the cows and groom the horses. I knew how to feed the chickens, how to set a broody hen on a clutch of eggs, and how to tend the chicks when they were hatched. I remember once making up my mind to see a hen lay an egg. I sat for ages in the chicken-house, watching one of the hens sitting waiting for her egg to come down. I kept as quiet as a mouse, so as not to disturb her. At last she rose gently on to her legs, the soft feathers between them puffed out, and gradually a beautiful brown egg descended on to the hay on the floor of the box. She gave one look at it, and then rushed out of the chicken-house, clucking joyously. And I followed after not less delighted!

I was brought up to regard the teasing of animals, birds, or any live creatures, as a despicable thing. This, coupled with my own natural love of animals, led me to find in them companions, in whose joys and sorrows I shared with intimate interest and sympathy.

Let us now enter the house, and see the discipline I enjoyed there. There was no sitting up late at night, or eating all kinds of food. No getting in the way of my elders or chipping in when they were talking. When I was between 4 and 7 years old, I used to go to bed every night at seven. The hour for rising would vary between 6 and 7-30 a. m. according to the season. Everyday, in the afternoon, I would be put to rest on my bed for an hour. My food was strictly regulated — plain, nourishing, measured and punctually to time. There was no question of having the same food as the grown-ups. I do not remember ever asking for it, and certainly I never cried for it. Children do not cry for things they know there is not the slightest hope of getting. I thoroughly enjoyed my wholesome food and never developed a taste for fancy dishes. The result was I grew up to be strong and healthy.

I was fond enough of running about and playing heartily, but the fact that I could not rush about and make a noise just anywhere and at any time I liked, made play all the more enjoyable. I never thought of disturbing the conversation of my elders, or of pushing my way through a door in front of them. Life had a quiet background of order and good manners, on which childhood's joys and games stood out all the more happily.

To this childhood I owe the ease with which I was able to enter into the discipline of Sabarmati. I rejoiced in it, whereas people who pass through an undisciplined childhood, naturally find it almost impossible to discipline themselves in later life. Until we can control and lovingly discipline the children, there is no hope of the nation becoming disciplined.

This childhood training must be given by the parents and if the parents have not got that back-

ground themselves, how are they to give it? It is a vicious circle like so many other tragedies of today. To break through it, the grown-ups must strive to discipline themselves in order to bless their children with a disciplined life.

New Delhi, 8-11-'47

MIRABEHN

### WANTED A PHILOSOPHY

The 15th of August last saw our leaders in the saddle. The equipage is all set and well caparisoned but we appear to have no destination to make for. We do not seem to have any definite idea as to the nature of the State and social organization we need. Constantly we hear the slogans, "We want to raise the standard of living", "We want to increase production", "We want to bring about freedom from want", but what are the means to be adopted and what will be the concomitance of our working towards the needs we wish to attain and whether by leading this life on earth we wish to achieve some objective and what should be the functions to be performed by the Government and what functions by the people? All these are not very clear before us. As a result of this foggy mess we are constantly coming up against all kinds of incongruities which lead us into quixotic situations.

The Finance Member of the Government of India, Mr. Shanmugam Chettiar, has shared with the public a few of the problems he is faced with. He says that he has been requested to furnish the Moscow Embassy with Swedish furniture etc. costing Rs. 25,000. Another request, he says, is for him to purchase for another Minister Persian carpets for Rs. 40,000. Similarly various Embassies, according to the last budget, have cost over Rs. 18,00,000 of foreign exchange. These are causing our Finance Member a headache, and rightly so.

Whether poor India should be asked to support her expensive Embassies and princely Ministers or not, depends on our objective. It is no good criticizing this expensive programme if our aim is to follow suit in industrialization the programmes of Great Britain and America. Industrialization accompanied by international conflict, wars and atom bombs require such expensive pomp and show. If we want to take up this course, we must say that the above demands are even modest!

On the other hand, if we accept the simple life and a peaceful environment with plenty of primary needs for the people and a guarantee of full occupation to the unemployed, the way that would lie before us would be totally different and will call for curtailing our budget considerably. Therefore, before we can say whether Rs. 25,000 is a modest sum for furnishing a house or whether Rs. 40,000 for carpets are not compensated by the privilege of supporting the skilful artisans is a question to be decided only when we have a clear conception of the political and economic philosophy. At the present time the country seems to be just drifting. It is well for us to sit down and make up our minds as to the kind of India we want to build up and the place she should occupy in the Council of Nations.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

# HARIJAN

November 30

1947

## LINGUISTIC REDISTRIBUTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Acharya Sreeman Narayan Agarwal writes to me a letter published in the columns of the *Harijansevak*. Its purport is that new universities should not be established before the proposed linguistic redistribution of provinces. The following is the rendering of his argument

"I have read your remarks in the *Harijan* about 'New Universities'. I believe that such a project will present great difficulties, if it comes into being before linguistic redistribution. I cannot understand why the Congress should take any time in accomplishing this linguistic redistribution. The Congress has held since 1920 that this is necessary for the good government of India. And now that we are free to have this redistribution, efforts are being made in some quarters to defeat the purpose. In the Constituent Assembly too, the matter seems to have been shelved. Without redistribution, it would be very difficult to enforce all teaching through provincial languages in our schools and colleges and it would not be easy to oust English from the position it unlawfully occupies today. Bombay, Madras and C. P. will bear out my contention. Any delay would but increase inter-provincial jealousy. We see the danger of tinkering in the terrible form that the Hindu-Muslim quarrel has assumed. If partition had to be accepted on any account whatsoever, how nice it would have been if we had accepted it sooner? Shall we not learn the lesson from these disturbances that if linguistic redistribution is good delay in carrying it out is fraught with evil consequences?"

I entirely endorse the suggestion underlying the foregoing letter, viz. that what is proper to be done should not be delayed without just cause, and that what is improper should not be conceded under any circumstances whatsoever. There can be no compromise with evil and since linguistic redistribution is desirable from almost every point of view, all delay in carrying out the project should be avoided.

But the reluctance to enforce linguistic redistribution is perhaps justifiable in the present depressing atmosphere. The exclusive spirit is ever uppermost. Everyone thinks of himself and his family. No one thinks of the whole of India. The centripetal force is undoubtedly there, but it is not vocal, never boisterous; whereas the centrifugal is on the surface, and in its very nature makes the loudest noise, demanding the attention of all. It manifests itself most in matters communal. This has given rise to fear in other fields. The history of the quarrel between Orissa and Andhra, Orissa and Bihar and Orissa and Bengal is fresh in our minds. The whole

of it has not died out even now. This is but an illustration of an almost accomplished fact. The other provinces were never redistributed in law though they were in 1920 when the Congress had a brand new constitution enabling it to put up a life and death struggle with perhaps the greatest empire that has ever been. How will Madras, though divided by the Congress divide itself into four provinces, and Bombay do likewise in law? Many other claimants have come to the fore. They are not recognized by the Congress, but they are not less vocal or less insistent. The Congress does not command the prestige and authority it found itself in possession of in 1920. Despair has given place to hope. Now, when we have freedom, we seem not to know what to do with it. It is almost mistaken for suicidal anarchy. Even zealous reformers would postpone controversial issues to a more hopeful time when, in the interest of the country, the virtue of 'give and take' would be freely recognized and all sectional interests would be subordinate to the one interest of the good of India, which will include the good of all. Therefore, those who, like me, want constructive suggestions to come into play at this very moment, have to work to bring about a healthy atmosphere, promoting concord in the place of discord, peace in the place of strife, progress in the place of retrogression and life in the place of death. That happy day will be most manifest when the communal strife has died out. Meanwhile, will the Southern linguistic groups settle their disputes and boundaries, will Bombay produce an agreed scheme of redistribution according to language, and will the new candidates withdraw their claims at least for the time being? Then linguistic redistribution can come into being today without the slightest difficulty or fuss.

Let there be no undue strain upon the Congress, whose foundations have been shaken to their roots. It is ill-equipped today either for arbitrating between rival claimants or imposing its will upon recalcitrants.

New Delhi, 23-11-'47

### Unbelievable

"Those who advocate the policy of undivided Bengal shall be punishable with death is the gazetted Order of the East Bengal Government," writes a correspondent. I should like to see the text of the Order before I can believe it. I feel sure that even if there is any Order to some such effect, the exact wording would bear a different meaning. I can understand the criminality of such action. There are very few Hindus and certainly not many Muslims who believe in the advisability or justice of the step. But only a madman would advocate any forcible measure to upset the settled fact. The partition can be undone only by the willing consent of both the parties. But even that consent will be impossible, if no one is allowed to convert public opinion to the side of unity.

New Delhi, 23-11-'47

M. K. G.

## DEATH—COURAGEOUS OR COWARDLY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Bengali friend writes a long letter in Bengali on the exodus from East Pakistan. Its purport is that though workers like him understand and appreciate my argument and distinction between death—courageous and cowardly—the common man detects in my statement a not too hidden advice in favour of migration. "If death is to be the lot in any case, courage becomes of no count; for man lives but to escape death," he says.

This argument seems to beg the question. Man does not live but to escape death. If he does so, he is advised not to do so. He is advised to learn to love death as well as life, if not more so. A hard saying, harder to act up to, one may say. Every worthy act is difficult. Ascent is always difficult. Descent is easy and often slippery. Life becomes livable only to the extent that death is treated as a friend, never as an enemy. To conquer life's temptations, summon death to your aid. In order to postpone death a coward surrenders honour, wife, daughter and all. A courageous man prefers death to the surrender of self-respect. When the time comes, as it conceivably can, I would not leave my advice to be inferred, but it will be given in precise language. That today my advice might be followed only by one or none does not detract from its value. A beginning is always made by a few, even one.

New Delhi, 23-11-'47

## RAYS OF HOPE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Although there is from all sides so much debris of hope, now and then one sees a few rays of hope penetrating through this debris. This reflection is due to a study of my correspondence file for the *Harijan* which has been carefully kept for reading during moments of leisure.

One such letter is from Shri Shivabhai Patel of Bochasan Residential School. He has sent me a few unvarnished facts and figures of the work done during the annual celebrations. He is ably assisted by Gangabehn of the late Satyagraha Ashram of Sabarmati, now known as the Harijan Ashram and the ever indefatigable Ravishankar Maharaj, with his two sons who have not deserted him. A specialty of the recent celebration was that instead of the usual mechanical contrivance for carding they resorted exclusively to the *tuna* process. This time the management was induced to begin a boarding house for the children of those who, in that part of India, are considered to be a backward race. The beginning has been made with only ten inmates. After seven years of suspension, they have recommenced the day school for boys who have finished four years course in ordinary schools. They expect to have a further six years, bringing the boys up to the matriculation standard minus English

and plus a good grounding in *khadi* work, carpentry or agriculture. Unlike past years, during the year under observation, the parents have become interested in the upright conduct of their children. The result is that during the four months preceding the celebration of October last, the boys who were given to hard smoking and drinking strong tanning tea, have shed the habit which was ruining them. The earnestness of the boys has affected their parents who have also given up these evil habits that make chimneys of their mouths and ruin their digestive apparatus. When the boys were admitted, they could not sit still or hold their tongues for five minutes. They have now learnt to enjoy hand-spinning in perfect silence for one hour. Gangabehn who is in complete charge of the dairy of the institution takes good care to provide pure cow's milk.

During the celebration days the students' recitations consisted of useful dialogues which were largely attended. They had also an unpretentious exhibition of all the processes that cotton undergoes before it comes out as *khadi*. Twentythree students took part in a competition for neat calligraphy, a subject about which there is so much indifference as if neatness of handwriting was no part of good training.

New Delhi, 22-11-'47

## MEN WHO HAVE SUFFERED FOR PEACE

Some months ago I was talking with Gandhi about pacifists, who had proved themselves ready to face suffering, imprisonment and death rather than compromise their principles. He asked me whether there were any who had in fact been put to death for their pacifist convictions in our time. Of Quakers and others who suffered unto death in the late eighteenth century and in the Southern States of U. S. A. during the American Civil War of 1861-5, he had heard, but he asked me to find out if there were more recent examples.

I wrote to the *War Resisters' International* in London, an organization which links together the war resisters in many lands, and in whose periodical, year by year, remarkable stories appear of the courageous action of men who suffer long imprisonments in many lands because they refuse to be conscripted for military training. The *War Resisters' International* has sent me a pamphlet called *Modern Martyrs*, which seems to have been published in about 1930. This contains some inspiring stories of devotion to principle through harsh prison sentences but its title is hardly justified if martyrdom implies suffering unto death, then only one of these pacifist heroes qualifies; if it is interpreted as meaning suffering for conscience, however, then these are a small selection from a much larger number.

The single case of death refers to a young Russian, Vassily Egorovitch Tarakin, who was shot in July 1919 because he refused to join the army.

and to go to the front on account of his religious convictions. This expression is used in the report of the Tribunal that carried out the trial and the execution. The soldiers refused to shoot him, and the execution had to be carried out by the President of the Commission himself, one Gromoff. His last words, as recorded by witnesses, were, "Know it, brethren, and always remember that by killing my body you are killing your own soul. My body shall perish, but my spirit will live, because I die for love and brotherhood." His last letter to his parents contains the words: "The true life we can only know it through love."

Among other sufferings recorded in this pamphlet is a story of one J. P. in Lithuania, who is reported in the year 1927 as suffering "the tortures of the Inquisition". "They bound military weapons to his shoulders, and forced him to perform military exercises. He refused to do this, and they beat him, tied him to a cart and dragged him through the fields." Afterwards he was thrown into a dark, cold, damp hole or cell, and kept there for eight or ten days, with only bread and water and a little soup for food.

Some of the sect of *Nazarenes*, in Jugoslavia, were condemned to sentences of over five years imprisonment and then, after a brief period at home, were called up for military training again, and re-sentenced (in 1927) to eleven years and six months further imprisonment.

It is not only Eastern Europe that has done such things to its pacifists. Even democratic Switzerland gives repeated jail sentences to those who refuse to be conscripted for military training; and, as Marcha Steinitz writes in her introduction to this pamphlet, "In Italy Spain, and even in France the man who refuses military service is punished by such prolonged and terrible tortures, mostly in disciplinary barracks, that many of those who cannot reconcile it with their conscience to serve, leave their home country or hide themselves from the military." Others, however, face the prolonged terms of imprisonment, and a few Frenchmen have undergone long years of harsh imprisonment in the *Devil's Island* Guiana, a place to which the most dangerous criminals are sent.

Readers of J. W. Graham's book, *Conscription and Conscience*, will know that in England, between 1914 and 1918, a number of conscientious objectors were refused the exemption from military service that they claimed, were drafted into the army and cruelly punished in an effort to break their spirit, and several died in prison after rough treatment.

When all is known, it will probably be found that men were shot for refusal to serve in several countries of Europe during the last war.

So long as there is military conscription in any land, such things will happen. "How can we believe in the sincerity of governments," asks Martha Steinitz, "who profess to be out for peace, while they keep those prepared to suffer for peace behind iron bars like wild beasts?"

New Delhi, 23-11-47 HORACE ALEXANDER

## THE PLAGUES OF EGYPT

In many museums we find mummies of ancient Egyptian kings who were styled Pharaohs. About 3,300 years ago when these mummies were walking the earth as living human beings in Egypt, certain events took place. During my recent visit to Europe I was reminded forcibly of the way history repeats itself and how God's mills grind slowly but that they grind exceedingly small.

In those ancient days Egypt was a world power. It had organized its economic organization so that the children of Israel were exploited as slaves. The Israelites were the workers and the Egyptians were the imperialists. The glory of the Egypt of those days, when the pyramids were built, is yet to be excelled.

It is recorded in Exodus, the second book of the Bible, that God raised Moses as a deliverer to set free the oppressed people of Israel from the bondage of Egypt. As always the top-dogs are unwilling to let go their grip on the under-dogs, the then Pharaoh of Egypt was unwilling to let the Israelites leave the land. God sent Moses to Pharaoh to tell him, "Let My people go that they may serve Me." Up to now the Israelites were serving the Egyptians. They produced material things and lived on what they were paid. God and higher things of life were not in the picture. Therefore God wanted to give the oppressed a chance to develop their spiritual side and lead a higher form of human existence, but the vested interest, as represented by the Pharaoh, was not willing to let them go. This conflict between the material and the spiritual in society led to a series of visitations. God afflicted the Egyptians with ten plagues.

Water was turned into blood. Thus one of the prime necessities of life, along with the fish in water, was put beyond the reach of the Egyptians.

The frogs bred as profusely as to fill the land which became a nuisance to the people.

Then vermin spread all over the country making it a torture for the people and the cattle to lead a normal existence.

The fourth plague of flies not only affected the common people of Egypt, but also entered the palaces of the powers that be.

The fifth plague was the spread of diseases of the cattle which died in great numbers.

Then the country was visited with boils and ulcers and the people suffered terrible agonies.

The seventh plague was one of thunder and hail and fire which destroyed property and vegetation.

Then the locusts came and laid waste the fertile "gift of the Nile".

Then came darkness which engulfed the world.

After that came the terrible slaughter of the first born.

After each one of these plagues Moses went to Pharaoh and renewed the request of God, "Let My people go that they may serve Me." When Pharaoh was tired of each plague, he promised delivery, but the moment the plague was taken out on the strength of his promise, it is recorded that Pharaoh hardened his heart and went his old way.

And after the tenth plague — the slaying of the first born — the Israelites were allowed to go, but even then he changed his mind and pursued them and was drowned in the Red Sea which the Israelites were able to cross just before he did.

#### MODERN VERSION

The whole of this history is being repeated in Europe today. Europe has been the exploiter of the world like the Egyptians and the people of other lands have groined under their yoke. Even in their own lands the "haves" have exploited the "have-nots", but because of the material gains the "haves" have not been willing to let the workers have a chance of leading a normal life. God has been forgotten, higher moral values had no place in society. Greed, hatred, suspicion and large-scale murder has been the order of the day. God has been calling the common people to serve Him rather than serve Mammon, to live so that they may realize the higher things of life rather than merely for producing material goods and this is the modern request of God, "Let My people go that they may serve Me." The vested interests, like Pharaoh, have been hit hard by various plagues. Every time they made up their minds to loosen their grip, but immediately the tribulation passed away they have hardened their hearts to go the same way again.

We have seen countries which were rich with food materials, countries which were exporting grain and were considered the granaries of the world facing famine. Diseases and desolation have been stalking the land. Millions have died of flu and typhus. Snow, fire and floods have destroyed property and vegetation. London itself, like the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, has had a rain of fire about six years ago, destroying much property. Even as the locust, the pilotless bombs have been the terror of the people, sending them into the bowels of earth for safety. Darkness encompassed the world. Shortage of coal and electricity added to their discomforts. Millions died like the first-born of Egypt. The nurseries of the "haves", such as Oxford and Cambridge, were emptied during the wars to send their erstwhile inhabitants as lambs to the slaughter-house and Europe today is desolate. But yet they have not the heart to abandon their old way of life and let go their grasp on material things. One wonders whether they would still go on and pursue the plan of exalting the physically weak until, as Pharaoh was engulfed by the waters of the Red Sea, they are themselves overwhelmed and consumed by the atom bomb. Europe has not yet realized that their sins are following them and unless they repent they would be no more.

#### THE PICTURE

It would not be possible to give a detailed picture of the whole of Europe but the most we can do is to draw rough sketches of the life in England at the present time. The last two wars have left scars which may be ineradicable for centuries to come.

During the battle of Great Britain thousands died and have been buried uncommemorated in common graves. There are huge gaps amongst the buildings in London. St. Paul's Cathedral itself, which was hedged in by towering business houses, today stands amongst vast acres of devastated land. Ludgate hill, Cheapside, Queen Victoria Street and all that area has been razed to the ground. Mercifully the public authorities have boarded up the roadside so that the public may not gaze on these mortal wounds. These boarded up walls of wood carry today picturesque advertisements to make the people forget their experiences and pursue pleasure as their goal. Great many churches in London are mere shells today. Only the towers and spires remain to mark their site. This seems a parable to declare to mankind that the aisles which accommodated comfortable seats for the worshippers to doze while the services were going on have been consumed by the flames, and the spires which represented man's aspiration towards the higher and nobler aspects of life have been left untouched. In fashionable London, in restaurants there is no cloth to cover the tables and even if they had, there is not enough soap to keep the cloth washed and clean. Hence, they have to resort to paper table-cloths and napkins. During the siege of Great Britain that country was faced with starvation. The prime necessity of life, food was not to be had. Even today there is considerable shortage in food and clothing and other consumer goods. The pre-war uniformed taxi-drivers are nowhere to be seen. Today these taxi-cabs are being driven by men in civilian clothes and with soft felt hats. In many places the food shortage is so great that tourists are not allowed. Railway travel is a torture. The third class in England is as expensive as the first class in India. Yet one had to make long journeys often standing in the corridors.

Are these not the modern plagues of Egypt to a land that was overflowing with material good things of the world, but which represent ultimately the ill-gotten profits of an Empire maintained with the aid of armaments and resorting to violence and wars? Profits and money have been objects of worship rather than God and those higher things of life resulting in love to our fellowmen.

#### LESSONS

Unfortunately, all these tribulations have left Europe to harden her heart. She is not willing to change her mode of life. She is not willing to adjust her economic organization so that men may live in peace. She is not willing to let her trade go. Though it has been smashed to bits, yet she clings pathetically to the hope of building it up again on the same old foundations.

#### THE VAIN EFFORT

One who would look at Europe today will not fail to realize that about 150 years of mass-scale production, on a standardized basis, with a centralized organization, at a feverish rate, has ultimately led to the sorry spectacle that Europe presents today. There is dire distress, shortage of commodities,

strained human relations, fear and hatred surcharging the atmosphere and with little hope for the future. If this is the result of the methods of production that have been pursued in the past, is it not time that we take stock of our ways of life and mend them, laying emphasis more on the human relations than on material production?

#### WARS DESTRUCTIVE

Our experience has proved to the hilt that the terrible wars, that are necessary concomitants of the present economic organization of the West, are ferocious consumers. They destroy at a rate at which people can never hope to have all they need. This being so, we have to eliminate the destructive part of the present economic structure. That would mean a readjustment of the basis of social existence. Are we prepared to face the realities as they are presented by the picture of Europe today?

#### DANGEROUS DOCTRINES

Their high priests of worldly wisdom are promulgating dangerous doctrines. Public leaders, like Lord Halifax, are expounding the theory that it is not possible to combine Christian ideals in public affairs. According to him public life would follow the development of the masses and, therefore, would have much lower moral standards than the values which could be practised by the leading individuals. It is stated that it is impossible to hope to organize society on Christian principles. Christian principles are kept aloof for individuals to aspire to and not to be permeated into the everyday life of the nation.

Are these not signs that the lessons of the last two wars have not gone home and that the people are treading again on the dangerous paths which have brought about the conflagration of not only Europe but also most parts of the world? Are we still hankering for the "flesh-pots of Egypt"? Do we wish to lay emphasis on a complicated standard of life entailing the exploitation of the masses so that we may live in luxury or are we willing to "let them go so that they may serve God" through living a life that will bring peace and plenty to our fellowmen?

India stands at the threshold of a new era. Shall we learn from the plagues of Egypt, the evils of serving Mammon, forsaking the higher things of life? What shall our future be? Let the experience of Europe teach us that there is no salvation in production for production's sake, in heaping up material goods. Peace and goodwill among men are far more important. Will India give the lead and point the way of self-sufficiency as the high road to freedom from want and oppression?

J. C. KUMARAPPA

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#### LIGHT OR DARKNESS?

Twentytwo years ago I, a lost wanderer, retound my spirit's home in India. India, whose aeons of history were again repeating themselves in epics of spiritual grandeur. With what boundless inspiration and enthusiasm I plunged into the great drama of Light and Hope, unfolding itself before the war-torn, sinking world. In Bapu I found the Guiding Star: in Hinduism, the word of Truth: in India, the Mother. Little did I know that twenty-two years later I should have to see the Mother's breasts torn and bleeding with the gashes inflicted by her own children, and the word of Truth trampled under foot by the very people who call themselves Hindus.

Is it for this that we have taken our Freedom? Not to be the Land of Light, but to be the Land of Darkness?

Let us have a look at what this Land of Darkness would be like, to which the Popular Will, at least in North India, is at present perhaps heading.

It would be peopled by a race of self-styled, Superior Beings, whose spiritual intolerance would be the very negation of true Hinduism. All Muslims would be ruthlessly uprooted from their ancestral homes and driven out and in this state of affairs it would be surprising if the other non-Hindus did not share the same fate. Would the so-called untouchables be then as much Hindu as the tallest? Or would free India then relapse into caste-ridden India?

The 'Hindus', having settled matters in this way, would then look around and find that things were not quite so pleasant as they had expected. True, they would have achieved *India for the Hindus*, but they would also have achieved *Hindus for India*—that is to say Hindus would be shunned throughout the rest of the world. No longer would India be able to raise the cry of Racial Equality. No longer would she have any grounds for expecting fair, much less equal, treatment anywhere else. Instead of being the honoured leader of Asia she would become the Untouchable of the Earth!

The intoxicated orthodox Hindu mind today forgets that the only Hindu country is India. Once they had achieved their immediate object, they would find themselves imprisoned by their own 'superiority', and stewing helplessly in their own juice.

But my heart and mind refuse to accept this repulsive picture as inevitable. The Hindu nature will first regain its balance, and realize that it has been led into the darkness by a fanatical group of people who have become poisoned by the very thing they detest. It is no remedy for an evil to try and outdo it in its own line. The public must call a halt and think for themselves what is happening to them. Under the influence of fanatical propaganda they are blindly reviling the great leaders who brought them out of the Slough of Despond on to the dizzy heights of Freedom. If they heed not those men today they will slip over the precipice into the dark abyss.

New Delhi, 29-10-47

N. S. ...

## THE C. O., PACIFISTS AND NON-VIOLENCE

It is a general feeling that we are much agitated over the trend of events. They see threatening clouds gathering on the horizon. They are uncertain of the turn world affairs may take and quake before the thought of another world war. These forebodings are indicated by the many conventions and conferences held by these various groups. The Montreux Convention seeks to establish peace by a World Federal Government. The War-Resister International suggests other ways. The conscientious objectors would keep out of active participation in the fight, while others pin their faith to disarmament. All are agreed that war is barbarous and must be banished from civilized society.

### THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

The conscientious objectors represent the first awakening of the individual to the immorality of war. It is a personal affair. The C. O. sees that soldiering is murderous, personally he is not willing to take up arms against his fellow-man. For this conviction he is willing to suffer whatever punishment society inflicts on such.

The C. O. does not carry his investigations any farther. He deals with his immediate problem but does not follow up to ferret out the cause that leads to this situation. His is a short-sighted view. He deals with the symptom and not with the disease. He does not realize that perhaps his daily life is causing that situation to arise and that it may be necessary for him to readjust his mode of living. He resembles the individual who preaches prevention of cruelty to animals but insists on having his bacon for his breakfast, not realizing that his eating of bacon will call for the slaughter of the pig. He himself is not willing to do the cruel killing but his course of action brings into existence and sustains the butcher.

This is either due to want of clear thinking or due to being unprepared to face the logical consequences. In the former case it calls for further study and thought. The latter case is unworthy of a social being. If he is a willing member of a society and partakes of the common life that ultimately leads to wars, then his keeping out of participation in war is shirking his duty. If he disapproves of war, he must take to a mode of life in which war has no place. If he wants to prevent cruelty to animals he must give up eating bacon!

### PACIFISM

With the pacifist the question is not purely a personal affair. To him the problem assumes social or national dimensions. He wants peace among men. He seeks to attain it by controlling immediate contributory causes—by devising means of settling disputes and claims, by disarmament, by a Federated World Government etc. He rests his faith on curative methods.

He forgets that the parties to the dispute may be greater than the judge who will not be able to enforce his judgments. Nay, the disputants may constitute themselves as judges of their own cases!

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

When two persons are intent on fighting disarmament does not prevent the conflict. You ban the atom bomb, the "big Berthas" will be there. You remove the "big Berthas", the rifles will be there. Failing these you have the bow and arrow, the dagger or the stick. Did disarmament of Germany after World War I prevent World War II?

Neither can we place our faith on man-made law. It is as efficacious as its sanctions, which need to be effectively implemented to be of any practical use. World governments will carry us no further.

The fever may be abated by restraining the patient according to the physician's orders and confining him to bed or by applying ice bags to his head. The main thing is to diagnose the disease and treat the cause of the fever and take precaution to order the life of the patient in such a way that the fever may not be occasioned again.

### NON-VIOLENCE

We have to examine carefully to locate the causes of totalitarian wars of the type we have gone through on the last two occasions. Once we trace the cause we should have the courage of our convictions to face boldly the consequences of the treatment necessary to banish war from society, reorganize society and its mode of life on a basis that will not require periodical wars to set right its equilibrium. This means that we have to build up our daily life on the basis of non-violence. A society based on such a formation will eschew war for all time.

If we are honest to ourselves, we shall find that these wars are caused by a lop-sided development of our economic life. The quest for raw materials and fuel and the need for control of markets are the hot beds where international wars are bred. We need to adapt our modes of living to fit our capacity to satisfy our needs. If there is a discrepancy between these two, we come into conflict with our neighbours. The immensity or the form of conflict does not matter. We have to avoid occasions that give rise to competition, greed and jealousy. Are we prepared to recast our lives on these lines? The non-violent way of life will count nothing too dear a price to pay for goodwill and peace among men.

Our own analysis leads us to believe that self-sufficiency in primary needs is a *sine qua non* to the establishment of peace. No amount of ardent desire will help us unless we are prepared to remodel our national economic activity on these lines. Merely tampering with the symptoms will be of no avail as long as the provocative causes are left untouched.

Europe is sick unto death of war but it has no time to think of ways of avoiding it. Its leaders are rushing the nations headlong into so-called "Recovery Programmes" which are heading them direct to the precipice. But for the voice of Gandhi, India seems inclined to follow suit. Shall we wake up in time to be saved or shall we too be consumed in the approaching conflagration?

J. C. KUMARAPPA



## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

New Delhi, 17-11-'47

### INDIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

Yesterday I spoke about Rampur and our countrymen in South Africa. Today I feel I must deal more fully with the latter subject. I have lived in South Africa for twenty years from 1893 to 1914 with a break probably of one year. During that long and formative period of my life I came naturally in closest contact with all kinds of Indians as also with the White settlers of that sub-continent almost as big as ours. Between then and now if South Africa has risen India has made giant strides. What seemed to be impossible only the other day has happened. We need not go into the causes. The fact is that India has come into the British Commonwealth, i. e. she has exactly the same status as the Union of South Africa. Should members of one Dominion be helots in another Dominion? An Asiatic nation enters the Commonwealth for the first time in its history with the willing consent of all the members of the Commonwealth.

### INDIA IN THE COMMONWEALTH

Mark now the following message that the administrator Dr S. P. Barnard of Orange sent to the Natal Indian Congress of Durban five days after the entry of India in the Commonwealth.

"As you are celebrating Independence of the new Dominions which you consider a great day in the annals of Indian history, I hope all Indians in South Africa will now emigrate voluntarily to the new Dominions to act as missionaries of the gospel they have been taught in South Africa, namely to live in peace and order and not fight in communal riots in which hundreds are being killed in India.

### COLOUR PREJUDICE

It is worthy of note that Dr Barnard evidently doubts whether the entry was a great day. And to an he treats the Natal Indian Congress with the gratuitous advice that the Indians of South Africa should emigrate to India and become "missionaries of the gospel" they have been taught in South Africa, namely to live in peace and order and not fight in communal riots. I very much fear that this message is typical of the average White man's mind in the South African Dominion. Hence the series of disabilities on our countrymen for the crime of being Asiatics and having a coloured pigment. I appeal to the best Western mind of South Africa to revise this anti-Asiatic and anti-colour prejudice. They have an overwhelming African population in their midst. They are worse treated in some respects than the Asiatics. I urge the European settlers to read the signs of the times. Either this prejudice is wrong from every point of view or the British people and their fellow members of the great Commonwealth have made an unpardonable mistake in admitting Asiatic countries as members. Burma is about to get her independence, Ceylon will presently become a member of the Commonwealth. What does it mean? Membership of the Commonwealth is, I am taught, as good as independence, if not superior to it. Responsible men and women of these independent States need to ponder well as to what they will do with their independence. Is all this movement towards

multiplying independent States, though proper and healthy in itself to result in another war more deadly, if possible, than the last two or is it to end as it should, in the promotion of universal brotherhood?

### THOUGHTS MAKE THE MAN

"A man becomes what he thinks," says an *upanishad* mantra. Experience of wise men testifies to the truth of the aphorism. The world will thus become what its wise men think. An idle thought is no thought. It would be a serious mistake to say that it (the world) will become as the unbinking multitude act. They will not think. Independence should mean democracy. Democracy demands that every citizen has the opportunity of receiving wisdom as distinguished from a knowledge of facts so-called. South Africa has many wise men and women as it has also many able soldiers who are equally able farmers. It will be a tragedy for the world if they do not rise superior to their debilitating surroundings and give a proper lead to their country on this vexed and vexing problem of White supremacy. Is it not by this time a played out game?

### PEOPLE'S VOICE

I must keep you for a moment over the much debated question of control. Must the voice of the people be drowned by the noise of the *pandits* who claim to know all about the virtue of controls? Would that our ministers who are drawn from the people and are of the people listened to the voice of the people rather than of the controllers of the red-tape which, they know, did them infinite harm when they were in the wilderness! The *pandits* then ruled with a vengeance. Must they do so even now? Will not the people have any opportunity of committing mistakes and learning by them? Do the ministers not know that they have the power to resume control whenever necessary, if decontrol is found to have been harmful to the people, in any instance out of the samples, by no means exhaustive, that I am giving below? The list before me confounds my simple mind. There may be virtue in some of them. All I contend is that the science if it is one, of controls requires a dispassionate examination and then education of the people in the secret of controls in general or specified controls. Without examining the merits of the list I have received I pick out the few out of the samples given to me. Control on Exchange, Investment, Capital Issues, Opening branches of Banks and their investments, Insurance investments, all Import and Export of every kind of commodity, Cereals, Sugar, Ghee, Cane, and Syrup, *Tanaspati*, Textile including Woollens, Power Alcohols, Petrol and Kerosene, Paper, Cement, Steel, Mica, Manganese, Coal, Transport, Installation of Plant, Machinery, Factories, Distribution of cars in certain provinces and Tea plantation.

Birla House, New Delhi, 18-11-'47

### A. I. C. C. RESOLUTIONS

Addressing the prayer gathering this evening Gandhiji referred to the resolutions passed by the A. I. C. C. He said that they were most of them such as expected some duty to be performed by the public as also something to be done by the Central Government and the Provincial Governments.

## HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Thus, the main resolution expected every non-Muslim citizen to be fair to every Muslim citizen so as to enable him to feel perfectly secure in any part of India as to his person and property. The resolution equally demanded from the Governments, so far as it lay in their power, to afford such protection. It also expected that the Governments and the public would so act as to enable all the Muslim evacuees who had left their homes under pressure to return and take up their usual avocations. The real test was that the columns who were marching on foot towards Pakistan would feel such a change in the atmosphere as to make them turn towards their homes. He was glad to be able to say that some persons of the column that was moving from the Gurgaon District were turning homeward. If they (the public) acted correctly, he was quite sure that the whole column would follow suit.

## PANIPAT MUSLIMS C

Gandhiji said that he was informed that the case of the Panipat Muslims was somewhat of the style of the Gurgaon column. If railway conveyance was available, the Muslims might go to Pakistan under pressure. When he went to Panipat the other day, he was told that no Hindu inhabitant of Panipat wanted the Muslims to leave their homes, if only because each was helpful to the other. The Muslims were accomplished artisans, the Hindus were traders for the most part depending upon the Muslim neighbours for the supply of wares to deal in. But the advent of a large number of refugees disturbed the even tenor of their life. The speaker could not understand the change of attitude, when the occupation of Muslim houses by the refugees after his visit to Panipat signified, and the proposed exodus of the Muslims from that place. That was all contrary to the letter and spirit of the resolution he referred to. He almost felt like going to Panipat and living there and studying for himself the condition as it was reported to have developed.

## EXPECTATIONS UNDER DE CONTROL

Similarly, Gandhiji took the resolution on several controls. Every citizen, Gandhiji said, whether rich or poor, was expected not to use more food-stuff than was necessary whilst the feeling of scarcity of food lasted. When control was lifted, naturally, the expectation would be that the growers would willingly give up hoarding and make available for the public, on fair returns, the cereals and pulses they were holding and the grain-dealers would think more of selling the grain at the cheapest rate possible consistently with a reasonable profit for themselves and the Government would be expected to loosen and finally give up the control at the earliest possible moment.

The same thing, only more forcibly, applied to cloth. The most disturbing factor, however, was the information that was given to him, viz. that the members of the A.I.C.C. who voted for the resolutions were not sincere in their professions. He hoped that the information was wholly baseless and if it was so, he had no doubt that so many representatives of the people could not but bring about a healthy change in the conduct of the public, so as to restore the credit that India enjoyed on the 15th of August and for a few days after.

## Birla House, New Delhi, 19-11-47

## A DISGRACEFUL SCENE

Addressing the prayer gathering this evening Gandhiji said that the previous evening he had referred to the main resolution of the A.I.C.C. regarding Hindu-Muslim relations. It was his misfortune, he remarked, to refer on Wednesday evening to an illustration of how it was being defeated in Delhi. Little did he know that the very evening that he was expressing his misgivings, the truth would be illustrated in the heart of Old Delhi. He was told last night that there was a large crowd of Hindus and the Sikhs collected in Chandni Chowk in front of a shop that belonged to a Muslim, but which was given to a refugee on condition that the shop would have to be returned to the owner when the latter came back. Happily, the owner turned up having never wished to leave his business for ever. The officer-in-charge went to the occupant and asked him to vacate it in favour of the owner. The occupant hesitated and then promised to vacate on the officer returning in the evening for possession. He (the officer) found that the occupant instead of delivering possession had avacantly informed his friends who, it was reported, collected in a threatening mood demonstrating against the shop being vacated. The few police in Chandni Chowk were unable to cope with the crowd. So they summoned more assistance. It came and the military or the police as the case may be, fired in the air. The frightened crowd dispersed not however without stabbing a passer-by. Happily the wound was not fatal. The result of the rowdy demonstration was, however, curious. The shop in question was not vacated. Whether the authority was finally defied or whether at the time of speaking the shop had been vacated, he (the speaker) did not know. He hoped, however, that authority to be authority would never be defied with impunity under the state of the precious freedom India had attained. All he could say was that the whole thing was disgraceful. The crowd, he was told, must have numbered not less than 2,000.

In giving the version as it had come to him, Gandhiji as had underlined it. If, however, there was still room for correction and if it was brought to his notice, he would gladly share it with the audience.

## SHORTCOMINGS OF THE SIKHS

Nor was this all. In another part, an attempt was being made to force the Muslim occupants out of their places so as to make room for the Hindu and the Sikh refugees. The technique was that the Sikhs brandished their swords and terrified the Muslims threatening dire vengeance if they did not vacate their homes. He was also told that the Sikhs were given to drinking with the results which could easily be surmised. They danced with naked swords to the terror of the passers-by. He was further told that whereas in Chandni Chowk it was the custom for the Muslims not to sell *kabab* or other flesh foods in that vicinity, the Sikhs and also probably other refugees freely sold these forbidden foods in Chandni Chowk much to the annoyance of the Hindus in that locality. The nuisance had become so great that men found it difficult to pass through the crowds in Chandni Chowk for fear of receiving unwelcome attention. He wished to appeal to his refugee friends

to dissent from the practices he had described for the sake of themselves and the country.

#### CARRYING OF KIRPANS

As to the *kirpan*, Gandhiji continued, whilst there was for a short time a ban on the carrying of *kirpan* beyond a certain size, during the ban he was approached by many Sikh friends to use his influence for the removal of the ban and the prescription of a particular size. They quoted a judgement of the Privy Council which was given some years ago ruling that the *kirpan* could be carried by any Sikh without any limitation as to size. He had not read the judgement. He (Gandhiji) understood that the judges interpreted the word *kirpan* to mean a "sword" of any size. The then Punjab Government met the Privy Council judgement by declaring that it was open to anyone to possess a sword. And so, in the Punjab any citizen could carry a sword of any size as used.

He (the speaker) said that he had no sympathy either for the Sikhs or the Punjab Government. Some Sikh friends had come to him producing texts from the *Grantha Sahib* in favour of the speaker's view that the *kirpan* was never meant to be a weapon of offence or to be used anyhow. Only a Sikh who carried out the injunctions of the *Grantha Sahib* could use a *kirpan* on rare occasions of having to defend innocent women, children, old people and others against heavy odds. It was for that reason that one Sikh was supposed to be equal to one and a quarter white opponents. Therefore, a Sikh who was given to drink and indulged in other vices, forfeited the right to carry a *kirpan* as a religious symbol of purity and restraint, which is meant to be used only in the strict prescribed manner.

Gandhiji was of opinion that it was idle, even harmful, to invoke the aid of the past judgements of the Privy Council in order to justify licence. We had just got out of what the speaker had described as a state of bondage. It was wholly improper in a state of liberty to break up all healthy restraints under which alone a society could grow. He would ask the Sikh friends, therefore, not to sway the great Sikh *Panth* by using the *kirpan* in favour of any questionable conduct or behaviour. Let them not unmake what was made by arrays of martyrs of whose bravery the whole humanity was proud.

#### THE MILITARY AND THE POLICE

Gandhiji then asked the audience to have a peep into another scene. He had a description given to him of a camp in which rude behaviour was imputed to the military. An army life should be a model of cleanliness within and without of which the military and the police should become jealous guardians. He hoped, therefore, that the information given to him was by no means applicable to these guardians of law and order in general, but that it was an exception. The military and the police should really be the first to feel the glow of freedom. Let it not be said of them that they could only be well behaved under terrific restraint superimposed upon them. Let them show by their correct conduct that they could be as worthy and model citizens of India as any in the world. If these guardians of law disregarded the law itself, running the government might become an impossibility. And it would be most difficult to carry out the resolutions of the A. I. C. C. as they could be.

Having given them the gloomy side of the picture Gandhiji said that he would now give them the bright side also. He quoted from a note given to him by an eyewitness of the story of exemplary bravery.

"Mr. Maqbool Sherwani was a young brave leader of the National Conference in Baramulla. He was in the early thirties.

"On learning that he was an important leader of the National Conference the invaders tied him up to two posts in a place near the Nisalat Talkies. They beat him first and then asked him to repudiate the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and its leader Sher-e-Kashmir Sheikh Abdullah. They asked him to swear allegiance to the so-called Azad Kashmir provisional government which had its headquarters in Peshawar.

"Sherwani stoutly refused to repudiate his national organisation and told the invaders to their face that the Sher-e-Kashmir was at the head of affairs now, that Indian Union troops had arrived and that the invaders would be driven out in a few days.

"This enraged and frightened the invader gangs who riddled him with fourteen bullets. They cut off his nose and disfigured his face and stuck a noose on his body with the words

"This is a traitor

"His name is Sherwani

"This is the fate all traitors will get."

"But within 48 hours of this cold blooded murder and sadistic terror Sherwani's prophecy came true and the invaders ran pell-mell out of Baramulla with Indian Union troops hot in pursuit."

It was a martyrdom, said Gandhiji, of which anyone, be he a Hindu, Sikh, Muslim or any other, would be proud.

#### PRIDE AND FRIENDSHIP

In his concluding remarks Gandhiji said that a friend had related an instance of pride which would not be humbled even under distressing circumstances and of friendship which would stand any strain. This was the story of Narayan Singh who was an officer of long standing. He had lost his extensive property in the West Punjab. He was now in Delhi, disinclined to log on or to go under because of loss of possessions. He met an old friend whom he would not allow to condole with him as he thought nothing of the adversity that had overtaken him. The Sikh officer was glad beyond measure to meet in Ali Shah, a brother officer and common friend. Ali Shah had lost his and some misfortune had overtaken him though it was not due to communal frenzy. He was as brave as Narayan Singh and each was proud of the other's friendship. They forgot their misfortunes in that they met each other after twenty-five years' separation.

Birla House, New Delhi, 20.11.47

#### NO LONGER NON CO-OPERATION

Addressing the prayer gathering that evening Gandhiji said that he had received two letters from the same writer in one of which he said that he had given up his job and would like to work under him (Gandhiji) and the other suggested that he should sing a *bhajan* at the prayer. As to the first, as could not help saying that it was wrong

of him to have given up his job. It was true that during the British regime he had advised non-co-operation, but now there was no such thing. A man could, if he liked, even while serving somewhere for the sake of earning his livelihood, render service to his country. Every bread-winner did so if he earned his livelihood honestly and without partaking in any violence. The writer should also realize that Gandhi had nothing for him. If, however, he wanted to do some service he should offer himself to the *goshala* to which he was about to refer.

As to singing a *bhajan* at the prayer meeting it was not everybody who could be allowed to sing. Only those persons could sing by previous permission who were known to be servants of God.

#### VISIT TO OKHLA

The speaker then referred to his visit to the refugee camp at Okhla in the company of Susheta Devi and some of her co-workers. He was glad to notice the praiseworthy cleanliness about the camp. It was dotted with *dharmshalas* meant for pilgrims who visited the place at the time of fairs when, he understood, took place periodically at the place. These buildings were now utilized for the refugees. There was some difficulty about proper water supply, which the management was striving to overcome. He had no doubt that if the water supply could be guaranteed for a much larger number of refugees than the present occupants, the place was capable of giving shelter to many more.

#### OF OFFICIALS

While he was speaking on the subject of refugees, Gandhi said that he would like to draw attention to some of the shortcomings which had been mentioned to him. He was told that there was black marketing going on among the refugees themselves. The officials who were concerned in the work of looking after the refugees were not reported to be above reproach. He was told that it was not possible to get accommodation without having to bribe the officer-in-charge nor was their conduct supposed to be otherwise above reproach. Naturally, no charge could be universal, but even if there was one black-sheep among many, the many suffered in the consequence.

#### MALPRACTICES AMONG THE REFUGEES

Then he was told that the refugees themselves were not above resorting to petty thefts. He expected perfect straightforwardness from them. It was reported to him that the *resoris* that were distributed among the refugees were in some cases torn up, the cotton was thrown away and the calico was turned into shirts etc. He was told of several other things of a like nature, but he must not detain the audience over a recitation of all the misdeeds attributed to the refugees. He wanted to hasten to the subject of the evening.

#### INDIA'S CATTLE WEALTH

There was the usual annual function in connection with a *goshala* that was going on at Kishanganj in Delhi. Acharya Kripalani was to preside at the function the next day and he (Gandhi) was pressed to go there even if it was only for ten minutes. The speaker felt that he must not go to any function by way of ornament. He could do nothing in ten minutes, see nothing. And he was much too occupied with communal matters to be able to do justice to any other thing. The management realizing his helplessness excused him

and were satisfied if he said his say at the prayer meeting about the service of the cow, especially regard being had to *goshalas*. This he gladly consented to do. He had not hesitated to say that the preservation and development of the cattle wealth of India and the proper treatment of the cow and her progeny was a far more difficult task than the winning of political freedom. He claimed to be a devoted worker in the cause and to possess true knowledge of how the cow could be saved. But he confessed that somehow or other he had hitherto failed to impress the general public, i. e. the masses, with the necessity of giving proper care and attention to the problem. Those who were responsible for the management of *goshalas* knew how to finance them, but they were too ignorant to know the science of dealing with the cattle wealth of India. They did not know how to bring up the cow so as to increase her milk yield and improve the stock of bulls that she gave.

#### MANAGEMENT OF GOSHALAS

Therefore, *goshalas* throughout India, instead of being institutions where one could learn the art of properly breeding up the cattle of India and being model dairies and places where one could buy good milk, good cows, equally good breeding bulls and strong oxen, were merely places where cattle were kept somehow. The result was that instead of being the premier country in the world for exhibiting splendid cattle and where abundant pure milk could be had at the cheapest rate possible, it probably occupied the lowest rank in the matter. They did not even know how to make the best use of cattle dung and -urine, nor did they know how to make use of dead cattle, with the result that through their ignorance they lost crores of rupees. Some experts contended that the cattle-wealth was a burden on the land, fit only to be destroyed. He did not share the opinion, but if the general ignorance prevailed for any length of time he would not be surprised to find that cattle had become a burden on the land. He hoped, therefore, that the management of the *goshala* in question would apply themselves to making it a model institution from every point of view.

Birla House, New Delhi, 21-11-47

#### DAIRIES IN INDIA

Referring to the question of the protection and development of the cow in his post-prayer speech this evening Gandhi said that probably at the time he was speaking to the audience, the annual function at the *goshala* of which he spoke the previous evening, was still going on. He would like to mention one thing. He did not during his speech of the previous evening mention the various dairies conducted in India in the interest of soldiers. Dr. Rajendra Prasad had told him that the dairies were still going on. He had visited the Central Dairy in Bangalore years ago when Colonel Smuts was in charge. He saw there some beautiful cattle. One was a prize cow supposed to be the best in all Asia, yielding 75 lbs. of milk per day or at a time, he was not sure which. That cow was free to roam about without restriction and here and there was to be found fodder for the cow to which she was free to help herself. That was the bright side of the picture.

## SLAUGHTER OF CALVES

The other side he did not see but he was authentically told that most of the male calves were destroyed as they could not all be turned into draft cattle. These dairies occupied hundreds of acres of land, if not much more. It was all in the interest mainly of the European soldiers. These dairies cost several crores. He considered it to be no longer necessary now that the British Tommy was no more in India. The Indian soldier, he was sure, would feel ashamed if he knew that these expensive dairies were conducted in his behalf. He was sure also that the Indian soldier would not claim any special treatment to which the ordinary citizen was also not entitled.

## SATISH BABU ON COW

The most authentic and perhaps exhaustive literature up to date on the cow and the buffalo was to be found in the monumental work of Sri Satish Chandra Das Gupta of the Khadi Pratishthan. It was not filled with extracts from extant literature but it was based on personal experience and written during one of his imprisonments. It was translated in Bengali and Hindustani. Those who studied the book would find it of great service in promoting the well-being of India's cattle and in the endeavour to increase the yield of milk. There was in the book also a comparison between the cow and the buffalo.

## "HINDU" AND "HINDUISM"

Gandhiji then referred to a question that was sent by a member of the audience - What is a Hindu? What is the origin of the word? Is there any Hinduism?

These were pertinent questions for the time. He was no historian, he laid claim to no learning. But he had read in some authentic book on Hinduism that the word 'Hindu' did not occur in the *Vedas* but when Alexander the Great invaded India, the inhabitants of the country to the east of the Sindhu, which was known by the English-speaking Indians as the Indus, were described as Hindus. The letter 'S' had become 'H' in Greek. The religion of these inhabitants became Hinduism and as they knew it, it was a most tolerant religion. It gave shelter to the early Christians who had fled from persecution, also to the Jews known as Ben-Israel as also to the Parsis. He was proud to belong to that Hinduism which was all-inclusive, and which stood for tolerance. Aryan scholars swore by what they called the Vedic religion and Hindustan was otherwise known as Aryavarta. He had no such aspiration. Hindustan of his conception was all-sufficing for him. It certainly included the *Vedas*, but it included also much more. He could detect no inconsistency in declaring that he could without in any way whatsoever impairing the dignity of Hinduism pay equal homage to the best of Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Judaism. Such Hinduism will live as long as the sun shines. Tolstoides had summed it up in one *doha*: "The root of religion is embedded in mercy, whereas egotism is rooted in love of the body. Tolstoides says that 'Mercy' should never be abandoned, even though the body perishes."

## CAMPS IN GENERAL

Continuing Gandhiji said that the sister who was with him when he went to the Okhla camp was a little upset because she thought that his remarks about

malpractices in some refugee camps might have reference to the Okhla camp. It was impossible for him after a hurried visit to the camp to cast any such reflection upon that camp. He had taken care in the speech to refer to malpractices in the camps incidentally.

## ACT OF UNGODLINESS

Gandhiji said that he could not help mentioning the fact that according to his information about 137 mosques in Delhi were more or less damaged during the recent disturbances. Some of them were converted into *mandirs*. One such was near Connaught Place which nobody could miss. There was a tricolour flying there. It was converted into a *mandir* with the installation of an idol. He (the speaker) considered all such desecration as a blot upon Hinduism and Sikhism. It was, in his opinion, a wholly ungodly act. That the Muslims in Pakistan had resorted to such desecration could not be pleaded in extenuation of the blot he had mentioned. Any such act, in his opinion, constituted an act of destroying Hinduism, Sikhism or Islam as the case may be.

He referred the audience to the recent resolution of the A. I. C. C. on the subject.

## PERSECUTION OF ROMAN CATHOLICS

At the risk of being longer than usual, Gandhiji felt bound finally to refer to a case of persecution of the Roman Catholics near Gurgaon, which was brought to his notice. The village in question where it took place was known as Kanhai - about 25 miles from Delhi. One of his visitors was an Indian Roman Catholic Chaplain and the other was a catechist belonging to a village. They had produced to Gandhiji a letter from the Roman Catholics in the village relating the story of persecution at the hands of the Hindus. This was curiously enough a *urdu*. He understood that the inhabitants of that part of the country, whether they were Hindus or others, could only speak Hindustani and write in the *urdu* script. The informants told him that the Roman Catholics there had been threatened if they did not remove themselves from their village. He hoped that it was an idle threat and that these Christian brothers and sisters would be left to follow their own faith and avocation without let or hindrance. Surely, they were not less entitled to their freedom than they were under the British regime, now that there was freedom from political bondage. That freedom could never be confined to the Hindus only in the Union and the Muslims only in Pakistan. He had in one of his speeches already told the audience that when the mad fury against the Muslims had abated, it was likely to be vented on others; but when he made the remark he was not prepared for such an early verification of his forebodings. The fury against the Muslims had not yet completely abated. So far as he knew these Christians were utterly non-offensive. It was suggested that their offence consisted in being Christians, more so because they ate beef and pork. As a matter of curiosity Gandhiji had asked the Chaplain whether there was any truth in the remark and he was told that these Roman Catholics of their own accord, had abjured beef and pork not only now but long ago. If this kind of unreasoning prejudice persisted, the future for Independent India was dismal. The Chaplain himself had recently had his bicycle taken away from him when he was at Rawari and he narrowly escaped death.

Was this agony to end only with the extinction of all the non-Hindus and the non-Sikhs?

Gandhi said that he had no desire to live to witness such a dissolution of India and he would ask the audience to join him in the wish and prayer that good sense would return to the Hindus and the Sikhs of the Union.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 22-11-'47*

#### SONIPAT CHRISTIANS

Referring to the ill-treatment of Christians in a village near Gurgaon, Gandhi said in his after-prayer speech this evening that he had received information that somewhat similar treatment was meted out to Christians at Sonipat. There, he was given to understand that at first the missionaries were requested to allow the use of their houses for the refugees, which they gladly did and for which they were thanked too. But the thanks were turned into a curse in that their other buildings were pressed into service, and they were ultimately asked to leave Sonipat if they did not wish to find life in Sonipat too irksome for them. If the facts were as stated, evidently the plague was spreading and one would not know where the plague was to land India.

#### TIT FOR TAT?

In a discussion with some friends Gandhi was told that much improvement was not to be expected in the Indian Union unless there was abatement of the corresponding nuisance in Pakistan. What had appeared in the papers about Lahore was cited as an instance. He himself never sworn by newspaper reports and would warn readers of newspapers not to be easily affected by stories reported therein. Not even the best of them were free from exaggeration and embellishment. But supposing that what they read in the papers was true, even then a bad example was never a pattern to follow.

#### PLEA FOR RIGHT CONDUCT

Imagine, he said, a rectangular frame without a slute. The slightest rough handling of the frame would turn the right angles into acute and obtuse angles and if the frame was again rightly handled at one corner the other three would be automatically turned into right angles. Similarly, if there was right conduct on the part of the Government and the people in the Indian Union, he had not the shadow of a doubt that Pakistan would respond and the whole of India would return to sanity. Let the reported ill-treatment of the Christians against whom, so far as he knew there was no charge, be an indication that insanity must not be allowed to go further and that it should be promptly and radically dealt with if India was to give a good account of herself to the world.

#### CO-OPERATION AMONG REFUGEES

Gandhi then referred to the refugee problem. There were among them doctors, lawyers, students, teachers, nurses etc. If they tore themselves away from poor fellow refugees, they would not have learnt the lesson from their common misfortune. He felt that all of them, professionals and non-professionals, rich and poor, should hold together and establish model townships as named men of Lahore had built the model town of Lahore, which the Hindus and the Sikhs had felt compelled to evacuate. These townships would remove the pressure from crowded

cities like Delhi and they would promote the health and well-being of the inmates. If over two lakhs of refugees in the big camp of Kurukshetra became a model for purity within and without, if the people including the professionals and the rich men lived on equal terms with the poor refugees and led a life of contentment under canvas, with well laid-out streets and in perfect voluntary co-operation, doing all the services beginning with sanitation themselves and occupied themselves usefully throughout the day, they would cease to be a burden on the exchequer and their simplicity and co-operation would not only compel admiration from the city-dwellers but would also shame them into imitating them in all their good points. The prevailing bitterness and mutual jealousies would vanish in a moment. The refugees, no matter how many they were, would cease to be a matter of worry to the Central Government as also to the local Governments. Such an exemplary life lived by tens of lakhs of refugees would command the admiration of the distracted world.

#### GOVERNMENT'S DILEMMA

The last subject Gandhi referred to was the proposed removal of controls especially on food and cloth. The Government had hesitation in removing the controls because they feared that there was real scarcity of foodstuffs and cloth in the land and that, therefore, there might be an inflation of prices which would hit hard the poor people, who were supposed, through these controls, to keep the wolf from the door and cover their nakedness. They suspected the honesty of the merchants, the growers and the middlemen. They feared that they were waiting hawk-like for the day of removal of controls so that they might prey upon the poor people and fill their pockets with ill-gotten gains. It was for them a choice of two evils and they considered the present control as a lesser evil.

#### APPEAL TO THE BUSINESS CLASS

Gandhi, therefore, appealed to the mercantile classes, growers and middlemen to disarm the suspicion and assure the authorities that decontrol would not only not lead to inflation but would lead to the comparative happiness of the poor people and ease if not eradicate blackmarketing and corruption.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 23-11-'47*

#### SILENCE AT PRAYER

In his after-prayer speech Gandhi exhorted the audience to observe silence which had become the usual thing but which was broken through the murmur among women, of whom there was a large number present that evening. On his drawing the attention of the audience to the murmur, there was complete silence.

#### OVERSTEPPING LIMIT

He then apologized to the radio man for his occasional breach of the rule that his speech should not exceed twenty minutes, not even fifteen, if possible. He said that he could not always observe the rule for his main purpose was to reach the hearts of the audience that was physically before him. The radio came next. He did not know whether there was any arrangement whereby the radio could record longer speeches. He was not in

the habit of speaking without purpose or for the sake of hearing his own voice.

#### VIOLENCE NOT JUSTIFIED

Gandhi then turned to a written question which had been sent to him by a member of the audience. He had asked whether a person whose right was in danger could not defend it violently. The speaker's answer was that violence in reality defended no right and no one. If every right flowed from duty well-performed, then it was unassailable. Thus he had a right to his wage only when he had fully performed the duty undertaken by him. If he took the wage without doing his work, it became theft. He could not associate himself with continuous insistence on rights without reference to the performance of duties on which the rights depended and from which they flowed.

#### PERSECUTION OF HARIJANS

Then the speaker came to the reported attack on the Harijans' liberty in Rohtak and elsewhere by the Jats. This was nothing new. Interference with the liberty of the Harijans was in vogue during the British regime too. What was, however, new was that the persecution had become more pronounced instead of dying out during their newly-acquired freedom. Did not the freedom belong to every one of India, no matter to what strata of society he belonged? Was the Harijan still the serf that he was upto the other day? In his opinion one wrong led to another. Our misbehaviour, irrespective of the doings in Pakistan, towards our Muslim brethren led to our ill-treatment of the Christians. Our conduct regarding the Harijans pointed in the same direction. The Harijan Savak Sangh was established to undo the wrong done by the rest of the Hindus to the Harijans who were misdescribed as untouchables and treated as such. If we had realized the full significance of the change that came upon India on the 15th of August last, the glow of freedom would have been felt by the meanest in the land. We would then have been spared the awful events of which we had been helpless witnesses. It seemed as if everybody was working for his own advancement and nobody for India.

#### National Guards

"The Pakistan Government are sure to raise a volunteer army called National Guards or by some other name. What are the Hindus to do, if they are asked to join? What are they to do, if the army is confined only to the Muslims," asks a correspondent from East Bengal.

This is a difficult question to answer in the present state of things. Almost every Muslim is a suspect in the Union and every Hindu or Sikh likewise in Pakistan, West or East. If there is a hearty invitation, I would advise joining the body, assuming of course that the terms are equal and there is no interference with one's religion. If there is no such invitation, I should, for the time being, submit to the exclusion without harbouring any resentment.

New Delhi, 23-11-'47

M. K. G.

#### A TIMELY REMINDER FROM MILTON

[A reader sends the following quotation from Milton who advised his countrymen about three centuries ago, when they threw off the yoke of the king. Even to us, who have just got out of British domination, it is an apt counsel. — J. C. K.]

"It is of no small consequence, O my countrymen! whether for the acquisition or retention of Liberty what sort of persons you are yourselves. Unless by true and sincere piety towards God and men, not vain and wordy, but efficacious and active, you drive from your souls all superstitious sprang from ignorance of true and solid religion, you will always have those, who will make you their beasts of burden and sit upon your backs and necks. They will put you up for sale as their easily-gotten booty, (all your victories in war and political campaigns notwithstanding) and make a rich income out of your ignorance and superstition.

"Unless you expel—

1 Avarice 2 Ambition 3 Luxury from your minds, ay, and expel luxurious living also from your families, then the tyrant you thought you had to seek externally you will find in your own home you will find within yourselves a still harder taskmaster: nay, there will sprout daily out of your own vitals a numerous brood of intolerable tyrants.

"Know that, as to be free is the same thing exactly as to be pious, wise, just, temperate, self-providing, abstinent from the property of other people, and in fine, magnanimous and brave so to be the opposite of all this is the same as being a slave; and by the customary judgment of God and a thoroughly just law of retribution, it comes to pass that a nation that cannot rule and govern itself, but has surrendered itself in slavery to its own lusts is surrendered also to other masters, whom it does not like, and made a slave not only with its will, but against its will. It is a thing ratified by law and nature (lower) herself that whosoever through imbecility or frenzy of mind cannot rightly administer his own affairs, should not be in his own power, but should be given over as a minor to the government of others."

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# MARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor : PYARELAL

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AHMEDABAD SUNDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1947

TWO ANNAS

## GANDHIJ'S ADDRESS TO SIKHS ON GURU NANAK'S BIRTHDAY

### RULES OF SOCIAL CONDUCT

I fear that I might not be able to say all that I want to. I had also hoped that you having gone through the military machine would observe perfect silence. But the discipline has not reached the sisters and, therefore, they are not able to observe the laws of public meetings. I had the same experience when, some years ago, I was in Amritsar. You will admit that the fault lies with the men. As I entered the meeting place I saw the remains of bananas and oranges thrown about anyhow. These have not only made the place dirty, but dangerous to walk. We should learn to keep the roads and footpaths as clean as the floors in our houses. In the absence of proper receptacles I have noticed disciplined people putting these in a piece of paper and then temporarily in their pockets until they are cast in their places. It is the duty of men, if they have learnt the rules of social conduct, to teach them to the women-folk.

### MOTHER'S BITTER PILL

Today Bawa Bachittar Singh came to me in the morning and insisted that I should attend the Guru Nanak's birthday celebration. He told me that probably over a lac of men and women had assembled there, and that most of them would be sufferers from West Pakistan. I hesitated because I felt that many Sikhs had been displeased with me. Bawa Sahab nevertheless insisted and said that I would say my say before the meeting. I yielded and felt that even as a mother often gives bitter pills to her children, I would take the liberty of saying things, which might appear to be bitter. In reality and in effect they are meant for your good. My mother often used to administer bitter drugs, but I could not feel elsewhere the comfort that her lap provided for me. Whatever I have said to you up to now, I do not regret. I have said those things as your sincere friend and servant. I have with me Sardar Datar Singh's daughter. You perhaps know him. He has lost his all in East Punjab. He was the owner of large tracts of land and several hundred fine cattle. He has lost many relatives and dear friends in Montgomery, but I am glad to be able to tell you that he has not shed a single tear over the misfortune nor has he felt any bitterness towards the Muslims. I would like you to follow his example. Sikh friends have told me that one Sikh is considered equal to 1,25,000 men. Where is that bravery today? Have things come to such a

pass that a minority of Muslims cannot live in your midst with perfect safety?

I am free to admit that the mischief commenced in Pakistan, but the Hindus and the Muslims of East Punjab and the neighbouring districts have not been behindhand in copying the mischief. The difference is that the Hindus have not the courage of the Sikhs, who know how to use the sword.

### THE SHER-E-KASHMIR

You see Sheikh Abdulla Sahab with me. I was disinclined to bring him with me, for, I know there is a great gulf between the Hindus and the Sikhs on the one side and the Muslims on the other. But Sheikh Sahab, known as the Lion of Kashmir, although a pucca Muslim has won the hearts of both by making them forget that there is any difference between the three. He had not been embittered. Even though in Jammu recently the Muslims were killed by the Hindus and the Sikhs, he went to Jammu and invited the evil-doers to forget the past and repent over the evil they had done. The Hindus and the Sikhs of Jammu listened to him. Now the Muslims and the Hindus and the Sikhs of Kashmir and Jammu are fighting together to defend the beautiful valley of Kashmir. I am glad, therefore, that you are receiving the two of us with cordiality.

### BEGIN A NEW CHAPTER

Let this auspicious day mark the beginning of a new chapter in your life. Let the disgrace of driving out the Muslims from Delhi cease from today. I found to my shame that as our motor-car was passing through Chandani Chowk, which used to be filled with the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims, I did not notice a single Muslim passer-by. Surely we have not come to such a pass as to be afraid of the minority of the Muslims scattered throughout the Indian Union. If there are any traitors in their midst, our Government is strong enough to deal with them. We must be ashamed of hurting children, women or old men. Every man must be considered innocent before he is found guilty by a properly constituted court of law.

I fervently hope that such misdeeds will become now a thing of the past. The *kurpan* is a symbol of sanctity to be exhibited and spent in defence of the helpless and the innocent. The tenth and the last guru undoubtedly wielded the sword, but never, so far as I know, at the expense of the weak. He had imposed many restraints upon himself. He had many reputed Muslim disciples. So had the other gurus beginning with Nanak Sahab. Your bravery will be testified when all those who belong to different faiths including Muslims become your sincere friends.

Intoxicating drinks, drugs, dancing, debauchery and the vices to which many of us become addicted are not for the followers of the *gurus* and the *Granth Sahib*. With the *Granth Sahib* as my witness, I ask you to make the resolution that you will keep your hearts clean and you will find that all other communities will follow you.

### ALL INDIA LEPROSY WORKERS CONFERENCE

The Conference of All India Leprosy Workers met at Wardha at the end of October. Inclusion of leprosy relief work in the nation's constructive programme by Gandhiji has of late focussed everybody's attention on the subject. Prof. T.N. Jagadisan, who is an ex-patient himself and an enthusiastic worker in the field, had suggested an All India Leprosy Workers Conference last year. The matter was placed before the Advisory Medical Board of the Kasturba Trust in March this year. Dr. Gilder who is a member of the Board welcomed the idea. Just at that time Sind had proposed a bill for compulsory sterilization of leprosy patients and there was much discussion on the subject. Dr. Gilder said that such a conference would be able to give some guidance to the Public Health authorities also. In May, at a joint meeting of the Kasturba Trust provincial agents and the Advisory Medical Board, it was decided that the Maharogi Sevamandal should call the Conference at Wardha. It was hoped that Gandhiji would be able to attend it, but the events in the country prevented him from doing so. Rajkumar Amrit Kaur, the Health Minister at the Centre, also could not leave Delhi and it was feared that Dr. Jivraj Mehta, the Chairman of the Advisory Medical Board, who had become the Director-General of the Health Services, would also not be able to attend. It was suggested that the Conference be postponed. But the dates had been fixed and the response from leprosy workers all over the country had been so good that it was not considered right to postpone it and damp their enthusiasm. Ultimately Dr. Jivraj Mehta did make time to attend the Conference for two days and Dr. Gilder came for one day. There were about a hundred delegates who fell into four main groups

1. Those who had been patients themselves.
2. Medical men and women engaged in leprosy work.
3. Lay workers mainly engaged in activities connected with the constructive programme.
4. Administrative authorities representing the Central and Provincial Governments.

Welcoming the delegates on behalf of the Maharogi Sevamandal, Shri Jajuji, the President of the Mandal said that though in India the incidence of leprosy was very high and was still on the increase, people were not awakened to the need of taking proper precautions and even the Government had done very little to tackle the problem. Addressing the workers he said, "Instead of saying, 'I heartily welcome you', I like to say, 'I humbly bow to you'." It was due to their tireless

efforts and researches that in the place of frustration, today there was hope for the patient and reason for the public to shed fear.

Shri Jajuji also explained how in the course of the village uplift work, the constructive workers had come across the ravages of leprosy in the villages and the result was the establishment of the Maharogi Sevamandal. In fact, it was this experience that had induced Gandhiji to include leprosy work in the constructive programme.

Giving a report of the work of the Maharogi Sevamandal later, Shri Manohar Diwan said, "As Gandhiji has said this is a mission of compassion and service. They may be rid of the malady or not, they can dedicate themselves to the service of their own brethren. Leprosy work is not merely medical relief. It is transforming the frustration in life into joy of dedication and personal ambition into selfless service of others. If you can transform the life of a patient or change his values of life, you can change the village and the country. Therefore, this is included in the constructive programme."

Declaring the Conference open Shri Thakkar Bapa paid glowing tributes to the Mission for Lepers who had been serving the leprosy-stricken all the world over for the last seventy-five years. He had followed their annual reports for the last twenty years with love and admiration waiting for the day when the work would be taken up by the Indians themselves. He was glad to note that the day had arrived at last. It was probably the first popular Conference of its kind where the experts and laymen had assembled together to work for a common cause. He emphasized the need for educating the public with regard to the basic facts about leprosy, that it was not an incurable disease and that only about 20% of the patients were infectious. It had been at his instance that service of leprous women and children had been included in the draft of the Kasturba Trust. It had surprised and horrified some.

Leprosy unlike Tuberculosis was a rural disease and should be treated in villages. There was need for more institutions, homes, hospitals and dispensaries for the patients. The governments should not rest content with giving grants and doles to the Mission for Lepers, British Empire Leprosy Relief Association etc. They should take up the work themselves in right earnest. There was a need for a large number of medical and non-medical workers to run small village leprosy centres. The organization to produce workers should be non-official, the governments encouraging and advising when necessary.

Mr. Donald Miller, General Secretary to the Mission to Lepers, thanking the convenors of the Conference for the kind reference made by them to the work of the Mission, said, "I, on behalf of the Society I represent, viz. the Mission to Lepers, can assure you of our heartiest welcome to the indigenous efforts being made for the establishment of an Indian Leprosy Organization through this important Conference, which is undoubtedly unique of its kind."

This morning I had a talk with Shri Jajaji about the strong currents of materialism against which those with loyalty to great truths have to battle. Shri Jajaji said that if we had faith strong enough to adhere to our principles and ideals we could move mountains. And that is true. If there is but a small body at the beginning with faith enough to go forward and battle against prejudice and indifference, then there will certainly be in the end a great movement which will bring a new life and hope to those who now are so much in need of friendship and help. After I had left India in 1942 and worked in London, I was impressed with the way in which friends there would send out their help for the leprosy work in India. After a night of bombing I would receive a contribution with the note: 'Our home was spared last night. Here is our bit for those in India who are homeless.' Or again, there were people whose houses had been bombed and who sent in their contribution for work with the note: 'Now we know what it is to be homeless, and here is our contribution for fellow-sufferers in India.' These friends would rejoice to see such a gathering as the one today. And I, on behalf of these and other friends of the Mission, convey greetings to you. Love is something international, or rather super-national; and by love shown in constructive service, this age-old problem can be solved and then the fair name of India will shine even more brightly in the years to come."

Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar emphasized the need for providing some kind of social life for the patients besides the medical treatment and general care. He also reminded the social workers that after segregating the patient, arrangements had to be made to look after his dependents. He advocated mixed homes rather than separate ones for men and women so that they could develop a common social life. Differences of caste and creed should be ignored. The patients should form a community by themselves and evolve a religion of service, self-restraint and self-sacrifice.

As large numbers of leprosy cases gravitate to religious places as beggars, he advocated starting of leprosy homes or asylums at these religious places.

For patients who had gone beyond hope of recovery and wished to end their lives, he pleaded for euthanasia. "We offer clothing to the naked and shivering, and protection to those who are in fear. Is it not our duty to administer death to those who seek it, after all efforts at cure have failed and life has become a burden and a torture?" he said. Of course, there would be need for careful safeguards against the misuse of a truly humane provision.

Dr Jivraj Mehta in his Presidential address dealt with the extent of the problem. Out of five million leprosy patients in the world approximately one million were in India. Of these 2,50,000 were considered to be infectious. This had to be borne in mind while considering the ways and means of segregation. While emphasizing the need for better organization of effective anti-leprosy programme, he mentioned difficulties in the way, the most impor-

tant of which was a lack of accurate scientific knowledge with regard to etiology, incubation period etc. Were all infectious cases to be treated alike? How far could differentiation be made between such cases in regard to travel, participation in public affairs, even life in a common home, taking into consideration such factors as low infectivity of the disease, the prolonged and relatively close contact necessary for its transmission and relative insusceptibility of the adult? How far were the restrictions which law imposed on leprosy patients with regard to railway travel, and use of other forms of transport, justified from the point of view of public safety?

In view of the fact that leprosy is mainly a rural disease, the workers to be trained should be mainly from the villages and, in the course of training, emphasis should be laid on social service. He recommended Prof. Jagadisan's plea for balance between the older approach where emphasis was laid on the needs of the individual, influenced by the missionary spirit "inspired by compassion for the needy" and the newer approach where public health was a great factor.

Lastly, the Chairman touched the proposal for reorganization of the British Empire Leprosy Association (Indian Branch) so that the title and the constitution were more in keeping with the change of times. This was approved of by all the delegates in subsequent discussions. The Chairman also appealed to prominent social workers to take more interest in the problem and help arouse public conscience.

The papers read out at the Conference were varied and several of them were of high quality and the discussions were free and friendly. It was emphasized that in free India, it was the duty of the Government to take up the full responsibility of leprosy work. Those representing the administration pointed out their difficulties and asked the public workers not to slacken their efforts as the Government was too preoccupied at the moment. Several useful resolutions were passed. These can be had from the office at Wardha.

The Conference closed after appointing a small committee of experts and laymen social workers, to see to the implementation of those resolutions. New Delhi, 1-12-'47 S. N.

#### FOR AGENTS

Agents are requested to take note of the following :

1. Please remember that agents have to deposit with us an amount covering the price of their demand for two months. A month's deposit will be treated as fixed and the other as current. Every week the cost of the copies sent to them would be deducted from the current deposit.

2. The amounts for the deposits are usually sent by the agents by cheques. Please note that we do not accept cheques. The amount should be remitted either by M. O., Postal Order or by a bank draft.

MANAGER

# HARIJAN

December 7

1947

## NO COMPARISON POSSIBLE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend asked me the other day whether I shared the opinion often expressed that as between nationalism and religion, the former was superior to the latter. I said that the two were dissimilars and that there could be no comparison between dissimilars. Each was equal to the other in its own place. No man who values his religion as also his nationalism can barter away the one for the other. Both are equally dear to him. He renders unto Caesar that which is Caesar's and unto God that which is God's. And if Caesar, forgetting his limits, oversteps them, a man of God does not transfer his loyalty to another Caesar, but knows how to deal with the usurpation. A rehearsal of this difficulty gave rise to *satyagraha*.

Take a homely illustration. Suppose I have mother, wife and daughter. All the three must be equally dear to me in their own places. It is a vulgar error to think that a man is entitled to forsake his mother and his daughter for the sake of his wife. He dare not do the converse. And if any of the three oversteps her limits, the law of *satyagraha* comes to his assistance for the restoration of the equilibrium of the three forces.

New Delhi, 28-11-'47

## ITS WISE USE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"You are as much in touch with the refugees as anyone else. Their tales of woe are heartrending. From being well-to-do a few weeks ago they are today reduced to penury. In the case of the medical profession its members have not been able to bring away any equipment, instruments and even medical books have been taken from them, personal belongings and money have had to be left behind. They are utterly penniless, homeless and without occupation. They are at a loss to know what to do.

"You have often said in your post-prayer speeches that the calamity that has overtaken us is in the nature of a testing time for us. Whether we come through it victorious or defeated depends on ourselves. While one's whole heart goes out in sympathy to the refugees, it must be admitted that there is a certain amount of lack of resourcefulness in them which adds to their misery. Most doctors and *vaid*s who have been deprived of lucrative practices in the various towns of Pakistan have only one demand and that is to be allotted a shop or quarters in what they consider a good locality in Delhi or in the case of men and women who have been displaced from service, they demand re-employment by some Government. In the very nature of things only a limited number out of the thousands

that have been displaced can hope to get the desired accommodation. Even if all were to get it, they could not all possibly build up a practice for themselves in one town. The persons who are not fortunate enough to get quarters consider that they have not had a fair deal. I feel that something from your pen in the nature of advice to these people would show them the right path.

"Ours is a land which needs service in every sphere. All members of all branches of the medical profession, in particular, should not find it hard to lose themselves in service if they were prepared to settle down in a small township or in some village from where they could render not only medical aid but teach people how to live cleanly and well in order to avoid disease. Personally I see no reason why all members of the medical and teaching professions should not be absorbed straightaway in Government service if Governments really mean to carry out their rural uplift programmes in practice. In the long run even private practice in the head quarters of a sub-division or in a village itself should offer more than a living wage to any man or woman willing to do without such amenities as town life has afforded them, perhaps not always for their own good. If they were efficient, honest and sympathetic they would definitely become assets to the State instead of the burden which they are today. The calamity that has befallen us would then be turned into a blessing."

This letter is from a correspondent who knows everything about this tragedy. I have not the least doubt that this tragedy can be turned to good account by the correct behaviour of the sufferers, as also that of the people amongst whom their lot is cast for the time being. In this consummation, I have no doubt that all specially qualified men and women such as doctors, lawyers, *vaid*s, *hakims*, nurses, traders and bankers should make common cause with the others and lead a co-ordinated camp life in perfect co-operation, feeling not like helpless dependents on charity, but resourceful, independent men and women making light of their sufferings and looking forward to a life enriched by their sufferings, a life full of promise for the future and worthy of imitation by the people amongst whom the camp life is lived.

Then when the professional people have been inured to corporate unselfish life and when they can be spared from these camps, they would branch out into villages or otherwise, shedding the fragrance of their presence wherever they may happen to be.

New Delhi, 30-11-'47

## NOTICE

Files of Volume X of the three Harijan weeklies the *Harijan* (English), the *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati) and the *Harijansevak* (Hindustani) of the year beginning with 10-2-'46, and ending with 26-1-'47, bound in cardboard cover and *khadi* back are available at this office.

Price Rs. 8-0-0. Postage & packing Rs. 1-0-0

MANAGER

## "DO NOT LOSE HEART"

The following is from Madame Edmond Privat's letter dated 21 August, 1947, to Gandhi:

"Today I feel I must tell you how very deeply we have been moved by the late great events occurring to India, I mean her liberation and how we rejoiced over it."

"Yes, we know that you are not Lappy about it all—we read your article in the *Harijan*, but O Bapu! Do not lose heart, think, O do think of the significance it means for us in the Occident: That India did her revolution without shedding the blood of her opponent and was liberated, is an immense progress on the part; it is a point reached in history without precedent on such a scale."

"O Bapu! For us in the Occident, just emerging from a terrific bath of blood, cannot you see how bright, luminous, divine appears to us the new dawn in India?"

"Do be consoled, encouraged, braced up by our joy, our wonderful hope; you whom we regard not only as our spiritual leader, but also as an example of a man who has lived his faith fully in the day-to-day without losing his sense of proportion or humour. After all, is it not you who have taught us this precious message of your religion, to work with all our heart without expecting any result, leaving the rest in God's care? Well, you did what you did with all your faith and courage and now God shows us what can be achieved by non-violence as a wonderful hope, the only means for us to save our civilization from destruction. That the non-violence used was not always perfect was perhaps the case, but certainly the sincere efforts of your good people inspired by you, was there, I am convinced."

"Let us hope that we shall be worthy of this message and use it here to its full possibility."

"It is true, only a few people here understand its real meaning, but the soil is ready to receive."

"Let us work heart within and God overhead."

"Your article in *Harijan* of 27th July, 1947, to which I was alluding at the beginning of this letter, is going to appear, translated by Edmond in the next *Essor*. (In fact the whole number is on India.)"

"I am glad for the readers of *Essor* that they should see once more this point emphasized by you and their attention drawn energetically to it, i.e. the fundamental difference between passive resistance and non-violence."

"The more I think about it the more I am convinced that people do not grasp, cannot grasp this difference. They use passive resistance and, not succeeding, they get discouraged, though yet they may be perfectly sincere in their endeavours."

"Often the fact is that people unconsciously lie to themselves."

"That is why lately I have been trying to get a little knowledge about psycho-analysis. Formerly one used to explain to people that one had to be aware of the great guile of Satan in his working in our heart."

"Nowadays people want more scientific methods to reach at truth and, apart from therapeutic

means to cure neurosis, psycho-analysis can help normal people to get clear with the mechanisms of their feelings and attain thus a fuller consciousness which enables them, if they are sincere, to use really non-violence."

To this letter Gandhi replied:

"I see that you have grasped the fundamental difference between passive resistance and non-violent resistance. Resistance both forms are, but you have to pay a very heavy price when your resistance is passive, in the sense of the weakness of the resister. Europe mistook the bold and brave resistance full of wisdom by Jesus of Nazareth for passive resistance, as if it was of the weak. As I read the New Testament for the first time, I detected no passivity, no weakness about Jesus as depicted in the four gospels and the meaning became clearer to me when I read Tolstoy's *Harmony of the Gospels* and his other kindred writings. Has not the West paid heavily in regarding Jesus as a Passive Resister? Christendom has been responsible for the wars which put to shame even those described in the old Testament and other records, historical or semi-historical. I know that I speak under correction for I can but claim very superficial knowledge of history—modern or ancient."

"Coming to my personal experience, whilst we undoubtedly got through passive resistance our political freedom, over which lovers of peace like you and your good husband of the West are enthusiastic, we are daily paying the heavy price for the unconscious mistake we made or better still, I made in mistaking passive resistance for non-violent resistance. Had I not made the mistake, we would have been spared the humiliating spectacle of weak brother killing his weak brother thoughtlessly and inhumanly."

"I am only hoping and praying and I want all the friends here and in other parts of the world to hope and pray with me that this blood-bath will soon end and out of that, perhaps, inevitable butchery, will rise a new and robust India—not warlike, basely imitating the West in all its hideousness, but a new India learning the best that the West has to give and becoming the hope not only of Asia and Africa, but the whole of the aching world."

"I must confess that this is hoping against hope, for, we are today swearing by the military and all that naked physical force implies. Our statesmen have for over two generations declaimed against the heavy expenditure on armaments under the British regime, but now that freedom from political servitude has come, our military expenditure has increased and still threatens to increase and of this we are proud! There is not a voice raised against it in our legislative chambers. In spite, however, of the madness and the vain imitation of the tinsel of the West, the hope lingers in me and many others that India shall survive this death dance and occupy the moral height that should belong to her after the training, however imperfect, of an unbroken period of thirty-two years since 1915."

New Delhi, 29-11-47

## REVOLUTION THROUGH THE BROOM

[This article was written in September 1946, after 3 months of work as in-charge of community cleaning. It was, however, only recently polished up. —D P.]

Gandhiji has conceived of *Nayee Talim* "as the spear-head of a silent social revolution fraught with the most far-reaching consequences." One of his mighty weapons for this revolution is the broom. We begin the day in Sevagram with half an hour of community cleaning in which almost the entire resident community of about a hundred and fifty takes part. The work ranges from the cleaning of urinals and latrines to the sweeping of roads and compounds. To the newly arrived students of the Training College it was a nasty experience to have to attend to the disposal of urine and night-soil every morning and to spoil the rarefied air of the celestial hours by clouds of dust. And then it seemed so unnecessary. There were the *bhanga* to do all this! The students would not accept, at least emotionally, the simple fact that it was their duty to clean the dirt for which they were responsible. It was not without considerable difficulty that the pangs of the birth of new social attitudes passed away, if they can be said to have done completely even now. But after three months of work we seem to be well on the road to recovery.

### AUTO-ORGANIZATION

This entire corporate activity is self-directed. Though the final charge lies in the hands of a member of the staff, the students of the Training College as well as of the Basic School have their own elected ministers, whom the staff member guides and on whom the staff member throws more and more responsibility as the year proceeds and the newcomers get accustomed to our way of life.

### SURVEY

Before starting, a survey of the work to be done had to be carried out. It was divided into two categories: recurring and non-recurring. The first was done every day. The second needed only occasional attention and included mostly the many 'black spots' of our locality. A stock of the equipment at our disposal was also taken.

### DISTRIBUTION OF WORK

Then came the most difficult part of the job. Distribution of work among nearly 150 persons of different types and of all ages, with vast temperamental and intellectual differences, was not easy. The period under consideration was an experimental one in which certain principles were applied, tested and improved in the light of experience.

### PLANNING

The following principles were observed as far as possible.

1. None should be given more work than his or her physical capacity could bear.

2. An attempt was made to see that nobody was left out. For that, it was found necessary to keep a list of the total strength of the available man-power, ready at hand. The grade of each pupil was also noted against his name. Other duties to

which some people attended at the time of community cleaning were also kept in view.

3. The children were grouped together with the students of the Training College to exploit the imitative instinct of the child. It gave the Training College students an opportunity for handling children at work and thus provided them with excellent lessons in practical teaching, as Basic Education was education through work. As the Training College students were new and the children were new to the work, they were made leaders of the various groups. The children took up their duties with confidence and dictated the nature of the work to be done to the elders which appeared sometimes arrogant to them. Then a worse thing happened. The elders were, of course, lazy in the beginning. The children took their cue from them, and started coming late and neglecting their duty. They were being swamped by the newcomers. So the two have been separated, and the result has been good. Perhaps the stage of association will come a little later. A social architect has continually to feel the pulse of society and change his remedy as often as the disease dictates.

4. Inter-provincial grouping, however, could not be consciously adopted at this stage, because of certain difficulties. But still provinces rubbed shoulders with provinces. It was unfortunate that English formed the medium of conversation amongst many. But those who were free from the handicap of knowing English were forced to resort to all sorts of primitive devices, gesticulations, use of key words picked up, etc., and soon learnt the language of each other sufficient to make themselves understood. The children not knowing English, acted as a sobering influence. The fact that a large number of English-knowing and English-speaking people — and proud of the fact too — were put under the children whose instructions they were not able to follow due to the language difficulty, provided many opportunities for amusement. Gulliver was in Lalpoot.

5. Similarly we were not able to group men and women together for various reasons, and hence another opportunity of studying group activity containing different types, and of attempting to create right attitudes, was missed.

6. In grouping, first of all, the attempt was to divide the work into separately recognizable units and allot each unit of work an intelligently anticipated number of persons, varied in the light of later experience. Later, however, this method was given up and it was found that it was much more convenient and economical to divide the whole work into nearly equal groups of units and allot each group a fixed number. Then any time the duties have to be changed one has just to rotate the circle on to the next point and the duties of all the groups automatically get changed. This system of grouping and rotation had the advantage of allowing sufficient time for people in a group to develop the group spirit. A proper rotation of duties is very essential. It prevents fatigue through monotony, avails of the enthusiasm for a new venture and gives an opportunity to do and learn

all the different types of work that are there. But care should be taken to see that the period for which one's duty lasts should not be too small for him to get familiar with it.

7. It was felt that the theoretical plan should be carefully made and strictly adhered to. But in order to be able to do so it was found very necessary to make an intelligent anticipation of expected disturbances, especially from other departments. Co-ordination of the activities of various departments was found to be, as usual, the most difficult part of the job. Mostly duties used to be changed after a week. Every Thursday, therefore, we were found poring over the lists of cleaning work and kitchen work the kitchen being the department with which our plans most often clashed. The tentative lists were then shown to the in-charge of kitchen work, the in-charge of women, the in-charge of children, and others for suggesting necessary changes.

In the theoretical plan, however, there should be an element of elasticity. For, life is changing, and as a Basic School reflects life, there must be room for change in the plan also. For this purpose man-power was divided into two parts. In one the number of men and the equipment they would require was fixed. This group performed daily recurring duties. The second was reserved for meeting the changing needs of the community. They were called the Reserve Squad. It also accommodated man-power released from elsewhere or newcomers whose names had not been included in the regular list.

8. Again here, as in any large scale organization unity of control was found to be absolutely essential. So was strict discipline. As it could only be based in our case on non-violence and self-discipline, it was a matter of slow growth.

#### EQUIPMENT

A word about equipment. Before starting work an intelligent anticipation of the demands of various groups was made, and sufficient equipment was collected. For, nothing is so demoralizing as lack of equipment. A list of equipment allotted to various groups pasted at the place of distribution is very helpful.

#### EXECUTION

The plan having been prepared, the participants were made fully aware of it before it was put into operation. It is by no means an easy thing when such a large number of people, including children of all ages, are involved. Therefore, the attempt was always to see that lists supplying that information were carefully and plentifully exhibited in the school, the hostels and any other place of gathering.

Just before the work started the person responsible for distributing equipment went and placed the requirement of each group in front of the label bearing its name. Then everybody would come, pick up the equipment and after the work was finished put it back there to be checked by the person concerned with the collection of

instruments. The question of instruments is, however, the most difficult part of the job and the manner of distribution will have to be adjusted to suit the type of persons at any place. Considerable difficulty will, however, be avoided if only the captain of each group takes and returns the equipment. Then the person responsible for distribution knows where to fix responsibility when anything is found missing or damaged.

The work having started, the assistants of the ministers for cleanliness went about watching, noting the various difficulties encountered and collecting data especially with a view to economizing man-power and equipment, without which work ceased to be educational. After a day or two the ministers and their assistants sat together to discuss things and made necessary changes in the theoretical plan, which were announced to the persons concerned. These meetings of the 'Safai Cabinet' should be as frequent as possible to discuss matters with a view to keep up continued improvement.

Again the 'Safai Minister' with the help of his assistants used to be on the look-out for capable, enthusiastic persons, whom he tried to put in key positions. They acted as dynamic centres to get the whole mass moving. To some extent reliable data was also collected through them.

The attempt to work out units for each kind of work that go to make it easily measurable and comparable with other types of work has not yet been made. Regular exhibition of the records of work done in terms of comparable units can also be a powerful means of indirectly stimulating those who are accustomed to work carelessly and slowly. Graphs can also be a good index of the progress of work, the change in the psychology of the pupils and their efficiency.

#### ASSESSMENT

Three months of community cleaning has convinced us that the broom can be a powerful means in the moulding of a new society. It was a corporate self-directed activity involving a large number of persons of both sexes, ages, temperaments and intellectual attainments—a society complete by itself and hence provided excellent lessons in democracy, group activity and organization. Again, as the society did all kinds of work by itself, including even the cleaning of its own latrines, it learnt through living, self-help and the setting right of an age-long social injustice against the Harijans. Moreover as intelligent and educated people turned their attention to the 'dirtiest' work, whose wrong handling had been an age-long national nuisance, the methods of work improved. Many suggestions came forward for the clean and profitable disposal of nightsoil, urine, etc. though we were not able to adopt all of them. Even from the individual's selfish point of view the activity was a positive gain. By turning the attention to his immediate environment, it stimulated the spirit of minute observation and experimentation, the twin indispensable instruments for the evolution of a dynamic personality.

New Delhi, 17-11-47

DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR



## GANDHIJIS POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

Birla House, New Delhi, 24-11-47

## NEED FOR CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

You are good enough when I enter the prayer ground, to keep ample room for me and my daughters to help me to pass through you. I would urge you to observe the same orderliness when after the prayer I pass out. There is an unseemly rush to touch me as I pass out. The crowd press in upon me. I know and value your affection. I want it to take the shape not of off-iciousness but of some constructive service of the country such as I have pointed out on many an occasion and in my numerous writings. The first and foremost today is communal harmony. Formerly discord was of a negative character. Today it is of a most virtuous type. The Hindus and the Sikhs on the one hand and the Muslims on the other have become enemies of each other with the shameful results which we have already seen.

The attendants at the prayer should not only be free from rancour against one another, but should actively assist in re-establishing the communal harmony which was our pride during the Khilafat days. Have I not attended the huge friendly gatherings of those days? They gladdened my heart when I witnessed them. Will those days never return?

## THE LATEST TRAGEDY

Take the latest tragedy that took place in the heart of the Capital City yesterday. Some Hindu and Sikh refugees are reported to have gone out to an empty Muslim house and unlawfully attempted to occupy it. A scuffle ensued and some were injured though none fatally. This incident, bad as it was, was exaggerated out of all proportion. The first report was that four Sikhs were murdered. The sequel was to be expected. Retribution followed and several stabbings took place. A new technique seems to have been established now. The Sikhs with drawn swords, which seem to have taken the place of little *kirpans*, with or without the Hindus, visit Muslim houses and demand evacuation. This is a monstrous state of things in this, the Capital City. If the report is true. If it is untrue, it may be dismissed. If it is true, it demands urgent attention not only from the authorities but the public as well. The former will be impotent if the public is not behind them.

I am not sure what my duty is in this case. Things are evidently going from bad to worse. The full moon day of *Kartik* will be soon upon us. All kinds of rumours have been poured in upon me. I hope that they are all untrue, as they proved to be for the *Dussehra* and the *Bakr-Id*.

One lesson to be learnt from these rumours is that we are living a hand-to-mouth life, which is not good for any State or nation. Every servant of the nation has to consider seriously the part he has to play towards the abatement of this corroding nuisance.

## KIRPAN AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

It is well to consider at this stage a long letter from Sardar Sant Singh of Ludhiana, former M. L. A. (Central). He has put up a forceful defence for the Sikhs. He has read into my prayer speech of last Wednesday a meaning which the words do not bear and certainly never meant by me. Perhaps the good Sardar does know my intimate connection with the Sikhs ever since my return from

South Africa in 1915. There was a time when my word was law to them as to the Hindus and the Muslims. Manners have changed with the times. But I know that I have not. The Sardar perhaps does not view the present tendency among the Sikhs as I, their avowed, dispassionate friend without any axe of my own to grind, can and do I speak freely and frankly because I am their true friend. I make bold to say that many a time the Sikh attitude was saved because the Sikhs in general chose to follow my advice. I need, therefore, no reminder that I shall be cautious about what I say about the Sikhs or any other community. Let the Sardar and every Sikh who wishes well by them and is not carried away by the prevailing current, help in ridding the great and brave community from madness, drunkenness and all the vices that flow from it. Let them sheathe the sword which they have flourished loudly and used badly. Let them not be befuddled by the Privy Council, like me, if it means that the *kirpan* is a sword of any length. A *kirpan* ceases to be sacred when it goes into the hands of an unprincipled drunkard or when it is used unwisely. A sacred thing has to be used on sacred and lawful occasions. A *kirpan* is undoubtedly a symbol of strength which adorns a possessor only if he exercises amazing restraint over himself and uses it against enormous odds against himself.

The Sardar will pardon me when I say that I have fairly studied the history of the Sikhs and drunk deep of the essence of the *Granth Sahib*. Possessed by the tenets of that scripture, what is said to have been done by the Sikhs is indefensible and abhorrent. The Sikh bravery and integrity must not be frittered away on any pretext. It can be an asset to the whole of India. In my opinion, it is a menace which it should not be.

Of course, it is nonsense to suggest that the Sikhs are enemy No. 1 of India. Have I not been described as such? Is the honour to be divided between them and me? I have never desired the honour. My whole life is a standing test nonyaga against the charge. Can the same be said of the Sikhs? Let them learn the lesson from the Sikhs who stand behind the Shere-e-Kashmir. Let them repent of the follies committed in their name.

## A VICIOUS SUGGESTION

I know the vicious suggestion that the Hindus would be all right if they will sacrifice the Sikhs who would never be tolerated in Pakistan. I can never be a party to any such fratricidal bargain. There can be no rest for this unhappy land unless every Hindu and Sikh returns with honour and in safety to West Punjab and every Muslim refugee to the Union, barring of course those who do not choose to do so for reasons of their own. The sin of mass exchange of population must be washed out if we are to live as peaceful and helpful neighbours.

## ITS EVIL DEEDS

I must not be asked to recount the evil deeds of Pakistan. The recounting won't help either the Hindu or the Sikh sufferers. Pakistan has to bear the burden of its sins, which I know are terrible enough. It should be enough for everybody to know my opinion in so far as it has any value, that the beginning was made by the Muslim League long before the 15th of August. Nor am I able to say that they turned over a

new leaf on the 15th of August last. This statement of my opinion can't help you. What is of moment is that we of the Union copied too slow and take reason from sufferer. Oh! he means even, So all we now awake from the traces, repent and change or must we fail?

*Birla House, New Delhi, 25-11-47*

#### REFUGEES OR SUFFERERS?

In his post-prayer speech Gandhiji said that some people had objected to being called refugees. They said that the whole of India according to his own showing was equally the home of every Indian. Therefore, every one of them had the right to settle in any part of the Indian Union. They had suffered heavily in Pakistan and, therefore, they had come to the Union. They should be called sufferers. He had no objection to equating them sufferers if that was a more pleasing term. Refugee was a familiar word in the English language from whose spell they were not yet disengaged. The Hindustani papers translated the word correctly as *sharanarthi* (sufferer). Sufferers was also an English word which his visitors had used. He suggested *grihi* (dweller) as the equivalent, which the visitors accepted. Thus evening he wanted to talk to them about these sufferers.

#### NO OCCUPYING MUSLIM HOUSES

He had met three sets of people during the day. The first was a family from Lahore who had lost their all including 17 members of the family in Pakistan. They asked him to get them a house in Delhi. He told them that he was not the government and even if he was, he would not help them. There were no vacant houses in Delhi. Sufferers like them should go and live in the camps like others. They said that they were not ready to live on charity. He replied that he would not have a single individual live on charity. Those in the camps should work for the food, shelter and clothing that they got there. They retorted that they had their children, but so had the other sufferers, replied Gandhiji. The more capable class among them should use their talents to organize the life in the camps and give the benefit of their experience and knowledge to all their fellow sufferers. These friends argued that there were many Muslims still with houses. Gandhiji felt ashamed and hurt to hear this argument. Many thousands had been forced to leave their homes. These sufferers had not been mellowed by their sufferings. But his appeal fell on deaf ears. Gandhiji then said that instead of expecting the much-injured Muslims to give up their few homes, their argument would have force if they asked him (Gandhiji) to leave his comfortable place in their favour. This seemed to silence the friends.

#### A REASONABLE DEMAND

After that came some Sikhs from Hazara. They did not seem to wear *karpans*. They said that they were farmers and wanted facilities for farming. He asked them why they did not go to East Punjab. They replied that East Punjab would not take anyone else except those from West Punjab. They held that there was not enough land in East Punjab to take in those from the N. W. F. P. also. There were 8000 of these sufferers from Hazara. They had been directed to go to the Central Government. In Gandhiji's opinion, the Government should settle them on agricultural land as early as possible. The Sikh

friends said that they did not wish to push out the Muslims from their homes. All they wanted was some land and ploughs, bullocks and seeds by way of loan. Then they would produce their own food. They showed willingness to go to any part of the Union where they could get agricultural land. Gandhiji thought that these sufferers were reasonable and that their reasonable wish should be gratified.

#### CONDITION FOR RETURN

A member of the audience had asked when they could expect to go back. He replied that they could go at once, provided that the Union ceased to look out the Muslims and were prepared to welcome back those who had felt compelled to migrate to Pakistan. Then he would be free to go to West Punjab and tell the Muslims there that they should welcome the Hindus and the Sikhs who had felt compelled to leave their homes in Pakistan. Today, however, he heard the English talk that the five and a half crores of Muslims should be turned out of the Indian Union. It seemed to him to be intolerable. He did not wish to witness that catastrophe. Sometimes he felt that he had become a little burden on earth. But whether he was a live or dead, the sufferers would some day return to their homes.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 26-11-47*

#### A BASELESS CHARGE

Speaking after prayers Gandhiji referred to a letter received by him from Bombay. The writer had quoted a cutting from a Bombay newspaper and had not disclosed his name. The cutting said that the All India Radio was being used to broadcast Gandhiji's post-prayer speeches, which amounted to propaganda for the Congress. It was a Fascist technique with non-violence thrown in as a bonus. The people were sick of listening to his speeches. Gandhiji's reply was that though some people might be of that opinion, there were others who wrote to him that his speeches put heart into them. The accusation was baseless. A government which used the radio for singing its own praises was worthless. The good deeds of a government alone was the right propaganda. As for himself, he only talked about things which had an intimate connection with prayer and religion. If they were not interested in his talks they need not listen to him. He was not interested in speaking for the radio. His only object was the service of humanity and it was for that alone that he spoke to them. If he put a stop to coming for prayers he would not be making any post-prayer speeches.

#### ABDUCTED WOMEN

Gandhiji then referred to some letters that had hurt him deeply. Several women had been abducted in Pakistan and some of them had been cruelly molested and disowned. Their upbringing was such that these rescued women felt ashamed, and society also looked down upon them. To do so was cruel. While it was true that no one could touch a woman who had the purity and the *tejas* of Sita, it was hard to find a Sita in this age. At any rate, every woman could not rise to those heights. A woman who was forcibly molested had nothing to be ashamed of. She was in no way anachaste or immoral. It was strange that while immoral men or women went unpunished and the lapses of some society men and women never

came to light, people went out of their way to outcast innocent victims of brutality! Such an outlook pained him. He could never turn out or look down upon his daughter or wife if she had been subjected to such evil treatment and had escaped or been liberated. He had met such women, both Hindus and Muslims, and had told them that they had nothing to feel ashamed of.

#### HELPING HANDS AT HARVESTING

Gandhiji then went on to relate how the secretary of a Provincial Congress Committee, who was a farmer himself, had come to him and said that while formerly all men and women in the villages used to lend a helping hand at harvesting time, today the farmers had to hire labour for that purpose. That increased the cost of food, grains and removed the spirit of free and willing co-operation, which was an asset in itself. Gandhiji knew of the good custom. He advised all, with all the emphasis at his command, to practise it.

#### KISAN RAJ

The secretary said also that at least the Food Minister, if not most, should be *kisans*. It was unfortunate that today none of the Ministers were *kisans*. The Sardar was born in a farmer's family and though he knew something about agriculture, he had become a barrister by profession. Their Prime Minister was a learned man, a great historian and a great writer, but he knew nothing about agriculture, and farming. The other Ministers were all well-to-do men, who had never worked on the land. Yet more than 80% of India's population consisted of *kisans*. Only a *kisan* knew how to increase production and the fertility of the land. Only he could understand the whys and wherefores of profiteering by the *kisans* and overcome the evil. In democracy, the *kisan* should be the ruler. Gandhiji would certainly like to push forward an honest and capable *kisan*. Such a *kisan* would not know English. He (Gandhiji) would ask Jawaharlal to be his (the *kisan's*) secretary and see the foreign Ambassadors on his chief's behalf and take pride in such service. Such a *kisan* Prime Minister would not ask for a palace to live in. He would live in a mud hut, sleep under the sky and work on the land during the day whenever he was free. The whole picture would change immediately. In *Panchayat Raj*, the man who should count most in India was naturally the *kisan*. How to advance him was the question.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 27-11-'47*

#### NOTHING IS IMPOSSIBLE

In his after-prayer speech Gandhiji told the audience that he had been to see H. E. the Governor-General and had met Liaquat Ali Saheb who was staying in the Government House. There he learnt that the Governor-General, the Prime Ministers of the two Dominions, Sardar Patel and the Finance Minister had conferred together and had come to some conclusions which might bring about peace to the strife-torn country of theirs. Nothing was impossible for sincere men in the way of bringing concord out of discord.

#### THE SHER-E-KASHMIR

Then Gandhiji had a visit from Sheikh Abdula who was affectionately called Sher-e-Kashmir. Though there were just a handful of Hindus and Sikhs in Kashmir,

the Sheikh Sahab took pains to carry them with him. He had been to Jammu also. What had happened there was most shameful for the Hindus and the Sikhs. But that did not make the Sheikh Sahab lose his balance. His visit to Jammu also bore good fruit. And if the harmony continued as it promised to do, it would be a lesson in communal harmony for the whole of India.

Kashmir was a mountainous country. Life there was most difficult in winter. Many routes passed through Pakistan. There was, however, a narrow strip which joined Kashmir to East Punjab. But in East Punjab it was difficult for the Muslims to safely pass through, much less to live in, as it was difficult for the Hindus and the Sikhs in the West Punjab and the N. W. F. P. How could Kashmir have trade with the Indian Union under the circumstances? If the insanity continued in East Punjab, accession to the Union might prove nugatory. He hoped that wisdom would dawn upon East Punjab. It was the duty of the Central Government to see that there was a safe land route between Kashmir and the Union, so that the woollen cloth, oil or manufactures and fruits from Kashmir could come to the Union as freely as before.

#### TERRIBLE IF TRUE

He sometimes glanced at the *Dawn* and the *Pakistan Times*. These were influential Pakistan dailies. One could not dismiss with indifference what they said. These papers had reported that the Muslims in Kathiawad were being harassed. There was arson, loot, murders and abductions. He had received some telegrams too about the matter. Some Hindu friends had told him that arson and loot had certainly taken place in some places, but they were not aware of murders and abductions. He had asked Liaquat Sahab if the report of the Pakistan papers could be trusted. The Pakistan Premier assured him that it could be trusted about the facts, though he could not vouch for the magnitude. The report hurt Gandhiji deeply. He was born in Kathiawad. At the head of the Temporary Government in Junagadh was his nephew. The Sardar as well as Shri Shamaldas Gandhi had said in their speeches in Kathiawad that no Muslim could be hurt in Junagadh or Kathiawad, provided the Muslims were faithful to the Union. Gandhiji had been glad to hear that the Hindus and the Muslims of Junagadh seemed of their own free will to have decided to stay in the Union. If what was reported of the happenings in Kathiawad was true, then like their independence, what they had won in Junagadh was only to lose it. He fervently hoped that the reports were highly exaggerated if they were not entirely untrue. He would welcome an authoritative and frank statement on the subject. If the poison spread throughout India, life would not be worth living in it.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 28-11-'47*

#### GURU NANAK'S BIRTHDAY

Speaking after prayers Gandhiji said that that day being Guru Nanak's birthday, he had been invited to attend a meeting of the Sikhs. Baba Bachittar Singh came and insisted that he must go. Gandhiji was at first reluctant. He told Baba Sahab that the Sikhs were annoyed with him for the bitter pill they had had to swallow at his hands. Whatever he had said about them had been said out of genuine affection and fulness

of heart. Still many Sikhs had resented his words. Therefore he did not think that his going to the meeting would serve any useful purpose. But Baba Sahib said that thousands of Sikh men, women and children, many of whom had suffered heavily in Pakistan, were anxious to hear him and he must not disappoint them. He consented. Baba Sahib went to inform the meeting and promised to return within half an hour. He brought Shiekh Abdullah Sahib with him. Gandhiji was surprised. The Sikhs and the Muslims could not bear to see each other these days. How could the Sheikh Sahib attend a Sikh meeting? But Baba Sahib said that the Sheikh Sahib had brought together the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims in Kashmir and the Sikhs would like to hear him too. So Gandhiji and Sheikh Abdullah Sahib attended the meeting. Both addressed the meeting. Thousands of Sikhs listened in silence and did not in any way indicate resentment at their words. It pleased him. He had told them that it was a New Year Day for them. They should pledge themselves to make a new and clean beginning from this day. Whatever the Muslims might have done in Pakistan, they must keep their hearts clean. Two wrongs did not make one right. The essence of Guru Nanak's teaching was tolerance and his unity. A friend had written to him that Guru Govind Singh had several Muslim disciples and he protected them. Though the tenth Guru had taken to the sword, he used it only against perpetrators of wrong and to protect the innocent and the weak. It had hurt him deeply to see not a single Muslim as he passed through Chandni Chowk. It was a shame for the Hindus and the Sikhs in Delhi that the Muslims should feel terror-struck.

#### NO COMMUNALISM IN COMMERCE

Gandhiji then referred to a letter from the Muslim Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta. The secretary complained that the Central Government had decided to withdraw recognition from the Muslim Chamber. The complaint would be proper if the Muslim Chamber was the exception. But he would justify the step if recognition was withdrawn, say, from the European, and the Marwadi Chambers of Commerce and such others. Surely, in a secular State there was no room for separate communal organizations except for internal reform. The European Chamber had undue recognition from the late foreign Government. Its annual function was a great event. The Viceroy used to make serious pronouncements. He hoped that no such importance would be given to the body. He would expect the great European Houses to make common cause with the indigenous population and seek their advancement in common with that of the whole of India. He advised them to take the lead in dissolving their separate Chamber. The Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Christians, the Parsis, the Jews should be Indians first and Indians last. Religion was the personal affair of each individual. It must not be mixed up with politics or national affairs.

#### RENOVATION OF THE SOMNATH TEMPLE

Gandhiji then came to a letter of a Christian in a newspaper holding that the temple of Somnath could not undergo renovation from State funds. He sympathized with the objection. The Sardar happened to be with him. He was shown the cutting and he said that not a pie

would be spent from the Junagadh State funds or for that matter from the Central fund for such purposes. The temple of Somnath would be renovated from funds donated by the Hindus and others who may be interested in the renovation. The Indian Union was a secular State and not a religious one. Shri Srinivasdas Gandhi who was at the head of the provisional government for Junagadh had promised to give fifty thousand rupees from the public fund collected by him and His Highness the Jam Sahib had promised to pay one lakh.

#### NO PREMIUM ON EVIL

Many Hindu and Sikh girls had been abducted by Muslim goondas. Some people had told him that in some places goondas were demanding money as ransom. He could never tolerate the giving of premiums upon vice which he considered to be abduction. He would, therefore, advise fathers and husbands never to give way to temptation. He would trust the Pakistan Government to rescue the abducted girls as he would expect the Union Government to do likewise in respect of the Muslim girls abducted by Hindus and Sikhs.

#### KATHIAWAR QUIET

Lastly, he had told them last evening what he had read about the happenings in Kathiawar against Muslims. He asked the Sardar whether he knew anything about loot, arson, murders and abductions. The Sardar said that some looting and arson had taken place before he went there and assured loyal Muslims of safety. Looting and arson were quickly suppressed. Murder of Muslims as such and abduction of Muslim girls had not taken place to his knowledge. In fact Congressmen, he added, had risked their own lives in saving Muslim life and property. Gandhiji was glad of the repudiation. He would ask his informants to correct themselves publicly. It did not behove newspapers to publish unverified statements. If, however, the Sardar was in darkness, he would like authentic confirmation of the serious charges made.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 29-11-47*

#### LIQUOR IN DELHI

In his after-prayer speech Gandhiji said that he had heard and read in newspapers that the consumption of liquor in Delhi had gone up tremendously. Liquor brought many vices in its wake. If the Sikhs had really turned a new leaf from yesterday, the liquor consumption should become even less than before.

#### DAMAGE TO MOSQUES

Many mosques had been damaged during the riots. Some had been converted into temples. The idols should be removed without the intervention of the police or the military. These things could take place only if there was real contrition. He knew that the idols could not be placed in the mosques by the Sikhs. What, however, he did say was that reformation among the Sikhs would automatically affect the Hindus in the right direction. In the present instance the Hindus and the Sikhs had worked hand in hand.

#### ABDUCTED GIRLS

As to the abducted girls, Gandhiji said that a large number of Hindu and Sikh girls had been abducted in Pakistan. God alone knew what awful things they were being subjected to. The Hindus and the Sikhs in the Union had not behaved

better. He had learnt that the Muslim girls who were abducted were subjected to inhumanity in treatment by their lustful captors. He would like the East Punjab Government and its officers to deliver every one of such girls from indentured captivity. Every abduction or capture should be regarded by both the Governments as illegal and abhorrent. It was the compulsory duty of the two Governments not to rest till every such girl was freed from captivity and returned to his respective Government. There could be no question of voluntary conversion or association on the part of the girl concerned.

#### CONTINUATION

Dealing with controls Gandhi said that it was good that the control on sugar had been removed. It was now up to the factory-owners and the dealers to see that there was no rise in prices because of the removal of the control. He would undertake a rise in price owing to a rise in the price of sugarcane and a corresponding rise in the price of sugar. But in no case would the rise be due to the greed of the factory-owners and dealers. The factory-owners should combine so as to prevent any rise in the price of sugar except for the rise in the price of sugarcane. Honest behaviour in the case of sugar will ensure the removal of the control on foodstuffs and other. The speaker questioned whether was any day superior to sugar. It was produced in our villages. There would always be cheaper than sugar and easily available.

#### TAX EXEMPT ARTICLES

A friend had written to him complaining of the increase in the land revenue and tax. He said that it would be better if an excise tax was put upon articles of luxury such as tobacco, cigars, etc. and a suggestion appeared to him. But not having studied the subject as fully as was necessary, he was unable to give a definite opinion. He merely mentioned the suggestion so as to draw the attention of the authorities concerned. He knew that our Ministers had up to now the habit of spending a single piece without a just cause. One good test was what the villagers gave to the State. The State returned to them material in the use of which they needed and which what was spent could be proved to be on their behalf.

#### VOLUNTARY HOME GUARDS

A free India need not keep a huge standing army. Voluntary home guards would protect their homes and contribute to the defence of the country.

*Sarla House, New Delhi, 30-11-47*

#### CABINET AT ASANA

Referring to the cold stones and the cold ground on which the audience was sitting, Gandhi suggested that they should carry an old newspaper or some other kind of cover wherever they went. This used to be a common custom in the olden days, though it had been given up in modern times. It was a useful custom. Although he did not want people to become drowsy, he felt that sitting on the cold floor in winter was not only unnecessary and not good for women in particular.

#### TELEGRAM FROM KATHIWAR

Next, Gandhi referred to several telegrams that he had received about Kathiwar. He had spoken to them of the reported happenings in Kathiwar. He

could not ignore what was written in the Pakistan newspapers. Thousands of people read and believed those newspapers. Therefore, he had spoken to them without waiting for verification of the reports. If the reports were incorrect it was a matter of shame for the newspapers concerned. If they were true it was shameful for the people of Kathiwar. He had told them what the Sardar had said. He had seen Gandhi today also and repeated his assurance that things were all right in Kathiwar. Gandhi had also received a telegram from Rajkot which said that some Hindus had lost their balance at one stage and had damaged or burnt a few Muslim houses, but Congressman aided by the State had immediately controlled the situation at the risk of their own lives. Shri Dhotarbhau who was a well-known lawyer and leader in Rajkot had been arrested. Some Congressmen had been injured. Thus though the mob fury was turned against Congressmen, the Muslims were saved. They were sorry to learn of Gandhi's distress and wanted to reassure him that he was normal in Rajkot. They were making enquiries at all other places and would let him know the result. It was the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha who were supposed to have planned the attack, but they had failed. There was another telegram from the Muslims offering thanks for the services rendered to them by the Congressmen. A telegram from some Muslims in Bombay complimented the speaker for having brought out the matter and added that the Muslims in Kathiwar were scared and terrorized. Thank God, there was no murder of Muslims and abductees. It said that many Muslims had left Kathiwar. If the assurances given were to be relied upon, the evacuees would return to their homes. Gandhi warned men and newspapers against making unverified or exaggerated statements. It would serve no useful purpose to increase their friction. He had received too a reassuring wire from the Maharaja of Raynagar. There was also a wire from five Muslims of Rajkot saying that bazaar shops were looted resulting in a damage of less than one lakh and saying that the State and the Congressmen had brought the situation under control. Against this was a telegram from Junagadh just received as he was coming to the prayer. It confirmed the alarming news that he had mentioned on Friday and asked for an inquiry. The inquiry was not in his power to give. As the meeting knew he was awaiting further telegrams from Kathiwar, he could say, however, that he would not be satisfied except with full assurances which was perhaps better than an official inquiry.

#### APPEAL TO HINDU MAHASABHA AND THE R. S. S.

Gandhi appealed to the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh, both of which were Hindu organizations and had many well-educated men on their rolls, to desist from what they were reported to be doing. Religion could not be saved by questionable methods. They should let the Government right wrongs and punish evil-doers.

#### MOOLS IN MOSQUES

Gandhi then referred to a communication in the Press giving seven days notice for the removal of idols from the mosques which had been converted into temples. If there was no compliance, the police were to remove the idols. The Sardar had said that the Government would

repair the damage done to mosques. In Gandhi's opinion, it was the duty of the public to do so. An idol had no value unless it was duly installed in a consecrated place by duly qualified devotees. Forcible possession of a mosque disgraced Hinduism and Sikhism. It was the duty of the Hindus to remove the idols from the mosques and repair the damage. He had not heard of any mosque being turned into a *gurdwara*. The Sikhs worshipped the *Guru Granth Sahib*. It would be an insult to the *Granth Sahib* if it was placed in a mosque.

A Muslim had brought to him a half-burnt *Quran*. He had wrapped it up in a piece of cloth, showed it to him with tearful eyes and went away without speaking. The man who had thus tried to insult the *Quran* had insulted his own religion. He appealed to the Hindus and the Sikhs to desist from bringing ruin to their country and religion.

### 'FARMING FOR DISEASE'

[The following is taken from *Farming and Gardening for Health or Disease*, a lecture by Sir Albert Howard, published by Leeds Vegetarian Society. V. G. D.]

Under repeated dressings of artificials the soil gradually loses its texture and refuses to drain, the crops soon fall a prey to insect, fungous and virus diseases. These have to be kept in check by a regular galaxy of poison sprays. Our dairy herds suffer more and more from such diseases as foot-and-mouth, tuberculosis, mastitis, contagious abortion, and so forth. The maladies of mankind increase in intensity the hospitals fill up with patients lunatic asylums are overcrowded more and more money has to be devoted to medical care. . . .

If we put to the earth itself the question,—what is your verdict on the war in the soil: on this controversy between inorganic and organic farming. . . ?—we shall very quickly obtain an answer. This reply must then be interpreted. For this we must make the fullest use of our best experts who are quite convinced that such produce is not worth eating. Their verdict is deliberate, final and crushing.

Such expert testimony is easily obtained. Take any average permanent pasture, under the turf of which humus is constantly being made by natural agencies. Divide it fairly into three equal strips; manure the middle plot with a conventional dressing of mixed artificials containing sulphate of ammonia; treat the two outside plots with an equivalent amount of freshly prepared compost made from animal and vegetable wastes. We shall then have a comparison between humus supplemented by chemical manures and humus alone.

Everything will soon be ready for the verdict of our best experts on nutrition,—not statistically minded bipeds as we might at first expect, but quadrupeds in the shape of the grazing animal. The livestock will concentrate on the two humus areas and graze the herbage down to the roots: they will only lightly pick over the produce of the poisoned soil.

That the middle strip has indeed been poisoned will be evident from the response of our chief soil conditioner and humus distributor the lowly earthworm. These creatures will leave the plot treated with sulphate of ammonia, but will multiply in the two humus-filled areas. This can be determined by a simple examination of the upturned turves, or better still, by counting the molehills on the three plots. Earthworms, as is wellknown, provide a part of the food of the mole. Often, when these animals pass from one of these humus plots to the other, they go straight across the artificially manured area and seem to know by instinct that they are not in one of their usual feeding grounds. Consequently many fewer molehills are to be found on this strip.

A few words are needed at this point to emphasize the importance of the earthworm in providing our crops with food. The casts of the earthworm are 50% richer in humus, five times richer in available nitrogen, seven times richer in soluble phosphate, and eleven times richer in replaceable potash than the upper soil. It is little wonder therefore that the roots of the crops like the potato are always attracted to worm casts and penetrate them in all directions. The weight of such worm casts per acre per annum, may run to 25 tons in land in good heart.

The much vaunted and much advertized chemicals therefore stand condemned. Our livestock despise the resulting produce: the earthworm goes on strike. Why therefore pursue this subject any further and spend time on what has been described as the statistical elaboration of the obsolete? The present methods of farming are harmful, as is obvious from the general standard of health in this country compared with that of the peoples who are fed on the produce of humus-filled soil. In the nutrition of our population at least two mistakes are made: the food is grown for the most part on poisoned soil; it is afterwards refined, processed and preserved in various ways. Both these factors cause untold mischief.

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## STORY HOUR

(Continued from Vol. XI, No. 26, p. 250)

[This is from Jami's *Baharistan*, edited by Prof A. Moulvi (Educational Publishing Co., Karachi).  
V. G. D.]

## XXXIV

Ibrahim bin Suleman says "When the Khilafat passed from Ban-Ummiyah to Ban-il-Abbas, and the latter were seizing and killing the former, I was sitting outside Kufah on the terrace of a pasage which overlooked a desert. Black flags arrived from Kufah, and I thought that the party carrying those flags had come in search of me. I knew no one who could hide and save me from the enemy, but I came to the gate of a big palace, where I saw a young man of prepossessing appearance on horse-back surrounded by a number of his attendants. I approached him and saluted him

'Who are you, and what do you want?' he asked

'I am a fugitive,' I replied, 'and being pursued by the enemy, I seek shelter in your house'

The handsome youth took me to his house, and seated me in a room adjoining the women's apartments. I lived with him for a few days and had a very fine time. I got whatever food and clothes I liked, and my host never pestered me with questions.

I then noticed that he went out for a ride every day and came back. I therefore said to him. 'Every day I see you go out and return soon afterwards. What is it that you are after?'

'Ibrahim bin Suleman has killed my father,' he replied. 'I hear that he is hiding himself in this city. I go out every day in the hope that I might find him out and wreak vengeance upon him.'

When I heard this I was astonished at my misfortune. Fate had placed me in the hands of the very man that was in search of me in order to kill me. I gave up all hope of saving myself. I said, 'O generous man, I owe you a debt which I can never hope to repay. I must therefore show you your enemy and relieve you of your anxiety on that score. I am Ibrahim bin Suleman. Despose of me just as you will.'

But my host would not believe that I was Ibrahim and said, 'You are fed up with life and wish to put yourself out of misery.'

'No,' said I 'I swear by Allah that I have killed your father.'

I gave him some clues, and at last he was convinced that I was speaking the truth. His colour changed, his eyes became red, and hanging down his head for a time, he said, 'You will soon die and meet my father in the other world, where he will settle his account with you. I cannot injure you as you have placed yourself under my protection. Go away at once lest I should lose my self-control and do you harm.' So saying he gave me a thousand dinars. I took the money and bade farewell to my

host whose generosity was perhaps without a parallel in human history."

Do good to him who does you harm; for in harming you he has only harmed himself

## AIR TRAVEL OR TRANSPORT?

As days go on it seems travelling by air is becoming more and more common amongst at least the rich. All manner of means are being used to popularize and extend this service. Hence it becomes necessary for us to study the place of Air Travel in society

The phrase 'a much travelled man' connotes generally the significance of travelling. We expect such a person to have come in contact with all sorts and conditions of men and things, and, therefore, through his intelligent approach to other people's lives we expect such a person to be broad-minded, well-informed and cultured. Travelling therefore, has various advantages attached to it. In ancient times the pilgrimages in India were based on such cultural aspect of travel though they were given a religious colouring

A traveler at different stages comes in contact with different types of men. He enters into conversation with them, finds out what they are thinking, what their customs and traditions are and compares them with the conditions prevailing at home. This, ultimately, leads to cultural development. We encourage, therefore, our children to read books of travel which means educating them and giving them information in regard to our fellowmen. If we look upon travel from this point of view, the phrase 'Air Travel' is a misnomer. All that air travel stands for today is pure and simple transport. A person is at one place at one moment and availing himself of the air service he is at another place the next moment. A passenger may be at Karachi in the early morning and in London the same day late at night with nothing added to him either in the form of information, culture or contacts. This is just as much simple transport as in the case of merchandise, say, a bale of cotton!

It may be argued that time is thereby saved. Does this mean that man's life has been added to? No, it only means that the man has transferred to himself another slice of his life to spend it on his own business from spending it on cultural pursuit. When we send a boy of school-going age to look after herds in the jungle are we saving time? We are only depriving the boy of his share of culture. Life does not consist in spending our time all the time in our own business. Man has to expand himself and come into contact with fellowmen as long as he wishes to remain a social being. Air transport, therefore, reduces a man from being a social being into a mere individual. It enlarges, you may say, self-centredness. Time saved, therefore, signifies transference of time from cultural pursuits to self-centred occupations. This can hardly be looked upon as an advantage when we take life to mean the richness in which it is lived in the cultural sense and not in the material sense. To put it in another way, one may say that it elongates the



animal life and shortens the human aspect of it. This is the basis of solitary confinement. While travelling by air, the deafening noise of the propellers and the limited accommodation makes it almost impossible to carry on any conversation with the fellow passengers. It is equivalent to the person being asked to sit in a chair in a drawing-room with all the windows shut continuously for the duration of the voyage. However comfortable the chair may be, the boredom becomes unbearable. One cannot look around because not only is the window space limited but also nothing can be seen with the naked eye. The long distance planes travel 15 to 18 thousand feet above the ground. That means you can see objects at a distance of about three miles. Very often, therefore, one sees a misty blue below and a deep blue above and rarely can one recognize trees or even buildings excepting at the approach of the landing places. With the mind shut and the eyes dim and the ears deafened, the traveller sits for hours together night or day, and leaves the plane with an aching back glad that his destination has been reached. This is "modern travel"!

As regards food, packets of victuals are provided at the meal hours. As yet India has not received recognition in the catering line. Whether the person is a vegetarian or not, the packets are filled with cold non-vegetarian food! It is with much difficulty that one could procure an additional slice of bread and butter to meet one's needs. (It may be here suggested that it should be required of our Air Lines calling at Indian air-ports to cater for pure vegetarians also)

One of the pleasures in fast travels, such as by motor car on the road or by train on the rails, is a sense of speed that man seems to crave for. The mere worm of man dashing through the air at 40, 50 or 60 miles per hour gets an exultation of doing that which he cannot physically perform. Even this joy is denied in air travel. Being so high up, even though the plane may be going at 300 miles per hour, one just sees the ground underneath passing away like gentle, idle clouds at a snail-slow speed. Hence, even this human desire for quick motion remains unsatisfied.

If we look at the technical part of this mode of travel, we notice that it consumes tremendous quantities of petroleum. This fuel is in limited supply as it is taken out from the bowels of the earth from various parts of the world. As the stock gets less and less, the consumers' desire to obtain control over other reservoirs becomes greater and greater. This ultimately leads to greed, jealousy, hatred and suspicion, culminating in global wars. Therefore, an undue increase in this method of travel conduces towards developing an unhealthy relationship with our neighbours.

All this does not mean that there should be no air travel at all but it only indicates its shortcomings and warns us that we should use it with the utmost caution. The so-called time-saving is not in

itself sufficient compensation to make up for the various disadvantages connected with it. The more accurate way of calling it, as we have suggested, would be "air transport" and that would probably convey what it stands for more accurately. In these days, what man needs most is relaxation. Air transport only adds to the pressure on life.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

### 'GIVE ME A MUD HOUSE'

I wonder if our housing schemers and civil engineers may not derive a hint or two from the following article by Grace Vernon condensed from *Liberty* (New York) in *International Digest* of July 1947.

— V. G. D ]

You may have your houses of stone and brick, concrete and wood. For fun in the building, for resistance to heat and cold, water and wind and termites, and for low price, give me a house of mud.

Such a house is handsome, remarkably well insulated and guaranteed to outwear the builder. The other day in California I had dinner in a mud house built 75 years ago and still in good condition. Conversely it is the only type of house I know that can be razed free of charge without resorting to fire. When you tire of the floor plan or weary of the view and wish to rebuild, you simply remove the roof, wait for the rains and let your house quietly and rapidly dissolve.

I built one in South India. . .

When I sat down and listed our requirements I felt really alarmed. In our part of the hills, — 8,000 feet above sea-level and close to the equator, — a house must withstand temperatures ranging from 140° to below freezing point. Often the thermometer would shift as much as 100° in 24 hours. Then there were the monsoon winds — great gales. There would be armies of termites capable of eating a table in a single night.

There was only one answer to my problem, my friends told me: a mud house with walls two feet thick and a tile roof. There was a contractor in a village nearby and I had better send him a message at once.

The tall, handsome white-draped Indian who called on me looked more like a local king than a contractor. He bowed politely, seated himself cross-legged on the floor and asked the conventional questions: my age, how many children I had, the state of my health etc. Only in leaving did he mention my house. Building it, he assured me, would be one of the high moments of his life and mine. . . .

A few days later he sent his . . . estimate: a four-room house with spacious rooms, wide verandahs and a complete tile roof would cost the equivalent of \$ 500 in American money. I agreed.

Nothing happened for a week. Then one morning an old man with a can full of white sand arrived. Holding sand in his fingers and letting it drop on the ground, he paced off the out-lines of my house. That same day the building materials arrived. One

load of eucalyptus poles, another of lime and sand that was all. And the next morning the workers came.

At first I did not recognize them. The motley crowd of both sexes and all ages seemed more like an invasion of picnickers. It developed that the contractor had brought his whole village with him. And everyone, except children under five, had a job and did it.

The grandmothers cared for the babies. The men dug a deep hole, which the women filled with water. The women dug clay and carried it on their heads to the hole. The small boys stripped, jumped into the hole and mixed the clay and water into mud. The little girls were detailed to sit on a slight rise of ground and watch for rain. The grandfathers kept the goats out of my tea fields. A guard was put over the contractor's whole precious supply of nails which barely filled a medium-sized tin can.

When the above mixture reached the proper consistency, the women began moulding bricks, while the little boys, now covered with mud went on to preparing the ground for the laying of the cement floor. This they did by trampling the moistened earth smooth. While the men mixed the cement, little girls (save one left to keep an eye on the weather) carried the newly made bricks, one at a time, and piled them carefully in the hot sun. A little later a bullock-cart came, loaded with tiles which the boys unloaded. Meanwhile the men were spreading the cement for the floor. When this was done, all went home. The first day's work was over.

There was an interval of some days for the bricks to dry and for the village to have a feast. Sounds of violins and flutes floated up the hillside all day and all night. The bricks achieved a rock-like hardness. Then work began again.

Building was a community affair. The women spread the mortar, the children carried the bricks and the men set them in place. The walls rose with astonishing speed. And then just as the walls were nearly high enough, there was a single high-wailing cry from the little sky-watcher. A few white clouds were sailing lightly towards us.

To me a shower meant that my house, yet unprotected by a roof or waterproof coating, would melt away. But my fears were soon dispelled. Helped by the men, all the small boys clambered to the top of the walls. There they lay flat, close together, spreading out their cotton garments. While the rest of the crowd took shelter, the boys protected these walls with their bodies. When the shower was over, my house still stood.

The only wood in the house, except window frames and doors, went into the roof. It was supported entirely by the mud walls. Now that the rafters were being laid, it was time to dole out

the precious nails. Soon the bright red roof had been laid. A carpenter framed the doors and windows, and when the whole structure was coated with white plaster, it was in my possessive eyes a beautiful little bungalow . . .

A week later I heard music and stepped out on the verandah to see a procession approaching. First came a boy playing on a flute. After him came the carpenter, carrying a lime on a stick. Then came a boy bearing a large decorated cake. And last of all came a porter carrying a brass tray on which lay an envelope. The lime was for good luck and the envelope contained the bill . . .

My house has taken without complaint a lot of weather and a lot of living, and it has steadily discouraged the termites. They tell me it will probably stand for 100 years. Yes, you may have wood and brick and steel. But give me mud.

### What Saddens the Heart

He was supposed to be the wisest of men who wrote of "Wine that maketh glad the heart of man." One wonders whether he was wise. The drink habit is becoming a veritable menace in Delhi according to a friend who complains that it is difficult for girls to walk out in the streets of Old Delhi at night because of the fear of meeting drunken persons. If this is true, it is a sad commentary on the citizens of Delhi.

The Congress Government stands for prohibition and none of the Cabinet Ministers offers wine to guests at parties. This good example is not followed by members of the services and cocktail parties still hold the field. It is sad to see young people indulging in wine which is neither good for the body nor for the mind. Only recently some women, wives of the labouring classes, have complained of how their husbands spend their earnings in drink leaving little for domestic expenses. If people in high places do not set the proper example, who is to do it? And as usual it is the women who suffer and are sad at heart.

New Delhi, 30-11-47

X. Y. Z.

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## HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## GIVE AND TAKE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Sindhu sufferer writes:

"At this critical time when thousands of our countrymen are leaving their ancestral homes and are pouring in from Sind, the Punjab and the N. W. F. P., I find that there is, in some sections of the Hindus, a provincial spirit. Those who are coming here suffered terribly and deserve all the warmth that the Hindus of the Indian Union can reasonably give. You have rightly called them *Dikhus*, though they are commonly called *sharanarthis*. The problem is so great that no government can cope with it unless the people back the efforts with all their might. I am sorry to confess that some of the landlords have increased the rents of houses enormously and some are demanding *pagri*. May I request you to raise your voice against the provincial spirit and the *pagri* system especially at this time of terrible suffering?"

Though I sympathize with the writer, I cannot endorse his analysis. Nevertheless I am able to testify that there are rapacious landlords who are not ashamed to tatten themselves at the expense of the sufferers. But I know personally that there are others who, though they may not be able or willing to go as far as the writer or I may wish, do put themselves to inconvenience in order to lessen the suffering of the victims. The best way to lighten the burden is for the sufferers to learn how to profit by this unexpected blow. They should learn the art of humility which demands a rigorous self-searching rather than a search of others and consequent criticism, often harsh, oftener undeserved and sometimes only deserved. Searching of self ennobles, searching of others debases. The sufferers should learn the art and virtue of corporate life, in which the circumference of co-operation is ever widening till at last it encircles the whole human race. If they did this, no sufferer will live in isolation. All of them, no matter to which province they belong, will hold together and would be considering not the welfare of self but that of all. This does not mean that all of them will live or insist on living at one place, an impossible feat at any time, more so today, when lakhs upon lakhs of people have been torn from their homes, not knowing where to lay their heads

upon. But this humble spirit of co-operation does mean that wherever they are placed, they will feel one with all the sufferers, no matter from what strata of society they are drawn or to which province they belong. Insistence on being accommodated in a particular place of one's choice there will be none. The sufferers will never grumble. They will disdain to occupy houses belonging to Muslim owners or tenants, whether these places are physically occupied or evacuated. It is for the Government to decide what they will do with property evacuated under abnormal conditions that are prevalent in India today. The sufferers' one and only care would be to hold together and act as one man. It would be seen that if the idea thus presented takes shape and spreads, the problem of accommodating sufferers, otherwise styled refugees, will become incredibly simple and they will cease to be a menace.

Moreover, every sufferer who is not a cripple will do his or her full share of work against bread, clothing and shelter in a becoming manner. Thus they will realize the dignity of labour and feel dependent upon no one. All will be equal to one another irrespective of sex. Some labour will be shared by all, e. g. sanitary work including latrine-cleaning and scavenging. No labour will be considered too low or too high. In this society there will be no room for drones, idlers or loafers. This camp life is any day superior to the city life of dirt and squalor side by side with palaces—difficult to decide which is a greater eyesore between the two.

New Delhi, 6-12-'47

## Cigars to the Fore

Priorities are in fashion. Government policy, though not laid down in black and white, can be gauged from the way they lend their support to various industries. The latest is a research station to be established at Veda sandur near Dindigul for carrying on research on tobacco leaf required for wrapping cigars.

We understand that the scheme will cost three lakhs. Though this cost may be met by the Indian Central Tobacco Committee, we should like to know where the human talents come from. Should they not be channelized into finding ways and means of producing more food?

J. C. K.

## GANDHIJ'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

*Birla House, New Delhi, 1-12-'47*

### WHY USE 'IF'?

Many friends upbraid me for often using 'if' in making many statements. I have made use of the little conjunction with much benefit to the cause I am espousing for the time. The controversy now rages round the Kathiawad imbroglio. My friends feel hurt by the publicity gained by the reported atrocities which they hold to be groundless and which, to the small extent they are true, the authorities and the Congressmen have battled against bravely and successfully. Surely, truth has gained by making conditional use of the information given by the parties concerned. The Kathiawad authorities and the Congress will gain to the exact extent that they have stood for the truth. But the friends hold that by the time untruth is overtaken, mischief is done by unscrupulous parties making unlawful use of my giving currency to a particular untruth by omitting the conjunction and quoting me in support of it. I am not unaware of the danger. Each time it has been tried it has failed miserably and the unscrupulous party has been discredited. My friends need not be perturbed by my speeches in which I make conditional use of compromising statements provided, of course always, the parties attacked are above reproach.

Let us examine the converse case. Suppose in the instance in point I had ignored the charges made in influential Pakistan journals, especially when they were in the main backed by the Prime Minister of Pakistan. My indifference would have resulted in the Muslim world giving credence to the reports as if they were gospel truth. Now the best Muslim mind is already sceptical about the truth of the reports.

### BE TRUE

The lesson I would have my friends of Kathiawad, and incidentally others, to draw from incidents such as this is that they should have their own house in perfect order, should always welcome criticism even when it is bitter and profit by it by becoming more exact (if possible) and correcting their errors whenever detected. We should never make the mistake of thinking that we can never make any mistakes. The bitterest critic is bitter because he has some grudge, fancied or real, against us. We shall set him right, if we are patient with him and whenever the occasion arises, show him his error or correct our own when we are to be found in error. So doing, we shall never go wrong. Undoubtedly, the balance is to be preserved. Discrimination is ever necessary. Deliberately mischievous statements have to be ignored. I believe that by constant practice I have somewhat learnt the art of discrimination.

In the present disturbed atmosphere, when charges are hurled against one another, it would be folly to be in a fool's paradise and feel that we can do no wrong. That blissful state it is no longer possible for us to claim. It will be creditable if by strenuous effort we succeed in isolating the mischief and then eradicating it. We shall do so only if we keep our eyes and ears open for seeing and hearing our own shortcomings. Nature has so made us that we do not see our backs,

it is reserved for others to see them. Hence, it is wise to profit by what they see.

### SEARCHING FOR TRUTH

I have not done with the long telegram I received from Junagadh last evening as I was about to come to the prayer meeting. I was able only to glance at it. I have since read it carefully. The signatories repeat all the charges made in the reports alluded to by me. If the charges are true, they damage the Kathiawad Hindus, if they go baselessly beyond the admissions made and published by me, they have damaged the Pakistan cause. They invite me to go to Kathiawad and study things for myself. I presume that the senders know that I cannot do so. They ask for a commission. Surely before they can do so, they have to make out a *prima facie* case. I must assume that their purpose is not to discredit the Hindus of Kathiawad or Junagadh as the case may be, but to elucidate the truth and protect Muslim life, honour and property. They know as well as anybody else that newspaper propaganda, especially when it is unscrupulous, will protect neither honour nor life, nor property. All the three can be preserved and now by the strictest adherence to truth and going to the many Hindu friends that the signatories know they have. They should know too that though I am far away from Kathiawad, I am not idle. Deliberately I opened the chapter myself and I am gathering all the information I can. I have met the Sardar and he assures me that so far as in him lies, he will prevent all communal strife and see that all misconduct is severely dealt with. The workers in Kathiawad who have no communal prejudice are striving to reach the truth and seek redress of every wrong done to the Muslims who are as dear to them as their selves. Will they help in the process?

*Birla House, New Delhi, 2-12-'47*

### A VISIT TO PANIPAT

Gandhiji returned from Panipat a little after 5-30 p. m. and arrived on the prayer ground as the *Ramadhani* was being sung. He apologized for being late and then gave a brief account of his visit. He had gone there in order to see whether he could persuade the Muslims of Panipat not to leave Panipat for Pakistan. If they could have the courage to remain in their own homes, it would not only be good for them but also for the whole of India, including Pakistan. He had met the Hindu and the Sikh refugees too. They called themselves refugees and not sufferers. They were unhappy and were bound to remain so till they too went back to their homes. The same was true of a great many Muslims who had been forced by circumstances to leave the Union and go to Pakistan. The Muslims of Panipat mentioned why they felt that they could not stay there.

### TWO MINISTERS

Dr. Gopichand and Sardar Swaran Singh were also in Panipat. The Maulanas of Delhi and Deshbandhu Gupta whose home was in Panipat also met Gandhiji there. The Muslim friends of Panipat told him that though on his last visit they had told him that they would not go, the situation had since then deteriorated. Neither their life, honour, nor property was safe. How then could they stay? Gandhiji told them that those whose refuge was God and who had nothing but love in their hearts for all mankind would fear for nothing.

They would suffer death or loss of property, but they would protect their honour. He had left Delhi at 10-30 a. m. and reached Pampat at 11-30 a. m. He was talking to the Muslims till 3 p. m. After that he met the Hindu and the Sikh refugees. The audience was over 20,000. Dr. Gopinand also addressed them and so did Sardar Swaran Singh. When the Sardarsahib stood up, the patience of the refugees gave way. Gandhiji did not think that they meant any disrespect to the Sardar. They merely wanted to give expression to their feeling that they had had enough of speeches. It was time for them to put forward their grievances. They were angry and loudly asserted that the Muslims must go. Their representatives tried to calm them. One of their leaders then sang a Punjabi song, after which there was quiet. The leader then spoke to them in Punjabi and rebuked them for creating disorder in the meeting. Sardar Swaran Singh then spoke and did likewise. He spoke of two things that they must do and the Government would also do, whatever Pakistan did or did not. The first was to rescue abducted Muslim girls and restore them to their families. The second was to consider null and void all forcible conversions. The Muslims who had been made Hindus and Sikhs must be assured that they could remain in India as Muslims without any hindrance. The Sardarsahib also declared that mosques would be protected and those that had been converted into temples would be restored. Gandhiji was glad to hear this from both the Ministers. As for protection of life and property, the Government would do all that it could. But the Government could only succeed if the people co-operated with them.

#### GRIEVANCES OF THE REFUGEES

The refugees had a number of grievances. They said that the food was bad and insufficient. The East Punjab Governor was, however, looking into the matter. Out of the clothes that were sent for the refugees, good blankets often disappeared. They were given old and torn ones. One boy came and took off his clothes in front of him and told him to restore his father who had been killed. How could anyone do that? But he could understand the boy's grief and sympathized with him.

Gandhiji took the leader of the refugees in his car on the return journey. He said that the management should be given to representative refugees instead of to the local Hindus as at present. At present there was favouritism. He advised the representative to talk to the fellow sufferers and if they felt that it was their duty to keep the Muslims in Pampat free from fear and molestation, he should assure them on their behalf and induce them not to leave their homes. That would be a real victory in Pampat, which was famous for battles.

Gandhiji said that he was relating all this to the audience so that they might know how low they had sunk. They had their own Government, but they were not prepared to obey them. Pandit Jawaharlal had said that he would rather be called the first servant of the nation than the Prime Minister. Were all Government officials really servants of the people? If so, there would be no scope for luxuries. They would then all be for ever thinking of the people and their needs. That would mean Rama Raj or the Kingdom of God on earth. That would be real and complete independence. The independence of today eluded him. It was unreal and unstable.

Birla House, New Delhi, 3-12-'47

#### IMPORTANCE OF PROMISES

Speaking after prayers Gandhiji said that some friends who had been too him during the day had complained that the leaders made promises when they took power on the 15th of August last but now they were breaking them. He did not know what promises the leaders had broken. He was not the Government, but if he had some concrete proof of the allegations made, he would speak to the leaders concerned. Such charges, when carefully examined, often boiled down to misunderstanding on the part of the hearer. He himself had many a time been the victim of such misunderstanding. He had never deliberately deceived anybody. Yet his words had sometimes produced a different impression on the other person, than what he had meant to say and he had been accused of breach of promise. He believed that most of the suffering in the world was the result of misunderstandings. One should think before speaking and never waste a single word. One's speech should be a true reflection of one's thoughts, and actions should reflect the spoken word.

India had come into her own. The leaders had the reins of Government and the disposal of millions of rupees was in their hands. They had to be most vigilant. They must be humble. People often thought nothing of not keeping their word. They should never promise what they could not do. Once a promise was made it must be kept at all cost. This rule applied to every individual and not to the members of the Government only.

#### THE HARIJANS IN SIND

A medical friend from Sind had written to Gandhiji of the sad plight of the Harijans there. He said that if the Caste Hindus went away and the Harijans alone were left in Sind, nothing but annihilation awaited them. The only condition for life there would be complete slavery and ultimate acceptance of Islam. The Pakistan Government said many things, but the Pakistan officials did not implement them. Gandhiji said that this was a sad state of affairs. In the Union also Pandit Jawaharlal and the Sardar had said that they would give protection to the Muslims and they did not want a single Muslim to leave the Union out of fear. What he had told them about Pampat yesterday showed that they could not have that assurance implemented to the full. If that was the state of affairs in the Union, what could he say to Pakistan? The Harijans of Sind, he was told, wanted to come away, but were not allowed to do so. They were forced to do *bhangi's* work, even when they were not used to such work. If true, it was wholly wrong. The Pakistan Government should not act in a way that might leave a permanent sore spot on the Sikh and the Hindu mind. Those Harijans, who wanted to leave Sind, should be given facilities to do so. No one could be forced to do *bhangi's* work. Today a Harijan could choose any profession for himself. Shri Jagjivanramji had said that the Harijans should come away from Pakistan. But while they remained there, they should be allowed to live honourably. All conversions, even when they were said to be voluntary, should be considered null and void in both the Dominions.

(Continued on p. 470)

# HARIJAN

December 14

1947

## NO LIMITATIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent says in substance :

"Individual *ahimsa* I can understand. Corporate *ahimsa* between friends is also intelligible. But you talk of *ahimsa* towards avowed enemies. This is like a mirage. It will be a mercy if you give up this obstinacy of yours. If you do not, you will forfeit the esteem you enjoy. What is worse, you, being considered a Mahatma, mislead many credulous persons to their own and society's harm."

That non-violence which only an individual can use is not of much use in terms of society. Man is a social being. His accomplishments to be of use must be such as any person with sufficient diligence can attain. That which can be exercised only among friends is of value only as a spark of non-violence. It cannot merit the appellation of *ahimsa*. 'Enmity vanishes before *ahimsa*', is a great aphorism. It means that the greatest enmity requires an equal measure of *ahimsa* for its abatement. Cultivation of this virtue may need long practice, even extending to several births. It does not become useless on that account. Travelling along the route, the pilgrim will meet richer experiences from day to day so that he may have a glimpse of the beauty he is destined to see at the top. This will add to his zest. No one is entitled to infer from this that the path will be a continuous carpet of roses without thorns. A poet has sung that the way to reach God accrues only to the very brave, never to the faint-hearted. The atmosphere today is so much saturated with poison that one refuses to recollect the wisdom of the ancients and to perceive the varied little experiences of *ahimsa* in action. 'A bad turn is neutralized by a good', is a wise saying of daily experience in practice. Why can we not see that if the sum total of the world's activities was destructive, it would have come to an end long ago? Love, otherwise *ahimsa*, sustains this planet of ours.

This much must be admitted. The precious grace of life has to be strenuously cultivated, naturally so because it is uplifting. Descent is easy not so ascent. A large majority of us being undisciplined, our daily experience is that of fighting or swearing at one another on the slightest pretext.

This, the richest grace of *ahimsa* will descend easily upon the owner of hard discipline.

New Delhi, 8-12-47

## REPLY TO RICHARD GREGG

A correspondent writes.

"In his letter to Mahatmaji, Mr. Richard B. Gregg explains that much of the recent violence is an expression not so much of inter-communal suspicion and hatred, but rather and more deeply and originally, of the long pent up resentments of the masses because of their oppression. He seeks to give the present violence an economic explanation. He proceeds that frustration suffered in childhood generates resentments which are suppressed and remain long after the person who caused the original frustration is dead and awaits a suitable opportunity for explosion. His explanation cannot be accepted. What he says would be true if the killing had been confined to the classes by the masses. That it is not so disproves his thesis. The killing and the injury inflicted are on the community to which the killer and inflicter of injury do not belong. If one is to accept Mr. Gregg's explanation of frustration, there must have been a struggle in which the masses had won and the masses had been ruthlessly put down. In that case, experience of the struggle leaves, no doubt, naked hatred behind. The Bengal famine with its heavy toll in human lives did not provoke a revolt."

The home has an influence on a person. If neither the family nor the contemporaries show a person affection, he would become anti-social. Parental tenderness is expected from others, but when it is discovered with indignation that there is no reciprocation, the disappointed desire for tenderness turns into hatred and violence. It is now when children are torn out of their families and see violence and hatred that kindness is required if the anarchic and anti-social tendencies are to be curbed and they are to grow up as respectable and law-abiding citizens. The ethics of fatalism has been responsible for making the majority of our countrymen accept their social conditions as their unalterable destiny and believe riches, property and position as rewards of previous birth. The break in this fatalistic outlook has been due to the development of conflicting ideologies due to the advent of industrialism and technique and also due to the Congress propaganda. There is another reason for rejecting what Mr. Gregg says. Each community has developed rules of behaviour for which there is nothing to be said except that they are traditional. Religion has succeeded to a considerable extent in curbing the anti-social activities.

"The absence of tension has been undermined by the insidious propaganda inculcating hatred to gain political ends. When once the checks have been removed, the step has been taken on the road towards madness. It has produced the present cataclysm and may do so in future. Its first fruits in practice were the massacres. What the future has to offer to its ghost, I do not venture to predict. To frame a philosophy capable of coping with men nurtured in hatred and suddenly found in the intoxication of power is the most pressing task of our time. Those who are in power or have influence must be conscious of the greater ends that redeem."

man from the life of brutes. Action to be of any value must be inspired by vision of love, knowledge and delight in beauty. These are not negations. These are enough to fill the lives of the greatest that have ever lived."

[I wonder if the correspondent has fully grasped the deeper meaning of Mr Gregg's presentation. The latter will answer if he chooses. M. K. G.]

### A RUDDERLESS SHIPPING PROGRAMME

Indian Shipping had been blasted out of existence by British interest in the last century or so. In the past few decades, thanks to private enterprise, a few boats have been picked up from the junk of leading shipping nations and salvaged into a "Mercantile Marine" for India. When we look at the needs of India's foreign trade if it needed an ocean-going liner, we are at present the proud possessors of only a single-man canoe! At this stage when India needs millions of tonnage, the Commerce Minister brings forward a scheme for three corporations of 100,000 tons! Instead of a charger fit for a well-armoured knight he presents a knock-kneed donkey!

Even this scheme displays a lack of thought or appreciation of organization needed. Basically, one may say, it displays no well-conceived idea of the future of Indian Shipping. The plan is Government participation in the share-holding of the corporations. The public as well as shipping companies can hold shares. The management is by agencies, but how the policies will be controlled, if at all, is not clear. Even the method of working envisaged is foggy. The six-point outline given is delightfully vague and confused leaving the reader no wiser than he was. We feel all this beating about the bush is due to not having a single-minded national policy and trying to combine and compromise all types of incompatible interests.

The Government has to settle its economic policy first and foremost—then in relation to it its foreign trade policy will become well-defined. After that the policy in regard to shipping will naturally fall into its own sphere. When we have a clearly laid out programme for all key industries, we shall know how this shipping will be conducted—under monopolies, competition, nationalization or State control. This will open the way also to the methods of finding the needed finance.

At this stage this question needs to be handled with care, deep thought and tact, as we are up against powerful foreign combines. No haphazard schemes will meet the situation. Shipping being one of the life lines of a nation's economic activity, we hope the Government will bestow careful thought and attention on the building up of this vital service to the nation. Even in drafting a workable scheme the Government will be well advised to take into confidence the various interests affected by this industry and in consultations with them attempt to solve this problem.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

### RECONSTITUTE FILM CENSOR BOARDS

The cinema is a ubiquitous curse which has descended upon our people from the West, and it is only to be expected that the ideals of the film world should create a great impression upon our minds. And what are these ideals? As Roger Maxwell writes in *Film* (M. Alderton Park: The Challenge to Democracy, Faber and Faber, p. 64),

"Certain themes are implicit in most pictures (American and British alike, but more vividly in American) and might be listed as follows

- (a) Wealth in the abstract is a good thing
  - (b) Luxury, especially associated with women, is normal.
  - (c) The full time pursuit of women by unoccupied businessmen and rich young rulers is normal
  - (d) The desks of high-power executives are always clear.
  - (e) Fathers spoil their daughters with money gifts.
  - (f) Men are the source of money for women
  - (g) The desirability of the night-club-with-cabaret life.
  - (h) A sock in the jaw is an honest man's answer
  - (i) Men should appraise women by externals with close ups of essentials.
  - (j) Women should be judged satisfactory on the basis of desirability
  - (k) Sex is the most important sensation in life.
  - (l) Women can be come-bitter till you don't know where.
  - (m) Women may appraise men by externals and invite intimate attention at speed
  - (n) Things of the spirit are either funny, eccentric, charlatan or ever so wonderful. (Art is defunct as artiness, religion as mumbo, mysticism as a yarn in soft focus)
  - (o) Reformers are either harmless saints or agitators.
  - (p) Brainless patriotism is preferable to national self-criticism
  - (q) To be foreign is to be under suspicion. To be eastern is to be horrific.
  - (r) Life is a lark if you have the facilities, poverty is an act of star-slumping, boy gets girl is the end of life's difficulties, divorce is as easy as knife, and riches are the reward of virtue."
- In the U. S. A. the Motion Picture Research Council reported after extensive study that four out of five picture programmes are rated as unsuitable for children, while nearly 37% contain definitely injurious material. (Sings of the Times, 19, August, 1947, p. 4)
- Careful scientific investigation resulted in the following verdict published in the *Parents' Magazine*
- (a) Very young children suffer from disturbed sleep and nervous shock as a result of frequent attendance.
  - (b) Children and adolescents learn at the movies attitudes and conduct which are in conflict with the morals of the community
  - (c) Sex and gangster pictures definitely influence a considerable number of children towards careers of delinquency and crime.



(d) The great majority of movies are devoid of either artistic or genuine social content.

Dr. Max G. Schlaff, speaking of thrillers said:

These blood-and-thunder affairs so shock the delicate nerve centres of the young that trouble is bound to result.'

It is a far cry from America to Poona. But on an advertisement hoarding in Poona on a single day, I read three picture titles as follows:

'Murder in the Music Hall', 'Wanted for Murder', and '(Brave) Detective'

How to deal with this gigantic evil involving crores of capital out to earn dividends at any cost, is the question. If we cannot allow unscrupulous dealers to practise adulteration of food, can we allow commercial groups to degrade national life and character? As the answer is in the negative, Mr. Pink proposes the establishment of an independent Film Corporation similar to the B. B. C. But that may take time. Meanwhile the Central and Provincial Governments should reconstitute the Film Censor Boards without delay. And the public should organize a Motion Picture Research Council on the lines of the U. S. A. V. G. D.

## GANDHIJI'S POST PRAYER SPEECHES

(Continued from p. 467)

### KATHIAWAD AGAIN

Gandhiji then went on to speak of Kathiawad. He was receiving contradictory telegrams from there. One said that two allegations mentioned by him on the first day were all true another group said that they were wrong. The Congressmen had had no hand in the disturbances. Whatever loot and arson had taken place was the work of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Savak Sangh. Today he had a telegram on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha and the R. S. S. It said that they had no hand whatsoever in the arson and loot. Surely, someone out of the three was wrong. He was convinced that if the Hindus had lost their balance and harassed the Muslims, they should make no attempt to hide it. If, on the other hand, the Muslims had exaggerated things in the first instance, they should say so openly. If it was proved that the Hindu Mahasabha and the R. S. S. had had no hand in the disturbances, he would congratulate them. He was trying to find out the truth. But as an individual, he had no authority.

### INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Referring to South Africa Gandhiji said that India had not carried her point at U. N. O. Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit had told the Indians in South Africa that though they had lost, it was not a defeat, for, India had a majority of votes, though not the 2/3 majority which was required to get the motion through. She asked the Indians in South Africa not to lose heart. She, as a representative of the Union, could not go further. He went a step further and said that there was no question of a defeat for those who believed in the golden law of *satyagraha*. That weapon he had discovered in South Africa. Supposing India had won at U. N. O. and General Smuts had agreed to concede the demands of the Indians in South Africa, but the White population of South Africa refused to submit,

what could India do? Such things were happening in India today. The Hindus from Pakistan and the Muslims from the Union were being driven out. Each Government declared its impotence to protect the minorities. There was a large number of Hindus in Bannu. They could not go out of their houses except at the risk of losing their lives. If they remained indoors, starvation stared them in the face. What were they to do? He would repeat the same advice to them as he had given to the Muslims here. They should say clearly and openly that they would not leave their homes. They would live where they were born and brought up but with honour.

South Africa was the country of the Negroes. Outsiders like the Boers had no greater rights than the Indians who had gone there. But two Europeans suppressed the Negroes and deprived the Indian settlers of elementary rights. It was quite proper to place India's case before U. N. O. But if the U. N. O. would not or could not secure justice for the Indians of South Africa, should not the latter fight for their rights? In his opinion, they should, but not with the force of arms. The true and only weapon was *satyagraha* or soul force. The soul was immortal, the body was perishable.

If the Indians in South Africa had courage and self-respect, they would fight for their fundamental rights with the force of the soul.

Birla House, New Delhi, 4-12-47

### WHY FOREIGN PROPAGANDA?

Gandhiji again referred to Kathiawad in his after-prayer speech this evening. He said that he had received a telegram from Shri Shamaldas Gandhi that day and had received one from Shri Dhebarbhai the night before, both contradicting the reports of a Muslim harassment in Kathiawad. The former had felt hurt by Gandhiji's remarks about Kathiawad and had gone from Bombay to Kathiawad to investigate things for himself. He had wired to Gandhiji that the reports about abductions of Muslim women were entirely false, and as far as he knew reports about murders were also untrue. There had been no disturbance of any kind after Sardar Patel's visit. Before that some looting and rioting had taken place. He was making further enquiries and would submit the report to Gandhiji. In the meantime, said Gandhiji, telegrams came from Iran, America and London saying that the Muslims in Kathiawad were being subjected to terrible atrocities. These foreign wires hurt him. He said this as a friend of the Muslims. It was well with them only so long as they adhered to truth. What would be the meaning of sending alarming news to foreign countries except to discredit the Union? It was wrong for them to exaggerate things out of all proportion, and to carry on propaganda in foreign countries based on exaggerations. He must warn his friends against such practice.

### GOOD NEWS

Gandhiji was then glad to turn to a pleasing news. He had received a nice letter from the Muslims from Hoshangabad. There the Sikhs had invited the Muslims on Guru Nanak's birthday and assured them that they were friends and brothers. How he wished that the Sikhs and the Hindus in general would follow the lead! Then they could wash out the ugly stains that tarnished the fair name of India today.

## COMMUNAL CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

Referring to the communal Chambers of Commerce, Gandhiji had a letter from the Marwadi Chamber of Commerce, saying that though it had a communal name, its membership was open to all. He had asked them how many non-Marwadis they had on the rolls. The European and Muslim Chambers also might make the same claim. The claim could not be sustained by having a few other members for the sake of form. Why should there be separate Chambers if there was no communal spirit behind. There was much to learn from the Europeans if they would stay as Indians and work for the good of India. Some of them were expert businessmen. They could give their talents to India in the spirit of service. There was no use for exploiters.

The letter and the report from the Marwadi Chamber of Commerce were in English. English was all right in its own place. But it hurt him to see it usurp the place that did not belong to it. As an Indian he felt ashamed that anybody should think that he knew more English than his own language. It was utterly useless to send him a letter in English when the writer knew Hindustani. The English report could be justified only on the assumption that the Marwadi Chamber had an overwhelming number of members who were either English or English knowing. He hoped such was not the case if the Chamber was representative of Indian interests, be they even exclusively Marwadi. He hoped the Marwadi Chamber would take his remarks in the spirit in which he had made them. He used the incident to drive home a general truth.

## BURMA PREMIER

The Prime Minister of Burma had been to see him. He was full of humility. Gandhiji told him that though India was a great country geographically and its culture was ancient, today there was nothing for Burma to learn from India although India had given birth to Guru Nanak who taught love and tolerance for all. The Sikhs were to be friends with the Hindus, the Muslims and everybody. It was wrong to make a difference between the Sikhs and the Hindus. Master Tarasingh had compared the Hindus and the Sikhs to the nail and the nailbed. No one, he said, could separate the two. Gandhiji was glad to hear it. Who was Guru Nanak, if not a Hindu? The *Guru Granth* was full of the teachings of the *Vedas*. Hinduism was like a mighty ocean which received and absorbed all religious truths. It was a tragedy that India and the Hindus seemed to have forgotten their heritage. They seemed to be engaged in fratricidal strife today. He did not want Burma to learn strife from India. They should forget the ugly present, which he hoped was temporary, and remember that India had won her freedom without bloodshed. He had admitted that it was not non-violence of the brave that India had practised. But, whatever it was, it had enabled a mighty nation of forty crores to shake off the foreign yoke without bloodshed. It was the freedom of India that had brought freedom to Burma and Ceylon. A nation that had won freedom without the force of arms should be able to keep it too without the force of arms. This he said in spite of the fact that India had an army, a navy

in the making and an air force and these were being developed still further. He was convinced that unless India developed her non-violent strength, she had gained nothing either for herself or for the world. Militarisation of India would mean her own destruction as well as of the whole world. He reminded the Burmese friends that they had got their Buddhism too from India. He had come in touch with their monks. Let Burma take the best of Buddhism from India. In his opinion the quality of the original had suffered from migration. He wanted Burma and Ceylon to rise to their highest heights. This they could do only by copying its best from India and omitting its obvious shortcomings.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 5-12-47*

## MUSLIM WITHDRAWAL

Gandhiji remarked in his post-prayer speech this evening that he could not read and give a reply to the letters which were given to him as he came to the prayer ground, there and then. He could only do so the following day if a reply was necessary. In one of the letters the writer had referred to Gandhiji's conversation with Liaquat-sahib and said that what Liaquat-sahib had told Gandhiji about Kathiawad was found to be untrue. The friend had obviously not followed his subsequent speeches. He had spoken of Shri Sainaldas Gandhi's telegram wherein he had admitted what had happened and contradicted the very gross exaggerations. That very day Gandhiji had received a telegram from the Muslims who had wired to him earlier. They admitted that there had been much exaggeration in their earlier telegram, and what had appeared about Kathiawad in Pakistan papers was incorrect. He warned the Muslim friends against exaggeration which would damage their case. What was the good of carrying on false propaganda in foreign countries? They could not save the victims in question. The utmost that they could do was to punish the guilty Dominion after the fact. The proper thing was to trust truth to conquer untruth, which evil was.

Gandhiji told the audience that he was making no appointments from the 8th to 18th December. The reason was that the Kasturba Trust, the Talwar Sangh, the Charkha Sang and the A. I. V. I. A. were all holding meetings in Delhi during those days and Gandhiji wanted to be free for them as far as possible.

## CONTROLS

Control on cloth and food would soon go, he hoped. What was their duty after that? He expected the *kisans* to bring forth all the grain that they had stored, and he expected the merchants not to indulge in profiteering, so that the Government and the people and the permanent services might cease to feel uneasy. Today there was apprehension in their mind. He hoped these fears would be falsified and that the blackmarket nuisance would abate, if it did not disappear altogether. If there was some shortage, the people would automatically exercise self-control, so that no one need starve. The people's government could not shoot all profiteers. In democracy the people's will must rule and if the people of India had fallen so low that they would not do the right thing, he did not know that the present Government should hold office. But his hope was that

with the removal of the control, the situation would improve all round. It would be a negation of democracy if the Government did everything and the people did nothing or thwarted the former. There was no reason why the *kisans* could not grow more food with proper guidance. If the Food Department would concentrate on ways and means of increasing production, he was sure there would be no food shortage.

As for cloth control, Gandhiji had no misgivings. No one had suggested that there was not enough cotton in India. In addition to the mills they had ample manpower in India to spin cotton and weave the hand-spun yarn. If the millions took to hand-spinning and the weavers wove hand spun yarn, there need be no cloth shortage even if all the mills, somehow or other, had to close down.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 6-12-'47*

#### CONDITION OF NEIGHBOURLINESS

The *bhajan* and the *Ramadhan* in the prayers this evening were sung by Shrimati Subhalakshmi, the famous singer from South India. Gandhiji commended her for the sweetness of her voice. He said that during prayers one must lose oneself in Rama.

He then apologized for taking more than fifteen minutes over his speech the previous evening. He hoped to be stricter henceforth.

Gandhiji then referred to a letter received by him the day before in which the writer had warned him against the treachery of Pakistan. It was Pakistan that had started the mischief. The Hindus and the Sikhs had merely retaliated. Even if they stopped retaliating, Pakistan was not going to mend its ways. The property left behind by the Hindus and the Sikhs was lost by them for good. Gandhiji did not agree with this view. He had said that he would not rest until every Hindu and Sikh had returned to his home with safety and honour. Similarly he wanted to see every Muslim return to his home in the Union. The dead could not be brought back to life nor could the palatial buildings that had been burnt be restored by any Government. He would be content if what was left was returned with the land to the rightful owners. The Hindu and the Sikh houses and lands occupied by the Muslims in Lahore, Lyallpur and other places in Pakistan had to be vacated. And that was bound to happen soon if the Hindus and the Sikhs in the Union behaved correctly. Man was made in the image of God, but he was capable of making mistakes. If, however, he corrected his mistakes, the divine in him could restore him. That was what he hoped and longed for. The majority community in both the Dominions had to repent for their evil deeds and ask the forgiveness of the minority community. They would then become good neighbours instead of being enemies they had become. They had won their independence through means that were above board. The world had complemented them for so doing. Let them maintain their independence in the same way. If they said goodbye to goodness, they would not be able to keep their independence. People told him that the A. I. C. C. resolution about the return of the Hindus, the Sikhs and

the Muslims to their respective homes was idle talk. He did not believe that this was so. If the people of India had lost their sanity for a while, it did not mean that they would remain insane for ever. He had made Delhi the test case. If he failed here, he could not hope for success elsewhere.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 7-12-'47*

#### ABDUCTED WOMEN

Speaking after prayers, Gandhiji referred to the subject of abducted women. Some Hindu women workers from the Union had gone to Lahore to attend a conference with Muslim women. Raja Gurnam Singh and some others were present. It was said that 25,000 Hindu and Sikh women had been abducted in Pakistan and 12,000 Muslim women were abducted in the Eastern Punjab. Some said that the figures were not quite so high. For him, Gandhiji said, even a single abduction was bad enough. How could man stoop so low? The lowest figure, i. e. 12,000 for either province was high enough. The conference agreed that all these women must be rescued and restored to their families. Raja Gurnam Singh had said that both the Dominions had been disgraced by this episode. Who did more evil and who started it, were irrelevant questions when what the parties were agreed that these women should be returned. The important thing was how the evil was to be undone.

Shrimati Bameshwari Nair and Shrimati Mridala Sarabhai had given him a brief account of the work of the conference. They suggested that some women were to go to Pakistan and some to the East Punjab and do the rescue work with the help of the police and the military. In his (Gandhiji's) opinion this method would not succeed. It was said that in some places some of the abducted women did not wish to return. They had changed their religion and were married. He did not believe it. Such marriages and such conversions must be considered null and void. It was the duty of the two Governments to see that each one of these women was restored to her family. The families should receive them with open arms. To ostracize them for having fallen into evil hands was inexcusable cruelty.

25,000 women must have been abducted by at least an equal number of men. Were they all *goondas*? Gandhiji discredited the hypothesis. They were men passing as good who had disgraced themselves. They had lost their balance and all sense of propriety. Public opinion had to be created in favour of restoration. The two Governments should stake their all on the rescue of these women. They could ask for the help of other individuals or organizations. But the task was so big that none but the Governments could tackle it.

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## WHO SHOULD BE PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS?

( By M. K. Gandhi )

The following is a free translation of Principal Sreeman Naram Aggarwal's letter in Hindustani from Wardha

"In the Constitution that is being framed by the Constituent Assembly, there is to be provision for the election of provincial governors by the majority of voters under the adult franchise system. From this one is entitled to infer that as a rule, the nominees of the Congress Parliamentary Board will be elected. The Chief Minister of the province will also be of the Congress party. Commonsense dictates that the provincial Governor must be above the party politics of the province concerned, or above being unduly influenced by the Chief Minister or above friction between himself and his Chief Minister.

"In my opinion there is no necessity for a Governor. The Chief Minister should be able to take his place and people's money to the tune of Rs. 5,500 per month for the sinecure of the Governor will be saved. Nevertheless, no provincial Governor should belong to his own province.

"Moreover, in this way the expense and worry of an election by the majority of the adult population will be saved. Will it not be proper and better for the President of the Union to select Governors satisfying the reasonable test above suggested? Such Governors will surely raise the tone of the public life of the provinces governed by them. It is worthy of note that the present Governors have been appointed by the Central Cabinet of the Union on the above basis and, therefore, their influence on their provinces has been wholesome. I fear that if the Governors are elected as threatened under the forthcoming Constitution, their influence is likely to be unwholesome.

"Further, the Constitution as foreshadowed makes no mention of the village *panchayats* being the foundation of the progressive decentralization in the place of the old hunger for centralization. There are other such defects which one can profitably point out, but I have no right or desire to enter into an elaborate criticism of our seasoned leaders. I have but

ventured to draw your attention to the defects which have appeared to me and demand your guidance."

There is much to be said in favour of the argument advanced by Principal Aggarwal about the appointment of provincial Governors. I must confess that I have not been able to follow the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly. I do not know the context in which the proposal under discussion has been made. But, examined in isolation, the criticism appears irresistible, with the exception that much as I would like to spare every pice of the public treasury, it would be bad economy to do away with provincial Governors and regard Chief Ministers as a perfect equivalent. Whilst I would resent much power of interference to be given to Governors, I do not think that they should be mere figure-heads. They should have enough power enabling them to influence ministerial policy for the better. In their detached position they would be able to see things in their proper perspective and thus prevent mistakes by their Cabinets. Theirs must be an all-pervasive moral influence in their provinces.

Principal Aggarwal says that there is no mention or direction about village *panchayats* and decentralization in the foreshadowed Constitution. It is certainly an omission calling for immediate attention if our independence is to reflect the people's voice. The greater the power of the *panchayats*, the better for the people. Moreover, *panchayats* to be effective and efficient, the level of people's education has to be considerably raised. I do not conceive the increase in the power of the people in military, but in moral terms. Naturally, I swear by *Nase Talim* in this connection.

New Delhi, 11-12-'47

### Never Dangerous

When it is relevant, truth has to be uttered, however unpleasant it may be. Irrelevance is always untruth and should never be uttered. Misdeeds of the Hindus in the Union have to be proclaimed by the Hindus from the housetop, if those of the Muslims in Pakistan are to be arrested or stopped. Confession of one's guilt purifies and uplifts. Its suppression is degrading and should always be avoided.

New Delhi, 13-12-'47

M. K. G.

## 'INTELLECTUAL' CONTENT OF THE 'TAKLI'

An Education officer of the Government of India writes in reference to my last article in the *Harijan* entitled *Work as Education* :

"What I am anxious to know is how the boys in question learnt their geography, history, languages, mathematics, etc. through carding, spinning and weaving"

This is by no means only the officer's difficulty. Every time a visitor, whether he be an educationist or a layman comes to our institution, this is the first and very often the only question he invariably asks.

The question seems to betray bookish pre-occupation. Do they regard the imparting of knowledge of these subjects as the alpha and omega of education? Hardly anybody seems even to suspect that craft may be teaching something much more important than these subjects. The aim of education is not to stuff the student with the knowledge of the 'respectable' subjects but to stimulate his various faculties and enable him to seek the path of right living. In this process knowledge comes as an aid. But it is only an aid, never the end. Even then, it is not the amount of knowledge that matters, it is its quality, the way in which it is imparted. The right method of imparting knowledge, I have already dealt with in an article entitled *Methodology of Nayee Talim*, published in the January, 1947 issue of *Educational India*.

The above question also implies scepticism about the potentialities of correlation in craft work, so long the pre-occupation solely of the lowest and the most uneducated classes. A doubt naturally arises in the mind: How can such things be the means of the highest education? This doubt, I hope, will disappear after the following account of the subjects that can be taught through the *takli*, which is one of the simplest instruments, consisting only of an iron rod and a brass disc. I will take subject by subject, and show how through this insignificant little thing we can enter the 'Penetratum of the Mystery' in each case.

### LANGUAGE

I shall first deal with language. Language consists of words and sentences which denote things and actions. They obviously are involved in any process. The advantage of learning them in connection with craft work or any other work that is actually done is that having a basis in the child's concrete experience they get more firmly fixed in the child's mind.

### ARITHMETIC AND GEOMETRY

Arithmetic and Geometry come next. Numbers and the Four Simple Rules automatically come in when there are a number of *taklis* distributed among a number of children. In connection with the problem as to what should be the shape of the cardboard piece on which the *takli* revolves, and as to why the *takli* should revolve in the centre of that piece, we can teach: What is an angle? What are acute,

obtuse and right angles? The definitions of point, line, perpendicular and diagonals come in. We can learn how to find the area of a rectangle, the area of a right-angled, an obtuse-angled and an acute-angled triangle, and other allied problems. In connection with the construction and nature of the iron rod we can learn definitions of point, line, axis, cylinder, cross-section, circle, centre, circumference and radius, and also how to find the area and circumference of a circle and volume of a cylinder. Thought on the circular nature of the disc and the rod brings us to the definition of curve, sector and tangent, and to the method of finding the area and circumference of a circle involving fractions. The study of the box in which the *takli* is kept leads us to the study of the method of finding the volume of a cuboid, the solid matter in a hollow cuboid, etc. The question of the shape of the cone of yarn leads us to study as to how to find the area of the curved surface of a cone and its volume.

### PHYSICS

Let us now take physics—a sufficiently frightening name to simple village folk. The fact that the *takli* is a small machine leads us to the definitions of 'Machine' and 'Mechanics'. How does a *takli* revolve? This question leads us to study Newton's First Law of Motion, definitions of Matter and Force, the three factors involved in Force, representation of Force, Speed and Velocity. Centripetal and Centrifugal Forces, Motion—linear and circular, the measurements of these two forms of Motion, and the Moment of a Couple. Why does a *takli* stop? In answering this we come across Newton's Law of Gravitation, Parallel Forces and their Resultant, Axis; Action and Reaction of the surface of the earth—Newton's Third Law of Motion; Acceleration and Retardation (in connection with changing speed) and their representation; Momentum and change of Momentum—Newton's Second Law of Motion; and Elasticity (in connection with the tendency of the fibres to unwind themselves).

Again the search for the reason as to why the *takli* does not fall down while revolving leads us to the realm of Equilibrium—stable and unstable, and the Centre of Gravity. The reason for the circular nature of the disc and the cylindrical nature of the rod leads us to study Friction and Newton's Second Law of Motion. The answer as to why the disc is heavy brings in Momentum and Newton's Third Law of Motion. Elasticity comes in when we ask ourselves why the rod is of iron while the piece on which the *takli* revolves is made of cardboard. Study of the relation of the weight and volume of the rod, of the brass disc, and of the *takli* as a whole leads us to definitions of Mass, Weight, Density and Specific Gravity; and to the method of finding out Specific Gravity and the Principle of Archimedes.

### CHEMISTRY

Not is Chemistry too sacrosanct for the depredations of the little *takli*. The rod is made of iron. The disc is made of brass, an alloy of copper

with zinc. Definitions of elements, mixtures and compounds, naturally come in. So do definitions of metals and non-metals and the properties of the three metals mentioned above. Why does the rod rust? The question leads us to study Oxidation, Chemical and Physical changes, Elements and Compounds, Atoms and Molecules, and formulae of Compounds. What is the greenish thing formed on the brass disc? This brings us to Hydrogen Sulphide and its action on copper. A rough idea of the manufacture of the metals mentioned above can, of course, be given in this connection.

#### GEOGRAPHY

The natural desire to know the places in the world, and especially in India, where the above metals are found, brings us to the realm of Geography. Again the query as to where the different types of the *takli* are or were found brings us to the geographical location of many places.

#### ECONOMICS, HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY

Economics, History and Sociology also come in to help us in understanding the problems of this little but mighty instrument. The question naturally arises as to why we use the *takli* and other simple instruments when we can command the service of huge factories. Again, why do we prefer the *takli* even to the spinning wheel? These questions stimulate us to think over the extreme poverty of the country, the exploitation of the weaker nations by the imperialist countries, the incompatibility of universal democracy and individual freedom with the industrialization of the whole world, the economics of decentralization and self-sufficiency, and hence the necessity of cheap and simple methods of production. The *takli* is to be preferred to the spinning wheel for it is simpler, cheaper and hence can reach the millions much more easily. Again the study of the materials used in the *takli* naturally leads one to find out the economic position of India regarding the metals used, the trade in these metals and its economics. The history of the *takli*, its changing forms, its survival in Bihar and other places, would by themselves form an interesting chapter. Again many lessons in practical sociology such as cleanliness, time-sense, co-operation etc., can be given through craft work as explained in my last article *Work as Education* referred to above.

#### PHYSIOLOGY

Even Physiology comes in when we study the various postures or *asans* taken up in plying the *takli*. In order to find out the most convenient *asan* we must study the form which the skeleton adopts in each *asan*. The different positions of the leg and the arm muscles will also come in, and along with it their structure and manner of movement. Again, spinning involves the co-ordination of various muscles, which brings us to nerve-control, Reflex action and its seat, the Spinal Cord, explain the common phenomenon of the automatic spinning after some practice. The problem as to how to look at the thread being drawn out without injuring the eye leads us to study the structure of the eye, refraction, effect of winking etc.

#### PSYCHOLOGY

Psychology comes in when we study the effect on the mind of the rhythm and harmony involved in spinning, spinning as occupational therapy, and effects of the disturbance of the mind on the thread and vice versa. Training of the mind through the proper organization of craft work brings us to the realm of practical psychology. Again psychology of group spinning opens out other interesting fields for study.

The above by no means exhausts the richness of the magical thing called the *takli* which we have been accustomed to look down upon with contempt. It is, however, sufficient, to indicate that we can enter the realm of the 'highest' education through the medium of the craft of cloth production, especially if it is taken in its entirety from the production of raw cotton to the finished cloth.

New Delhi, 20-11-47 DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

#### DEMOCRATIZE OUR RAILWAYS

Our railways are still a stern reminder of the bad old days when the common man contributed the largest share of their revenue and yet received the least possible attention at their hands. As Leonard Woolf informs us (*The Modern State* edited by Mary Adams, Allen and Unwin, p. 46), as late as 1900 the third-class passenger in England was badly off like his compeer in India. "The first-class passenger on the railway was given a very comfortable seat; the second-class passenger was given a fairly comfortable seat; the third-class passenger was given a kind of wooden cattle-truck with an intolerably uncomfortable seat." But then the democratic idea of equality was applied to railway travelling in England with a result, which is thus described by Mr. Woolf: "Today the second-class passenger has practically disappeared, he has been squeezed out of existence by democracy. And the third-class carriage is very nearly as comfortable as the first."

We do not know what are the present plans of our Minister in charge of Railways. But is it too much to hope that before the end of 1948 something perceptible will have been done to relieve the terrible overcrowding in third-class carriages by increasing the number of trains per day and the number of bogies attached per train? Whether this is possible or not we do not know. If it is not, will it be possible to educate the passengers to refrain from overcrowding and to observe the necessary rules of corporate cleanliness? V. G. D.

#### FOR AGENTS

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MANAGER

# HARIJAN

December 21

1947

## THE DOCTRINE OF MERGER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Merger, as used here, has no legal significance. People of some States in the Deccan Union are reported to have expressed an intense desire for the extinction of their princely houses and their absorption in their provinces. This has been described as merging in British India (as it was called during British rule), as distinguished from Princely India or States.

In a society based on non-violence, there should be no impatient destruction compassed by man of another, for, every evil-doer, unless he mends his ways, is bound to destroy himself. Evil can never be "self-existent. Therefore, the Congress policy has always been to mend princely rule, not to end it, and to induce the princes to become trustees and servants in reality of their people. In pursuance of that policy the Congress Government has tried and in the main succeeded in inducing the States to accede to the Union instead of planning the destruction of princely rule and absorption of their States as an integral part of the Union provinces concerned. Therefore, merger can take place only under two conditions, viz. if the misrule of a particular prince is self-evident and is irremediable, the people will have the right, as it will be their duty, to seek absorption or merger in their province. The second condition would be when a prince and the people of his State both desire merger. It is suggested that any one State or its people, whether powerful or insignificant, should not seek merger unless all the States or the majority desire it. I do not think so. Misrule cannot wait to be ended before there is equal misrule in other States. Nor can a prince, who does not wish for any princely power be expected or be made to wait till the other princes are ready. Each case will have to be decided on its merits by the Central Government. New Delhi, 13-12-'47

## GANDHI'S CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANITY

By

S. K. George

With Forewords

By

Prof. S. Radhakrishnan

and

Mr. Horace Alexander

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AHMEDABAD

## SPINNING STILL I

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes:

'I and the members of my family have been regular spinners and wearers of *khadi*. Now that we have got our freedom, do you still contend that we should spin and wear *khadi*?'

This is a strange question. Nevertheless, it represents the condition of many people. Such persons evidently took to the spinning wheel and *khadi* merely mechanically and as one of the means of attaining freedom. These friends forget that freedom was not mere removal of the foreign yoke, though it was the first essential. *Khadi* represents and represented a way of life based on non-violence. Rightly or wrongly, it is my opinion that practical disappearance of *khadi* and non-violence shows that the main implication of *khadi* was not grasped by us during all these years. Hence, the tragedy we witness of fratricidal strife and the lawlessness on many sides. I have no doubt that spinning and weaving of *khadi* are more important than ever if we are to have freedom that is to be instinctively felt by the masses of the villagers of India. That is the Kingdom of God on earth. Through *khadi* we were struggling to establish the supremacy of man in the place of the supremacy of power-driven machine over him. Through *khadi* we were striving for equality of all men and women in the place of the gross inequality to be witnessed today. We were striving to attain subservience of capital under labour in the place of the insolent triumph of capital over labour. Unless, therefore, all the effort made during the past thirty years in India was a retrograde step, hand-spinning and all it implies must be prosecuted with much greater vigour and far greater intelligence than hitherto.

New Delhi, 13-12-'47

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. Why does Gandhiji resort to a fast when he faces extreme difficulties? What is the effect of this action on the life of the public of India?

A. Such a question has been put to me before but never, perhaps, precisely in the same terms. The answer, however, is easy. It is the last weapon in the armoury of the votary of *ahimsa*. When human ingenuity fails, the votary fasts. This fasting quickens the spirit of prayer, that is to say, the fasting is a spiritual act and, therefore, addressed to God. The effect of such action on the life of the people is that when the person fasting is at all known to them their sleeping conscience is awakened. But there is the danger that the people through mistaken sympathy may act against their will in order to save the life of the loved one. This danger has got to be faced. One ought not to be deterred from right action when one is sure of the rightness. It can but promote circumspection. Such a fast is undertaken in obedience to the dictates of the inner voice and, therefore, prevents baste.

New Delhi, 10-12-'47



## GANDHIJIS POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

*Birla House, New Delhi, 8-12-'47*

### A MUSLIM SOCIETY'S WARNING

A Muslim society warns me against accepting any statement waether from Muslim sources or non-Muslim ones and entering upon argument. The better course is to verify them and then act. The society further proceeds to advise me that I should go to Kathnawad and see things for myself. This, I have already said, I cannot do today. I must attend to my duty in Delhi and roundabout. These advisers forget, too, that by the friendly method I adopted I have a definite withdrawal to the extent necessary from the very parties who had complained. The moral is that where there is pursuit of truth for its own sake, the result is always happy as has been verified in innumerable cases. Patience and perseverance are essential in any such search.

### DOLEFUL LETTER FROM SIND

Doleful letters continue to come from Sind. The latest from Karachi says that there are practically no murders, but there is no life of self respect for the Hindus. Thus, Muslims from the Union enter your house whenever they like and calmly declare that they have come to occupy it. They have no authority. Yet, you dare not say no. Such instances are not rare. The Karachi of a few months ago has become a dream. This is the substance of a long letter which I hold to be trustworthy. This betokens anarchy. This kind of treatment is what may be called killing by inches and at the same time killing the soul also. I would plead with the Pakistan authorities to arrest this lawlessness. It is an unhealthy growth, the sooner removed the better.

### CONTROLS AGAIN

Sugar control has gone and control on cereals, pulses and cloth will go. The object of the removal is not to lower the prices at a bound, it is to return to normal life. Superimposed control is bad any day. It is worse in this country in that we are a nation of millions spread over a large area 1,900 miles long and 1,500 broad. I need not take into account the division of the country. We are not a military nation and we grow or can grow our own foodstuffs and enough cotton for our requirements. When this control is removed, the nation will breathe free, it will have the right to make mistakes. This ancient method, of progressing by making mistakes and correcting them, is the proper way. Keep a child in cotton wools and stunt it or kill it. If you will let it develop into a robust man, you will expose his body to all weathers, teaching him how to defy them. Precisely in the same manner, a government worth the name has to show the nation how to face deficits, bad weathers and other handicaps of life through its own collective effort instead of its being effortlessly helped to live anyhow.

### MEANING OF DECONTROL

Thus considered decontrol means that the business of foresight is transferred from the few members of the Government to the millions composing the nation. The Government will have new tasks to perform towards the nation so as to enable it to discharge the duty devolved upon it. Methods of transport have to be put in order, and those of growing more food have to

be brought home to the people and to that end the agricultural department has to learn how to serve the small grower rather than the capitalist grower. The Government has on the one hand to trust all arms of the nation as well as to watch and check their movement, regard being had always to the interest hitherto neglected of the small grower, who represents the largest majority of the millions. He is the consumer of his own crops reserving a small percentage for the mere consumer who, in exchange for the food stuffs he gets, gives cash for buying the other necessities of life. Control has meant less payment to the grower than he would otherwise command from the open market. Hence, to the extent that he gets a higher price, the prices of food must rise. These, the consumer will not grudge. The Government has to see that in the new set up the whole of the percentage in the rise of prices goes to the grower. This has to be made clear to the public from day to day or week to week as the case may be. The wealthy factory owners or middlemen have to work in co-operation with and in subordination to the Government. I understand that the process is going on. There should be perfect co-ordination among these few men or corporations who have hitherto exploited the poor for their selfish purpose and have not hesitated to enter into unhealthy rivalry among themselves. This has to go especially in the case of food and cloth where the profit motive is to be wholly absent. Any successful attempt at adding to their profit owing to decontrol will defeat its purpose. Let us hope that these minded interests will rise to the occasion.

*Birla House, New Delhi 9-12-'47*

### THEIR CHANGE

In his after-prayer speech Gandhi referred to a newspaper report saying that Sardar Patel and he were going to Pilani for change of air. Neither Sardar Patel nor he had any time for such a change. Their change consisted in getting rest at night. But he had no right to speak for the Sardar, who might seek a quiet place for giving himself resastion from interviews and office work. For himself, he had no cares of office and he had vowed to do or die in and about Delhi. He had heard too that elaborate preparations were being made in Delhi for sending all kinds of provisions for them. This was fantastically false. The report about Pilani, we saw in the papers. Way they did not verify the report from the Sardar or him, he did not know.

### WORSER THAN MURDER

Gandhi next referred to a Sindhi friend's letter. Some days back he had referred to the letter of a doctor from Sind describing the hardships of the Harijans in Sind. The letter said that the doctor had been put under arrest and that several other workers were also arrested, though not with the doctor. The idea, it was said, was not to let anyone, who could speak for the Harijans, be free in Sind. It was a terrible state of affairs. He warned the Pakistan Government that such treatment was bound to drive away all workers. It was worse than outright murder.

### A WORD TO KASTURBA WORKERS

Referring to his own talk to the women workers of the Kasturba Trust that afternoon, he said that the

Trust was meant for the service of women and children in the villages of India. The workers had been mostly drawn from the cities. The cities upto now had exploited the villages. The right thing would be that the cities should be there to be exploited for the villages. But today the capitalists brought raw materials from the villages and used them to make money. If these *sevikas* wanted to serve the villages, they had to become villagers at heart. They had to cease to be city-minded. They should take to the villages the good things of the cities as for instance cleanliness and sanitation, but even these had to be given a rural garb. Then alone they would be able to check the exploitation of the villages and improve the lot of women and children there.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 10-12-47*

#### IMPLICATIONS OF THE CHARKHA

In his after-prayer speech Gandhiji talked about the Charkha Sangh. He had gone to the Harijan Nyas to attend the meeting of the Charkha Sangh the day before and the Tulsi Sangh that day. The Charkha Sangh stood for the propagation of the *charkha* and what it stood for, i. e. *ahimsa*. It taught and encouraged people to produce their own cloth. It taught all the processes beginning from the ginning, shivering and spinning of cotton to the preparation of cloth. If the people did that, they would be benefitted in two ways. They would save the money spent in buying cloth and they would utilize their time in an honest handicraft. He had said already that to suffer from shortage of cloth in India was sheer madness. The Charkha Sangh had succeeded in distributing a few crores of rupees among the poor villagers against useful work, but it had not succeeded in making the message of the *charkha* popular among the seven lakhs villages of India. If all these villages had hummed with the *charkha*, the world and they would never have witnessed the tragic scenes that were happening. The villages would have been happy busy places. But today people thought only in terms of the mills in which only a few could work. The interest of moneyed men came before those of the masses. He had no quarrel with the former. He was staying with one. But their ways and his ways were different. Everyone talked of serving the poor. The socialists talked of the rule of the masses. The socialist revolution and socialization of big industry might come in its time, but today even they should work for the *charkha* and all it implied. They should tell the people to become self-sufficient at least in clothing.

#### CHARKHA AND COMMUNAL HARMONY

Continuing Gandhiji said that he had been working to that end for more than thirty years. He had called the *charkha* the symbol of non-violence. If the message of the *charkha* had spread, there would be no talk of turning out the Muslims. Large numbers had left Delhi. There was talk about turning out the rest. Would the Hindus go and live in their mosques? That would be the ruin of Hinduism.

#### LIVE AND LET LIVE

News had come from Ajmer that a large number of Muslims had been scared away. Out of the

remaining, some had been killed and the poison was spreading to the villages. There was a big *Dargah* at Ajmer where the Hindus and the Muslims both offered worship. Had they gone mad now? Gandhiji wanted them all to pray for good sense to prevail. In their efforts to kill or turn out the Muslims, they would kill Hinduism. Similarly the Muslims would kill Islam by wiping out the Hindus and the Sikhs from Pakistan. The only way to live was to let live.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 11-12-47*

#### THE VERSE FROM THE QURAN

Before his prayers started a member of the audience stood up and requested Gandhiji to explain the meaning of the verse from the *Quran* that was recited in the prayers. Gandhiji did that in his post-prayer speech. In the verse the devotee called upon Allah, the All Merciful to save him from the clutches of the accursed Satan. He was the Lord of the Day of Judgement. Allah was one. He had no son and was not the son of anyone. In the end was the prayer that He might lead the devotee on the path trodden by those who were blessed with His grace.

They might ask him why the Muslims did the deeds that went contrary to the above teaching. He asked them in return did the Christians live up to the message of the Bible or the Hindus up to the message of the *Upanishads*? All Muslims were not bad and all Hindus were not good.

#### ASSURANCE OF MUSLIM PEACE MISSION

Four Muslim friends of the U. P. had been to the West Punjab on a peace mission. They had come to see Gandhiji in the morning and told him that the Hindus could go and live in Lahore in safety. They would accompany them and would lay down their lives before a hair of their heads was touched. Gandhiji asked them to write down what they had said so that he could read it to the meeting. They wrote and gave him the following letter:

"The U. P. Peace Mission has twice toured in the West Punjab. They spent one month there on the first occasion and one week on the second. Conditions are much better now and the Government and the people are both trying to establish peace.

1. The West Punjab Government wishes that the non-Muslims living there should continue to do so and those that have left should return.

2. The Government has issued instructions that the property of those non-Muslims who come back should be returned to them.

3. Those non-Muslims who return to the West Punjab should be given full protection and facilities for carrying on their business.

4. If in spite of all their efforts any non-Muslim does not wish to return to the West Punjab, he has full right to sell or exchange his property.

5. The Government is giving exemplary punishments to riot mongers and is taking all precautions against a repetition of the trouble. The Peace Mission has prepared the people and the Government to shoulder the responsibility of ensuring the safety of life, honour and property of the non-Muslims. The members of U. P. Peace Mission assure their non-Muslim brethren that they would accompany those

who wish to return to their homes and help to rehabilitate them. They would protect them with their lives and will not leave them till they feel safe."

"A Hindu had also given him a letter saying that he had stayed in Lahore throughout the riot. He was running a restaurant. He had an attendance of nearly one thousand a day. The Government was trying to suppress lawlessness. He requested the non-Muslims, who had left Lahore, to go back.

Gandhiji said that if this was true, he would feel more than satisfied. But the statement of these friends had to be proved in action. He would set about seeing what was possible to do in the matter.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 12-12-'47*

#### PLANS SHIPS OF THE REFUGEES

A refugee had written to Gandhiji that in accordance with what Gandhiji had said about the return of the non-Muslims to Pakistan the previous evening, he would like to go back as early as possible. In the Union no one cared for the rangers and the refugees were being subjected to great hardships. Gandhiji agreed that the refugees were being subjected to great hardships and that in spite of all the efforts of the Union Government to help them, it must be remembered that the task was so colossal that the best of governments would be hard put to it to cope with it wholly to the satisfaction of everyone. He was, however, not prepared to advise anyone to return to Pakistan today. He would have to verify the statement of the Peace Mission and then to see what suitable arrangements could be made for the return of those who wished to go back.

#### THE OTHER SIDE

Gandhiji next referred to two angry letters that had come to him, one from Burma and the other from Bombay. They were from Muslims though the writers had chosen to remain anonymous. These friends insisted that the charges of atrocities which had been withdrawn by the Kathiawar Muslims were true. Gandhiji did not see how he could pay any serious attention to anonymous letters. These friends should produce names, facts and figures in support of their charges and only then could Gandhiji ask the local authorities to inquire into them.

A wire from Ajmer said that the disturbances there were not of the magnitude described and that the trouble had not been started by the Hindus. He mentioned this telegram merely to let them know that there were people holding a different view also. He did not know where the truth lay.

Another friend had commented on his remark saying that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had said that the expenditure on the renovation of the Somnath temple would not be met from the State treasury. The friend saw no reason why it should not be so met. Gandhiji believed that if the State spent money for such purposes for one community, it must also do so for the others. That would be wrong.

#### HOOLIGANISM AT CALCUTTA

Referring to the hooliganism at Calcutta, Gandhiji said that people seemed to have come to believe that

they could get anything through violence. It was entirely wrong. In the past he had fasted as a protest against such violence even when it was directed against a foreign Government. Now that they had their own Government, was lawlessness to be tolerated? People complained against Government measures to suppress disorderly behaviour. He would have them understand that freedom could never mean exemption from punishment against offences. If there was anything which they considered unjust, they could agitate against it in a proper manner. Had they tried out peaceful means and found them wanting? Their freedom was a baby of a little over three months. If they obstructed the Government in the reported fashion, it would become impossible for it properly to discharge its functions of supplying food and other amenities to the people. Did all this mean that Indians could be only destructive and that they were unfit for carrying out constructive policies? The fight against the British Government was passive resistance, not violence. Now that they had their own Government, was wrong to resort to methods which were taboo against the foreign Government.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 13-12-'47*

#### MESSAGE OF THE CHARKHA

In his after-prayer speech Gandhiji discussed at the recent meeting of the Charkha Sangh at the Harijan Colony. Why had he laid so much emphasis on the charkha? Years ago when he first started talking of the charkha, he did not know that it was still a living industry in the Punjab and some parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar. It was first thought of as a means of supplementing the income of the poor artisan and the village woman. Later on he discovered the tremendous power hidden in the charkha. That power was the power of non-violence which could not be defeated by the mightiest military force. It was this revolution which had made him unroll the wheel the symbol of non-violence.

They all knew the history of the spinning wheel, the history of the Dacca Muslim and all its associations. In those days the spinning wheel was the symbol of our slavery. The artisans had to work at the rate fixed by their masters and they could not say no. The same wheel, plied with the full consciousness of its potentialities, had become the symbol of freedom. If all men and women and children of age out of the forty crores of India plied the wheel, they would spin all the yarn required for weaving enough khadi for the use of the millions and save crores of rupees. But that was not of great consequence. The greatest thing he valued was the power generated by the co-operative effort of those forty crores of people. Was there any other occupation which could employ such numbers without exploiting anyone? The mills could never do that. They could employ only a few lakhs leaving under partial or full unemployment the millions. In the past they had pined the wheel away, for his sake, but without understanding its full import. That was why the wheel was largely discarded. He wanted them to take to it now with deliberation and understanding. It meant freedom from exploitation. If it meant non-

... also meant a moral life. If they did that they would never discard it again, they would have no communal or other quarrels and they would become the barbingers of peace for the whole world.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 14-12-'47*

#### A FRIENDLY ACT

In his post-prayer speech this evening Gandhiji said that he had received from a member of the audience, as he was coming, a letter saying that a Muslim friend who, having to leave for Pakistan under pressure, had left with him his hard-earned savings, which he had converted into gold and silver. The writer had asked whether he (the speaker) could see to the gold and silver being sent to the owner. Gandhiji said that if the metals were sent to him with the name and address of the owner, he would gladly ask the authorities to trace the owner and send the property to him.

#### NAYAR TALIM

As was promised he dealt with *Nayar Talim* as it came next in the order in which the subjects were dealt with during his visits to the Harijan Nivas. *Nayar Talim* was only eight years old — not a long experience for an all India body dealing with such a subject as the education of the nation on a new basis. It was popularly and correctly described as education through handicrafts. This was part of the truth. The root of this new education went much deeper. It lay in the application of truth and love in every variety of human activity, whether in individual life or a corporate one. The notion of education through handicraft rose from the contemplation of truth and love permeating life's activities. Love required that true education should be easily accessible to all, and should be of use to every villager in his daily life. Such education was not derived from nor did it depend upon books. It had no relation to sectional religion. If it could be called religious, it was universal religion from which all sectional religions were derived. Therefore, it was learnt from the Book of Life which cost nothing and which could not be taken away from one by any force on earth. The question then rose whether there were such teachers filled with truth and love and whether they could draw pupils who would care for truth and love in this amoral age of dishonesty. This question was to be answered by Dr. Zakir Hussain, the Chairman, and the Secretaries, Sri Aryanayakam and Shrimati Ashadevi. If they believed in truth and love not as a policy but as a life principle, he knew that the possession of these would act as a magnet which would draw to itself the hardest human being. They should possess the qualities that were attributed to the steadiest man as described in the verses sung at the evening prayer. If they did not possess these attributes or if they abandoned the task undertaken by them, the eight years old infant must die. Of the three, the burden mostly fell on the Secretaries. He could not claim that the infant Association had blossomed into an organization that existed irrespective of persons, be they even the organizers.

## NOTES

### Its Deep Roots

A correspondent writes to the effect that

"Even after independence, the hold of the English language on the city people does not seem to have relaxed to any appreciable extent. In proof of his statement he cites the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition held in Bombay, at which the opening speech was in English, the signboards were painted in English and the correspondence for the most part was conducted in English. Two ration cards are in English, much to the annoyance of the general public who cannot read English. Our leaders feel that their important pronouncements must be made in English without the slightest regard for the poor public."

This is a just complaint, demanding peremptory redress. The unfortunate inertia has to be thrown out before a visible change for the better takes place in this important matter.

New Delhi, 10-12-'47

M. K. G.

### A Right Step at last

At least one Provincial Government — Madras — seems to have awakened at last to the importance of encouraging food crops and increasing the acreage under them as a practical measure of meeting the food shortage in the country. The Government promises facilities in the way of supply of seeds and manures.

In order to prevent any increase in the acreage under commercial crops the Government will not supply manures and fertilizers to such crops.

Again, if any ryots divert their lands under paddy to crops like tobacco, cotton, groundnut, sugarcane etc., they will be disqualified for any assistance or facilities from the Government.

Though these are but halting steps, we welcome them as being in the right direction. May we hope this is just the gummer of the approaching dawn to an agricultural country based on self-sufficiency?

J. C. K.

## NOTICE

Files of Volume X of the three Harijan weeklies — the *Harijan* (English), the *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati) and the *Harijansevak* (Hindustani) of the year beginning with 10-2-'46, and ending with 26-1-'47, bound in cardboard cover and khadi back are available at this office.

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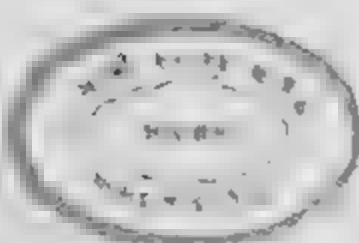
MANAGER

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## HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL



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TWO ANNAS

## NOTES

## A Worthy Example

Shri Dilkhush Divanji of Karadi fame reports the glorious death at his post of one of his staunch workers. The late Valjibhai was the nephew of Panchakaka, the famous farmer of Karadi, who took part in the No-Tax Campaign of Bardoli. He never wavered. He refuses even now to till his land or to pay the tax. He rightly says that there is no *Swaraj* of his dream so long as we need the police to guard our homes and the military to protect us from ourselves. The deceased left a lucrative job and purely from a patriotic motive became a weaver. He proved worthy of his uncle and died in harness. No man can wish for a nobler death than Valjibhai's. It is to be wished that the weavers who were trained by him would multiply themselves. If India is to come to her own, she needs thousands of weavers who will weave nothing but hand-spun yarn and expects every man and woman and child above six years to spin good yarn daily for at least half an hour. Such is Divanji's dream and Valjibhai died for its realization.

## Stock Grain in Villages

Shri Vaikunth Lalubhai Mehta writes to say that in view of general decontrol it is imperative that there should be sufficient grain stocked in the hands, if possible, of the village *panchayats*, not for profiteering, but as an insurance against scarcity by whatever cause induced. His original letter is in Gujarati which I have reproduced and dealt with in the Gujarati columns. Here has been given the pitch of his argument. I have always held that whatever may be said in favour of cash payment of taxes, its introduction injured the nation to the extent that the system of stocking grain in the villages was disturbed. The conservation of grain in the villages is needed for the reason already mentioned. The condition always must be that the growers and dealers must not be greedy or unscrupulous. When this simple honesty becomes common, the consumer cannot be cheated. There is no question of high or low prices when a nation's economics are put on a sound basis and when all parties have an income commensurate with the expenditure required for the necessities of life.

## The Gates of Somnath?

Pandit Sundarlal has contributed to the *Hindustani* columns an interesting article on the reputed Gates of Somnath. The curious must see the original. The main point made by the writer is that the gates

which were taken away to Ghazni were never brought back as then stated. The gates were a fabrication and when the fraud was discovered the exhibition of the 'gates' never travelled beyond Agra. Pandit Sundarlal is anxious that by an oversight the fabrication might not be used in the projected renovation of the famous temple.

New Delhi, 22-12-47

M. K. G.

## GANDHIJI'S ADDRESS TO THE MEOS

Addressing a gathering mainly of the Meos in the village of Jesarali in the Gurgaon Taluk on 9-12-'47 Gandhi remarked that his voice was not so powerful as it once used to be. There was a time when whatever he said was noted upon. If it had the original power, not a single Muslim should have found it necessary to migrate to Pakistan from the Indian Union or a single Hindu or Sikh leave his hearth and home in Pakistan and seek asylum in the Indian Union. What had taken place—the orgy of murder, arson, loot, abductions, forcible conversions and worse that they had witnessed—was, in his opinion, unmitigated barbarism. True, such things were not unknown before, but there was not that wholesale communal discrimination. Tales of such happenings had filled him with grief and shame. Even more shameful was the demolition and desecration of mosques, temples and *gurdwaras*. Such madness, if it was not arrested must spell ruin to both the communities. They were far from freedom while this madness reigned.

What was the remedy, Gandhi continued. He had no faith in the force of bayonets. He could only present to them the weapon of non-violence, which provided an answer to every emergency and which was invulnerable. It was common to all great religions—to Christianity no less than to Hinduism etc., but it had today been reduced to a mere copy-book maxim by the votaries of religions and in practice they all followed the law of the jungle. His might be today a voice in the wilderness, said Gandhi but he had no other message to give them except this message of non-violence of meeting the challenge of brute force with power of the spirit.

Gandhi then referred to the representation which was sent to him by a representative of the Meos in which had been catalogued their complaints for which they wanted redress. He had placed that letter, Gandhi told the audience, in the hands of Dr. Gopichand, their Prime Minister and the speaker would leave it to him (Dr. Gopichand) to tell them what he proposed to do in regard to the various points set forth in it. All he could say was that if any Government officer had been guilty of misconduct, he was sure, the Government

would not hesitate to take suitable action against him. No individual could be allowed to usurp the function of the Government and expect a reshuffle of Government officers at his bidding. He was clear too that no conversion or marriage of a woman to a member of the opposite community could be recognized as valid on the plea of consent or free will. It was abuse of words to talk of free consent when terror reigned.

He would feel happy, continued Gandhi, if his words could bring some consolation to them in their distress. Referring to the Meo refugees who had been driven out of the Alwar and Bharatpur States, Gandhi remarked that he looked forward to the day when all enmities would be forgotten and all hatred buried underground and all those who had been driven away from their hearths and homes would return to them and resume their avocations in perfect security and peace as before. His heart would then dance with joy. He would never give up that hope so long as he lived. But he was free to confess that today conditions were not ripe for it. He was sure that their Union Government would not be remiss in discharging its duty in that respect, and the States would have to listen to the advice of the Union Government. The Instrument of Accession did not give to the rulers of the States the freedom to oppress their subjects. The rulers had to be trustees and servants of their subjects if they wanted to retain their status.

Gandhi concluded by giving a word of advice to the Meos. He had been told, he remarked, that the Meos were almost like criminal tribes. If the statement was correct, it called for an all out effort on their part to reform themselves. It should not be left to others to do the work of reclamation. He hoped that the Meos would not resent his advice, but take it in the spirit in which it was offered. To the Government he would say that even if the allegation regarding the Meos was correct, that was no argument for sending them out into Pakistan. The Meos were subjects of the Indian Union and it was its duty to help them to reclaim themselves by providing them with facilities of education and establishing settlements for them to settle in.

Dr. Gopichand, being next asked to address them a few words, said that it was not the policy of the East Punjab Government that a single Muslim should leave his hearth and home and go out of the Indian Union. As a representative and servant of the people, he was bound to carry out their collective will. It was his duty to ensure equal protection to all the sections and communities in the State. He wanted them to return to their homes and resume their avocations. They should till the land which was lying uncultivated and help grow more food. If anybody tried to molest them, the fact should be brought to the notice of the authorities who would give them due protection. As regards Government officers against whom they had complaints, he would ask them to communicate the same to the authorities through the proper channels and to appeal to the higher authorities if they failed to get proper redress. He was sorry that he could not accept their suggestion that all officers who had been serving in their areas before should

summarily be transferred and other officers from the Amritsar Division be brought in to replace them. All officers of the Government were equally bound by their oath of loyalty to carry out faithfully the policy of the State and he could not discriminate against officers of any particular Division as such. All he could promise was that any officer who acted contrary to the policy of the Government would be suitably dealt with. As regards providing them with food and clothing, he had already issued orders to the Deputy Commissioner to make adequate arrangements. He had further instructed the District authorities not to be guided merely by their officers but to act in close co-operation with the representatives of the affected people.

As regards those who wanted to return to the Bharatpur and Alwar States, from where they had been driven out, continued Shri Bhargava the matter could only be dealt with through the agency of the Central Government.

Finally, about the abducted women, he made a fervent appeal to those who held them to return them to their respective guardians and relations. A committee had been formed to help recover such women and he would ask them to get into touch with it. He reiterated that no conversion would be recognized as valid by

a Government on the plea of willing consent, considering the circumstances prevailing at the time when the conversions were made. He regarded such conversions worse than useless—they were a negation of religion.

PYARELAL

## GROWING OF HOT WEATHER VEGETABLES

Kind of vegetable	Seed rate per acre	Time of sowing P: Plains H: Hills	Depth of sowing	Period of germination	Height at maturity	Period of harvest
Bottle-gourd (Lambi or Gawa-kaddu)	3-4 lbs	P: March-July H: April and May	5"	5-8 days	8'	4' onwards

Remarks: Raised beds of width of 8' are separated by furrows of 2' width. The seed is sown on both sides of the furrows which are used for irrigating the vines. The vines spread on the raised beds. For early crop, the seed is sown in October and the vines are protected throughout the winter by some sort of thatches. Four to five seeds are sown at each hill and later thinned to one per hill. For individual gardens, sow in round beds about 3' in diameter. If sown near wall of house, wall climb over roof.

Red gourd (Mitha-kaddu or Sitaphal)	3-4 lbs	P: Feb. to July H: March to June	5"	5-8 days	8'	4' June onwards
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Remarks: The cultural details are the same as mentioned in case of bottle-gourd. Unlike the bottle-gourd, it is usually picked when fully ripe and with penduncle (stem) on. It stores very well and can be had almost throughout the winter months and after June in the summer.

Songe-gourd (Kali tori & Ghastori)	3-4 lbs	P: Mar. - July	5"	5-8 days	8'	4' May to Dec.
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Remarks: Staking is necessary in case of second crop which should be done when the vines are 5 to 6 inches high.

Bitter-gourd	3-4 lbs	P. March- July	'75"	8-10 days	2'5"	1'	May to Sept.
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(Karela)

Remarks: The vegetable is grown for its bitter taste. It is not fit for consumption as vegetable. Staking is necessary for satisfactory yields. The bitterness of the skin is removed by means of common salt to render the fruit fit to be cooked or fried as a vegetable.

Lady's finger	16-20 lbs	P. Mar.- end July	'5"	5-6 days	2'5"	1'	Apr. to Dec.
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(Blundi) for early crop & 8-10 lbs mid-late June crop

Remarks: The pods should be picked when tender as they cook well only in this condition. Picking should be done every second or third day. If the pods are allowed to ripen, the plants stop producing them.

Musk-melon	3-4 lbs	P. Mid-Jan. to end March	'3"	5-6 days	5'	3'	May- June
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Remarks: The crop needs hot and dry atmosphere during ripening period to develop the high sugar content and fine flavour. The plant is killed even by light frost. Four to five seeds are sown at one place on both sides of the furrow running through the raised beds. The plant and fruit must remain on dry land. Pick the ripe fruits in the morning. Water should be applied in the evening if the crop is sown on flat.

Long-melon	3-4 lbs	P. Mid-Feb. to end Apr.	'5"	5-6 days	5'	3'	May- June
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Remarks: It is a much harder crop than melon. The fruit is eaten raw like cucumbers. When soft and tender the fruit is covered with downy hair and is green in colour.

Water-melon	3-4 lbs	P. Mid-Jan. to end March	'5"	5-6 days	5'	3'	June- July
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Remarks: The cultivation of first crop of watermelon is usually carried out in dry river beds, where the fruit attains large size and develops good quality.

Pinda	3-4 lbs	P. Mid-Feb. to April 2	'5"	6-12 days	5'	3'	1 June- 2 Oct.
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Remarks: It required a dry and warm climate for its successful cultivation. Early crop is sown on raised beds of five feet width separated by two feet wide furrows for irrigation. Irrigate immediately after seed sowing and repeat it after every 8-10 days. The second crop is usually sown by broadcasting the seed. The field is watered till the vines are well grown.

Vegetable Marrow or Squash	4-5 lbs	P. Feb. to mid-April	'5"	6-12 days	3'	3'	May to July
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(Vilati-haddu) March to mid-June

Remarks: The seed is sown on raised beds 4 to 5 feet wide with beds about 3 feet apart. Usually 3 to 4 seeds are sown per hill but when the seedlings are 3 to 4 inches tall thinning is done to keep one plant per hill. Irrigation is given every 4 to 5 days.

Sweet Potato (Shabar-hand)	Propagated from cuttings. Vines from 2-4 'marlas' are enough for an acre	P. April- end June	Vines are cut into sets having 3-4 buds each and the central portion is buried in the soil	6-8 days	2'5"	1'	Nov. to Jan.
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Remarks: Ridges two to two-and-half feet apart are made for the sowing of sets.

Purslane (Kulfa-sag)	3-4 lbs	P. Mid-March to end June	'25"-5"	6-8 days	2'5"	1'	June to Oct.
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Remarks: It is a pot herb with small fleshy leaves which are anti-scorbutic in properties. The seeds are sown thickly by broadcasting and are lightly covered with fine soil.

New Delhi, 22-11-47

MIRABEHN

### From the A. I. V. I. A. Board Meeting

A meeting of the Board of Management of the All India Village Industries Association was held in Delhi on the 11th of December, 1947. Apart from the routine administrative work the following business was transacted:

It was decided to change the end of the financial year from 31st of December to 30th of June.

The Annual Report as circulated was passed and the Secretary was authorized to publish it.

The question of partaking in Government and other exhibitions was considered. It was decided to continue our present policy in regard to exhibitions—partaking only in exhibitions that are mainly educational in their objective, and which restrict themselves to khadi and village industries.

The extent to which the Association can go in helping the programme of the Governments was discussed. Now that we have popular Governments it was decided to extend our co-operation when invited to do so by lending expert assistance wherever needed to carry out items which are in harmony with our work and approach.

The Secretary stated that the term of office of the present President and Secretary expires on the 2nd February, 1948. The Board decided to re-elect Gindhiji as President and Sri J. C. Kumarappa as Secretary for the next period of three years.

The Secretary reports:

Though the departments of paddy husking and flour grinding have been kept going yet because of the rationing there has not been much activity. Rationed rice is supplied from the rice mills.

Kerosene oil being now easily available the demand for Magandipas has gone down. The work here too is more or less at a standstill.

The pottery department is being built up. We have improved the smokeless chulla and installed them in our Vidyalaya kitchen and some staff quarters.

J. C. K.

### A correction

In Harijan of 14 December 1947 on page 469, column 2 in place of Maxwell read Manwell.



# HARIJAN

December 28

1947

## LAWS OF HEALTH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Brijlal Nehru, himself a faddist like me, has written to the Press belauding the statement of the Minister of Health that "a very great deal of our ill-health is due to our own fault" and saying that there is to his knowledge no governmental agency responsible for removing this fault. He adds: "The attention of our Health Ministers has so far been confined to the establishment of hospitals, sanitarium, clinics, dispensaries etc., i. e. devices for the treatment of disease; no institutions have been founded for the prevention of disease by bringing home to the people the need of correct living and the methods of doing so."

He then goes on to suggest that "a separate branch be established to attend to the promotion of health as distinguished from treatment of disease. This agency may be given the assistance of an advisory body of both experts and laymen so that the experts may devise their schemes with the full knowledge of the requirements of the people and the limitations under which they have to live and work." Why does this fellow faddist want a separate branch for this very necessary purpose? This was the fashion under the old regime which went on piling expenditure on expenditure and deluded itself and the gullible public that the greater the expense the greater the utility. I would have the Minister of Health require the doctors under her and the other staff understand that their first care must be the attainment and preservation of the health of the public whom they are paid to serve.

As a preliminary step the writer "would have the production of a book on health laws and correct living in the conditions prevailing in India. To carry weight with the public, the book must be brought out under the authority of the Health Ministry of the Government of India. The duty of writing such a book may be entrusted to the Indian Medical Association, who should be required to produce it within a stated time. A transfer of emphasis from disease to health in the teaching given in our medical colleges would in itself be most desirable.

Indeed, the teaching of the laws of Health should be obligatory in all schools and colleges. If the treatise recommended by Shri Brijlal Nehru is brought out, I hope the authors would be instructed to avoid the introduction of disease under the guise of preserving health such as the craze for various inoculations.

New Delhi, 21-12-'47

## COMPOST MANURE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An all India Compost Conference was held in New Delhi during the month to consider the question of compost development on the widest scale possible. It was the conception of Shrimati Mirabehn and was presided over by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Datar Singh, Dr. Acharya and other eminent men in the line took part in it. Several important resolutions were passed by it on schemes for towns and villages. A sub-committee consisting of Shrimati Mirabehn, Shri Shivakumar Sharma, Dr. B. N. Lal and Dr. K. G. Joshi (with Dr. B. N. Lal as convener) was appointed to prepare a skeleton scheme for the provinces. The resolutions emphasized the necessity of "the agricultural utilization of town sewage, sullage and sludge, the utilization of the by-products of the slaughter house and other trade wastes (for example, wool waste, mill waste, leather waste etc.) and for the composting of other materials like water-hyacinth, cane-trash, press mud, forest leaves etc."

These resolutions are good and useful if they do not remain merely on paper. The chief thing is whether they would be reduced to practice throughout India. To do so will tax the resources of many Mirabehn's. Given the willing co-operation of the masses of India, this country can not only drive out shortage of food, but can provide India with more than enough. This organic manure ever enriches, never impoverishes the soil. The daily waste, judiciously composted, returns to the soil in the form of golden manure causing a saving of millions of rupees and increasing manifold, the total yield of grains and pulses. In addition, the judicious use of waste keeps the surroundings clean. And cleanliness is not only next to godliness, it promotes health.

New Delhi, 21-12-'47

## GANDHIJIS POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

Birla House, New Delhi, 15-12-'47

### DISOBEDIENCE, DEFIANCE

Here is what pained me to read in the papers

"The buildings of six Municipal schools have been occupied by refugees and, in spite of the best efforts of the Delhi Municipal Committee, they have not vacated them. The Committee proposes to approach the police authorities to get the buildings vacated."

This report appears to be reliable. It is a shameful instance of lawlessness and worse. That such defiance can take place in the Capital of the Union reflects no credit on anybody. I am hoping that the trespassers themselves will repent of their folly and vacate the school premises and, that failing, their friends will succeed in bringing sense to them and that the Government will not feel compelled to put their threat into execution. There is a general charge against the refugees that the terrible affliction they have gone through have not made them sober, sensible and industrious workers. Let us hope that the refugees in general and

these trespassers in particular win by their repentance disprove the charge.

#### LAWLESSNESS AND CORRUPTION

On Saturday I dealt with lawlessness in Calcutta in another setting and by non-refugees. It is up to all leaders, no matter to what persuasion or party they belong, to be jealous guardians of India's honour which she cannot keep if lawlessness and corruption become the order of the day I mention corruption in the same context for it belongs to the same brood. I hear from many trustworthy sources that it is on the increase. Will everyone be for himself and none for India?

#### A CUNNING MOVE

A correspondent writes

"I have just heard over the radio your post-prayer speech delivered on the 11th December, 1947. In this you say that certain U. P. Muslims who had been to Lahore, had come to you and assured on behalf of the Pakistan officials that non-Muslims especially the Hindus could go to Lahore and start their businesses there. Firstly, this invitation, to the Hindus alone and not to the Sikhs, is a cunning move on the part of Pakistan officials to create a split amongst the Hindus and Sikhs.

"All such assurances are false and mockery and people like you alone perhaps can be misled by such Muslims. Herewith I am sending you a cutting dated 11-12-47 from the *Hindustan Times* which speaks for itself and fairly exposes the sincerity of the Pakistan Government. After going through this, do you please still believe that such Muslims who come to you are honest? They only mean to show to the world that the Pakistan Government is quite fair to the minorities and everything is well in Pakistan whereas the facts are quite the contrary. If these Muslims come to you again, kindly show them this cutting.

"Further, I am sure you remember well what late the Hindus and the Sikhs met on the 20th November, 1947 when they went to Lahore to take their valuables from their banks. Even the Indian Military, under whose protection the Hindus and the Sikhs went, was attacked by Muslim mobs in the presence of the Pakistan officials who took no steps to check the rioters."

The cutting referred to by the correspondent reads as follows

"Non-Muslim businessmen and shopkeepers who had fled eastwards during the recent communal disturbances are gradually returning to Lahore with a view to opening their trading concerns now closed for months, but on seeing the impossible conditions they are required to sign before getting possession of their shops, many of them have gone back to India in disappointment according to a recent report published in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore.

"The report adds: Shops are being opened by owners on behalf of the Rehabilitation Commissioner. The following terms are required to be signed by these shopkeepers

1. A promise to maintain proper accounts of all sales.

3. That the owner will not transfer any interest in his shop without previous written

permission of the Assistant Rehabilitation Commissioner

3. That he will continue to manage his shop as a running concern.

4. That all sale proceeds shall be deposited daily in a Scheduled Bank and shall not be withdrawn without the previous permission of the Assistant Rehabilitation Commissioner

5. That the shopowner will continue to reside permanently in Lahore.

"Many businessmen who had returned to Lahore with a view to opening their concerns have gone back to India. They feel that the conditions which they are being required to sign before possession is actually given them are such that it will not be possible for them to conduct their business etc. with respect in the face of so much interference and supervision by the Government.

"Besides they say, since the Pakistan Government have promised the minorities 'generous treatment' it does not behove them to treat non-Muslim businessmen in a different manner. A leading businessman said: 'No such restrictions are being imposed on Muslim traders and businessmen.'"

#### TRUST BEGETS TRUST

I dealt with the disappointment only the other day. Whilst the information may be quite accurate, it does not necessarily vitiate what the Muslim friends told me. They have not only their own reputation to keep but also of those in the Union whom they represent and of the Pakistan authorities who gave them the assurances. Let me add, too that the friends are in touch with me. They came in today. As I was silent and busy writing my prayer speech, I could not afford to see them. They have, however, sent me their assurance that they are not idle; they are prosecuting their peace-mission. I warn my correspondent against being hyper-suspicious and hyper-sensitive. He will lose nothing by believing. Disbelief is a treacherous mate. Let him beware. For my part, I am unrepentant. I have trusted all my life with my eyes open. I propose to trust these Muslim friends too till they prove themselves untrue. Trust begets trust. It gives you strength to combat treachery. If there is to be return on either side by the evictees to their homes, it will be only by the means I have adopted and am pursuing.

#### AN UNWORTHY FEAR

The correspondent's fear that the offer is intended to create a rift between the Sikhs and the Hindus is unworthy. I told the friends that their proposal might bear a sinister meaning. They said an emphatic 'no' to it. I see nothing wrong in making the passage smooth for recross over. It is not to be denied that there is stronger prejudice in Pakistan against the Sikhs. But there is no doubt that the two must sink or swim together. Only they must not have evil designs. There is no such thing as an honourable partnership between conspirators.

#### CITIZEN OF UNDIVIDED INDIA

A friend from Eastern Pakistan asks: "If I declare myself as an inhabitant of Undivided India when it is cut into two and when to be of one part excludes you from the other?" Whatever the legal pundits may say, they cannot dominate the mind of man. Who can prevent the friend from declaring himself as a citizen of the world even though legally he is not and though he

may be, as he will be, prevented from entering many States under their laws? Legal status should not worry a man who has not reduced himself to the state of a machine as many of us have. So long as the moral constitution is sound there is no warrant for anxiety. What every one of us has to guard against is the harbouring of ill-will against a State or its people. Thus, one cannot do so against the Muslims of Pakistan or its Government and still claim to belong to Pakistan as to the Union of India. Such a state, if it is general, must lead to war. Any State will declare traitorous the conduct of every inhabitant who entertains hostility against it and even helping the enemy State. Loyalty cannot be divided.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 16-12-47*

#### RESULTS OF DE-CONTROL

In his post-prayer speech this evening Gandhiji told the audience certain figures placed before him by Shri Anuradha Chaudharia indicating the results of decontrol in as far as it had gone. As a result the price of *gur* (jaggery) had fallen to eight annas a seer from a rupee. He hoped that it would fall still lower. In his youth *gur* was sold at one anna. The price of *shakkar* had fallen from Rs. 31 to Rs. 24 per maund. One rupee now brought one and a half seers of pulses instead of 14 *chutaks*. The price of gram had fallen from Rs. 24 to Rs. 18 per maund. The blackmarket price of wheat had been Rs. 31 per maund. It had come down to Rs. 24. He was rightly accused of knowing nothing about orthodox economics and the fluctuations of prices. He talked of decontrol in his ignorance, but the consequences would have to be borne by the poor people. The results however, so far had falsified the fears. The poor seemed to be better off without the control. He had received numerous congratulations for decontrol. He could not appropriate them for many causes and many persons had worked towards the same end. If the middleman and the grower thought more of the whole country than of themselves, he had no doubt that decontrol all round would be an unmixt blessing. All fear about decontrol was due to the supposition that the business community would not play the game. The sceptics distrusted the producer and the middleman. If the majority of the people were selfish and untrustworthy, how could democracy, *panchayat raj* work? Gandhiji would ask the Government to utilize the services of non-civilians equally with those of the civilians. The difference was that the latter were highly paid and the former were volunteers. Each was amenable to law for any fraud.

#### SALARIES AND CIVIL SERVICE

He had received complaints about the high salaries of the civil servants. The Civil Service could not be done away with all of a sudden. Their numbers had already been reduced, with the result that those remaining had to work harder. The Sardar had, therefore, congratulated them for their work. He (Gandhiji) did not grudge credit where it was deserved, but he could not help noting that they drew salaries when before independence the Congress had considered too much. The real Civil Service were the people. After all, Congressmen had been working without any salaries in the past. If a Congressman becomes a parliamentary secretary today, why should he be paid a high salary? He did not know that parliamentary secretaries were needed. The Congress party must be wary of imposing

more paid secretaries on the Government. It would be wrong to tone down the high standard the Congress had set before the country. Greater care was necessary in that they had now crossed at their disposal. It would be imprudent to let the expenditure go up when the income remained stationary. Every business firm had to see that the credit side was larger than the debit side. Could they run the business of free India by ignoring this basic fact? They had some money today and they could squander it in any way they liked. But it would not last long unless they acted like wise businessmen.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 17-12-47*

#### FORCIBLE OCCUPATION

In his post-prayer speech Gandhiji referred to the letter of a Punjab friend from the East Punjab. He had a house there and had his business in the West Punjab. Like others he had to leave the West Punjab and on coming to the East Punjab found his house occupied by a Government servant. In spite of all his efforts, he was unable to get it vacated and could just get two rooms in his own house. He asked Gandhiji if the East Punjab Government should help him to get possession or whether he must resort to a court of law for the purpose. Gandhiji agreed that the Government should help him to get his house vacated without his having to go to a court of law. And as the occupant was a Government servant, it should not be difficult for the Government. Whilst he held that houses belonging to the refugees should be vacated, he had to remind the refugees that some of them were forcibly occupying other people's houses. They were reported to have broken open the locks of vacant houses especially when they happened to belong to Muslims. Such lawlessness was not good for the country or for the individual concerned. Could bloodshed, arson and loot ever benefit anybody?

#### NET TALK

Gandhiji was being warned that in spite of sweet talk by Muslim leaders in Pakistan, no Hindu or Sikh could live in Pakistan with any self respect or safety. Congressmen had always held that their State was a secular State, where there could be no distinctions of caste and creed. But many Hindus and Sikhs were acting otherwise. If both the States were to lose their moorings, it must spell the ruin of both.

#### CONDITIONS FOR RETURN

A friend had written to him as follows: "Forced by circumstances and to save valuable human lives, we had to leave Lahore on the 17th August with fury and take shelter in Delhi with a relation. Our house was looted and our shop given to some Muslim by the Pakistan Government. We approached the Ministry for Refugees, Delhi, to help us in bringing our goods here on 9-9-47, when all the things were intact and receiving no acknowledgment even and after receiving news of loot and passing of the shop to a Muslim, our dear father went to Lahore on the 1st December and approached the Pakistan Government in accordance with the decision between the Pakistan Government and the Indian Government that people who liked to go back to their original places would be given all facilities to restart their business and afforded all protection, applied to allow us to open our factories and work the same. We learn from our representative that the Director of Industries, Lahore, has refused to give us the permission, saying that the factories are allotted to ten refugees

joutly (although the possession of the same has not been handed over to them) and the decision cannot be altered." Gandhi's reply was that he had not asked anyone to return without assurances and arrangement by the Pakistan Government. It pleased him that some Muslims were working for the return of Hindu and Sikh evictees. But the time was not ripe yet for their return. He would let them know when he thought that they could safely return. The Muslim friends about whom he had made mention and even he himself might accompany the first batch.

#### INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

Next, Gandhi referred to East Africa. The railway was made by the Sikhs under great hardship. The Indians were an enterprising community. And now an Anti-Indian Immigration Bill was brought before the local legislature. Indians, Hindus and Muslims, had gone to East Africa before the Europeans. They had gone there not as exploiters with rifle in hand. They were businessmen. They had become friends with the indigenous population. They had worked for the prosperity of the land. It was discreditable to treat them as interlopers. The representatives of the Indians in East Africa had wired to Pandit Nehru and had sent Gandhi a copy thereof requesting the Indian Government to intervene on behalf of the Indian settlers. India was independent and could not tolerate legislation against her nationals. He hoped that the authorities in East Africa would realize the unsustainability of losing India's friendship. Pandit Nehru would, he was sure, do all that was possible to help the Indians in East Africa.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 18-12-'47*

#### A COMPELSED ARGUMENT

In his post-prayer speech this evening Gandhi dealt with a letter in which the correspondent had said that he was painfully surprised to hear from Gandhi's lips that it hurt him to continue to receive letters in English. Gandhi had said that India was friends with all. If he had equally friendly feelings towards Muslims and Englishmen, how was it that he was working for preserving Urdu and displacing English? Gandhi was amazed at the question. It displayed gross ignorance of facts. English was an international language but it could never become the national language of India. English was a foreign language, not so Urdu. He was proud of the fact that Urdu was a language which had evolved in India and was an Indian language. It was originally the language spoken in the military camps during Muslim rule and the military largely consisted of Indians, whether Hindus or Muslims. Muslim rulers had become domiciled in India. When Gandhi returned to India as a barrister, he was a youngster. After two years' stay in India, he went away to South Africa, where he had stayed for twenty years. Ever since his return to India from South Africa, he had been crying from the house tops that the national language of India could be none but the one that was spoken in the North by the Hindus and the Muslims and written in the *nagari* or *urdu* script. It was the language of Tukidas. The poet saint had not disdained to use Arabic and Persian words even in his time. That language which had undergone evolution was the interprovincial speech written in the two scripts. The provincial languages must be helped to develop and become richer. The all India speech or

national language must displace English, which blocked the progress of all the Indian languages. With the disappearance of English rule must disappear English speech. Its proper and unrivalled place was as an international medium. Urdu was a language replete with Arabian and Persian words including some of the grammar. Hindi, tended to exclude Arabic and Persian words. Hindustani was a happy blend of the two with the grammar, structure unaffected by Arabic or Persian.

#### SILENT IGNORANCE

The correspondent then reminded Gandhi that if it was difficult for Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to forget Urdu, was it not equally difficult for the South Indians to forget English? This question again betrayed ignorance. He had been to Madras often enough. When he went there before he had become a *Mahatma*, he could not make himself understood by the *jattawala* in English, but he could do so in his broken Hindustani. English was not the mother-tongue of the Tamils.

Udhu was of Sir Tej Lala Lajpat Rai was a friend of his. Gandhi used to twit him by asking him when he would learn to speak and write in pure Hindi. Lala said that he could not do that. And yet Lala was a staunch Arya Samajist. He said that his mother-tongue was Urdu in which he could hold audiences spell-bound. Gandhi had twice been the President of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. They had then welcomed his drive for the national language as defined by him. Why did they now resent it? Was he any the less Hindu or Indian for his desire for a blend between Hindi and Urdu?

#### NEGATION OF RELIGION

Gandhi then referred to the riot at Ajmer with sorrow. Did they think they could protect Hindunism by killing the Muslims in the Union or driving them out? Did they hope to serve All India speech by excluding the Urdu script or language? He would not be with them for ever. They would remember his words when he was gone. A religious taught men to be good and peaceful. Intolerance was the negation of religion.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 19-12-'47*

#### VISIT TO A GUJARAON VILLAGE

In his post-prayer speech this evening Gandhi told the audience that he had been to meet the Meos who had been rendered homeless. Many had been driven away from the States of Alwar and Bharatpur. Some had gone to Pakistan, others were undecided whether they should stay or go away. Dr Gopichand Bhargava had accompanied him and had assured them that those who wanted to stay had every right to do so. Their lives and property would be safeguarded by his Government. Gandhi said that he could never be reconciled to the exchange of population. To uproot lakhs and lakhs of men, women and children from their homes was a devilish act. In the face of the calamity it was idle to speculate as to who started or whose was the greater violence. Such calculation was not the way to peace. Those who wanted to go to Pakistan of their own accord were free to do so. No one would obstruct them. Nor could any one compel them to leave the Union. The Meos were a fighting community. Some said that they were like a criminal tribe. Even if the charge was true, the State could not banish them. The right way would be to reform and induce them to become worthy citizens.

#### PRICES AND DECONTROL

A friend said that where he was living, the decontrol had caused a rise in the price of sugar. Gandhi said

that in other places prices were reported to have fallen. There must be a local cause for a local rise.

#### CONTROL ON PETROL

There was the transport difficulty which came in the way of proper distribution. Dr. Mathai had his difficulties. There was shortage of coal and wagons. The Minister was trying to overcome them as early as he could. India carried on her business when there were no railways. But now when she had this shortage of transport caused a real difficulty. What was then a proper substitute for or an addition to railway transport? Motor transport at once came to the mind. But that transport could not function if there was no petrol. This pointed to the removal of the control over petrol. He did not know why it should be difficult. One could not do things by halves. If control had to go, it should at least go from petrol. Petrol was not a thing which was required by everybody. The Government might keep enough for their own requirements. They could any day buy petrol in the black market in daylight. If motor transport became easily available, there would be no darkness in the price of salt. He was told that production of salt was fair enough but the difficulty of transport came in the way.

#### COMPOST MANURE

The food shortage was due to deficient production. One potent way of increasing production was proper manuring. Artificial manures, he was told, were harmful.

Shrimati Manojini who had become a *kisan* and loved animals, especially the cow, as well as human beings, had been instrumental in getting together a Compost Conference in Delhi. Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Sardar Datar Singh and others had participated.

After three days deliberations they had passed a series of resolutions, enunciating ways and means of preparing compost manure from cow dung and human excreta and refuse. The compost manure emitted no bad odour. It would save lakhs of rupees and also increase the fertility of the soil without exhausting it. The participants in the Conference and as their sole object increase in production, Shrimati Manojini had gone to Rishikesh that day and she would continue the work of cattle improvement and making compost manure universal in India. It was a difficult task whose fruition depended upon the co-operation of the people.

Barla House, New Delhi, 20-12-47

#### SHED COWARDICE

Gandhi, expressed sorrow at the recrudescence of trouble in Delhi even though it was on a very minor scale. If the Hindus and the Sikhs of Delhi or the Pakistan sufferers in Delhi were determined not to let the Muslims stay here, they should say so boldly and openly and the Government should declare that it could offer the affected Muslims no protection. It would be a declaration of bankruptcy on the part of the Government. It would mean a decline and extinction of the Hindu and the Sikh religions if the disease spreads. Similarly, if Pakistan would let no Hindu or Sikh stay there with safety and honour, it would mean extinction of Islam in India. He wanted them to shed all cowardice. He held it to be cowardice to force out any one by indirect means. If the Muslims were bad, goodness on the part of the Hindus and Sikhs would make them good. In

the *bhayan* that they had just heard. Mira said that she felt happy when she saw a devotee of God and grieved when she looked at worldly men. The sight of the godly men made her feel godly. The way to deal with bad men was to reform them, not to turn them out or kill them.

#### THE VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

Gandhi then referred to the meetings of A.I.V.I.A. that he had attended at the Harijan Colony during the week between the 8th to the 13th instant. He had told them about large meetings but was unable to deal with A.I.V.I.A. meetings. He had said that the spinning wheel was the Sun in the village system of India, not for her few outlets alone. The various village industries were like planets revolving round the Sun. Without the Sun the planets were nowhere. He felt that the same was equally true, though he could not prove it scientifically. But he could say so confidently about the villages. There were many villages round about Delhi. If they developed village industries, the villages and the city of Delhi would add to each other's prosperity. Then they would have no time to think of communal strife. He had heard that many artisans in Delhi and round about were Muslims. Their departure had greatly disturbed life of the city. At Panipat large numbers of Muslims were employed in making blankets. Their departure had greatly hampered the work, if it had not stopped it altogether. Hindus and Muslims in many cases had their different industries. Hindustan and Pakistan were both suffering heavily as a result of

#### CAPITAL AND LABOUR

Gandhi had talked to them about compost manure the previous evening. The excreta of animals and human beings mixed with refuse could be turned into golden manure, itself a valuable commodity. It increased the productivity of the soil which received it. Preparation of this manure was itself a village industry. But the, like all village industries could not give large-scale results unless the crores of India co-operated in reviving them and thus making India prosperous. This was the fundamental distinction between capital and labour. Capital exploited the labour of a few to enrich itself. The sum total of the labour of the crores, wisely utilized, automatically increased the wealth of the crores. Therein lay true democracy, true *Panchayat Raj*. Unless India concentrated her whole energy on this vast constructive effort, and if her children occupied themselves in unseemly communal strife, her fate would be like that of the Yadavas of old who wasted their time in drink, debauchery and gambling and ended by cutting one another's throats.

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# HARIJAN

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TWO ANNAS

## TATYASAHEB KELKAR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Friends have more than once asked me why I have not noticed the death of so great a patriot as Tatyasaheb Kelkar, especially because he was a political opponent and more so because I am much misunderstood among a school of Maharashtrians. These reasons made no appeal to me: the very reasons which according to my critics should have prompted my notice.

I conceive it to be very unseemly to notice *pro forma* such a serious event as death. But I must do so now, though it is late, because of the importance of one of my oldest friends Hanubhai Phatak.

I would at once admit that if it was usual for the *Harijan* to notice important deaths and births then Tatyasaheb's death should be among the first to merit notice. But industrious readers will have noticed that the *Harijan* has not followed any such practice. Notice has depended upon my whim of the moment and leisure. For some time past I have been unable to read newspapers regularly.

Whatever may be said to the contrary, Tatyasaheb, though a political opponent, I had always counted as a friend whose criticism was profitable. I knew and honoured him as the late Lokamanya's valued follower. It was, I fancy, in 1919 that I pleaded at an A. I. C. C. meeting for a constitution for the Congress and said that if the Lokamanya gave me Tatyasaheb and the Deshbandhu, Shri Nishith Sen, I would undertake to draw up one for submission to the Congress. Be it said to the credit of both the collaborators that though I submitted my draft to them in time, they never interfered with it. At the Committee that sat to consider the draft Tatyasaheb always offered helpful criticism. It was again at my suggestion that he was invariably appointed a member of the Working Committee. I do not remember an occasion when his criticism though sometimes bitter was not constructive. He was fearless but polite and friendly.

I had early learnt that he was a scholarly writer of Marathi. It has been my regret that I never got the time to learn Marathi sufficiently to drink deep of the wisdom of the modern Marathi writers like Tatyasaheb and the late Hari Narayan Apte. It would be churlish on my part to ignore the death of so great a star like Shri Narsopant Chintaman Kelkar in the Indian firmament.

New Delhi, 31-12-'47

## THE PILGRIMAGE OF PENANCE

I

Sacred Gaya was the next item in my tour programme. The shooting flames of mass madness in the last Bihar carnage did not spare even this land where non-violence had its mighty birth in the heart of Lord Buddha.

GAYA

I visited Gaya towards the end of July. Up to Bakhtiarpur the bus travelled along the Ganga which runs through the Province like the chief artery with its network of tributaries. The river was almost always in view with its varying breadths carrying on its muddy and restless waters small sail-boats with their snow-white, swanlike bosoms. The heavy inky clouds no longer dripped, but nature, lusciously green, was dumb with expectancy. Except a few dirty, straggling children who looked idly on as we fled past, and a pair of lambs drenched and, perhaps, too frightened to run or too absorbed in each other, the roads were deserted.

Abandoning the Ganga at Bakhtiarpur, we travelled south up to Nawada, where I was to get hold of the jeep, that doughty invention of science which simply ignored all irregularities of the Terra Firma. It was to serve me in my tour of the villages: across the country, on *kachcha* roads and through mud and water.

The town of Gaya with the Rajgir hills to the North-East, the hills of Chota Nagpur to the South and hills and hillocks everywhere seems like a vale resting in the midst of surrounding hills. The town kept its sanity in the last riots. Was it due to the sacred influence lingering through the ages, rising embodied in that mighty and austere structure, the temple of Buddha Gaya by the side of the sacred and mysterious Phalgu, which is reputed to retain its undercurrent even when it seems to dry up, only seven miles from the present site of the town?

II

## THE REFUGEE CAMPS

As the enveloping fire advanced from the original infernos of Patna and Monghyr, hunted people sought refuge here. My first duty was to visit them. Later I visited the refugee camps of Amthua and Jehanabad. Here the refugees were distributed amongst the local population instead of being concentrated at one place as in Gaya. Despite some differences, the lesson of all was practically the same.

## IDLENESS

The Gaya camp had the usual dirt of places where we congregate in large numbers. This inherent national defect was heightened by the laziness engendered by a life of practically complete idleness for the last few months. Even a cat sweeps with its tail the place it sits on. Yet hundreds of these able-bodied men would wait piteously for the sweeper rather than sweep a few hundred yards of ground. It is impossible to keep such a place clean when nobody seems to know how to use it cleanly and nobody wants to lend a hand in cleaning it.

In fact, the greatest tragedy that I noticed there was that their native resourcefulness, industry and courage, which enabled the toiling masses to bear through all trials cheerfully, was adversely affected. With hardly any education and lacking even the healthy urge to work for bread, the refugees had been completely demoralized. The roof of the shed they lived in badly needed repair. The contractor pleaded his inability to repair it quickly for dearth of labour. And yet there were so many able-bodied men who could have put their shoulders to it, and earned some money in the bargain! The hitch was that they demanded full payment while they were unwilling to put in the required amount of labour. This was the experience at other places too.

## BEGGARLY ATTITUDE

Closely allied to this was the beggarly attitude which long feeding on free rations had engendered in the refugees. This is the greatest loss of the Bihar Muslims due to the last carnage. Gandhiji had been warning against this catastrophe right from Noakhali. Rations against work only should be given to the refugees. If it seemed cruel, it was being cruel to be kind.

## RATION AT CONTROLLED RATES

The difficulty to procure rations at controlled rates outside has also made the refugees stick on piteously to the refugee camps. And they stay on on all sorts of pretexts. In Amthua, a strong centre of Muslims, lived many Muslims belonging to adjoining villages within a radius of a mile from Amthua. Some members of their families had even gone to live there for looking after their lands. Amthua's is by no means an isolated instance. Singly the refugees go to their villages, sleep there, dine with their Hindu fellow villagers, yet they are afraid to go there *en masse*!

## CORRUPT PRACTICES

Where the refugees are distributed amongst the inhabitants of the locality, it is almost impossible to check their number. The family draws rations in the father's name, in the mother's and also in the name of the individual members. So even though the individual quota is not much, the refugees are by no means ill-fed. The system of *purdah* for women makes checking still more difficult. Till lately nobody seemed to have any idea as to the exact number of the refugees that were being fed. Refugee figures for which rations were drawn were highly inflated.

In fact, the ration business does not reflect credit on most of the parties that have handled it. Till lately ration and cloth distribution, in practically all the refugee camps, was in the hands of the Muslim League. The Ministry completely unnerved by the colossal unexpected massacre entrusted the entire care of the refugees to the Muslim League. Everything it asked for was immediately supplied. Nobody seemed to dare ask for accounts. Thousands of maunds of ration came and disappeared into the black market. Cloth sent for distribution met the same fate. In the Gaya Camp itself more than a thousand blankets and a large number of sarees had been given for distribution. Today the refugees do not possess a single one of those. Either they found their way to the League volunteers or they were sold away by the refugees themselves.

## INJUSTICE AND HOSTILITY

All this has created in the minds of the Hindus a sense of injustice and turned them against the refugees and the whole scheme of relief—a thing that is suicidal for successful rehabilitation, which must be based at least on the active friendship of the Hindus. The political opponents of the Government play upon this feeling, which is very strong amongst the hungry and the naked millions in this period of great scarcity.

## LOST THEM BEST FRIENDS

The League did it and did it with a vengeance. After it had got control over the refugees, it created an iron-ring round them. Even those Congress workers who had risked their lives to save them were not allowed near them. Some of them were even implicated in cases at the instance of the League. Even some of the top-ranking Congress leaders who dared to enter the refugee camps were roughly handled. The reaction was bound to be bad. It lost to the refugees even their best friends. Only after Gandhiji's arrival did the indifference, if not in some instances positive hostility, of Congressmen slowly begin to melt away.

## RESERVED AMMUNITION

Sheltered from all healthy influences, the League kept them as reserve ammunition for their scheme of creating Muslim "pockets" in the Province, probably with a more sinister ultimate purpose. It would have at least permanently cut off the Muslims from the Hindu population. By playing on their hatred, distrust and fear they kept them in the camps, which were sources of huge profit in the bargain, while they fought on for "pockets".

## WORSE EVILS

The result of this long "detention" has not only been the idleness and the beggarly attitude mentioned above. It has led to worse evils which promiscuous living of idle men and women inevitably leads to. A number of these refugees do manage to find an occupation in the town. But the money so gained is very often ill-spent. The vested interest that thus develops also makes them unwilling to go to the 'Thana Camps', which would have facilitated their final rehabilitation in their own villages.



## III

## GLIMPSES OF THE FIERY PAST

The affected villages were visited next. The stories of their inaccessibility rather egged me on. My Sevagram training was on trial, I felt. The roads were *katcha* and broken and covered over with water more than knee-deep at places and the *kuwai* soil was terribly sticky. Or there were no roads at all and we had to tread the narrow dividing lines between various fields requiring all our skill and attention to maintain our precarious balance, especially when it rained. We went by jeep, we walked or passed through fields, streams and streamlets and knee-deep mud on elephant back.

## SADAR SUB-DIVISION

In the Sadar Sub-Division were visited Siswar, Makhdumpur, Hathiawan and Khizer Serai. Sapaneri, the worst affected village in the Sub-Division, escaped by mistake. The huge Khizer Serai Camp, where people even from a large number of unaffected villages had congregated out of fear, had been cleared by the time I reached there. People from unaffected villages had gone home. Others had been removed to other camps in the district.

## JEHANABAD SUB-DIVISION

In the Jehanabad Sub-Division, the land of Mathurasingh and the Mahanth of Lohgarh, I visited Hati, Malathi, Daulatpur, Kako, Amathua, Bibipur and Khalishpur. At a number of these villages and a few others by the roadside the inhabitants were also addressed.

Amused at the way I was desperately clinging to the ropes to maintain my precarious balance on the back of the elephant, my companion, the young but austere and universally respected President of the Thana Congress Committee told me how he had even slept on the elephant whilst he moved day and night for full one week in the sub-division during the last riot.

The hymn of hate taught by the Muslim League for years, the direct action day and the subsequent Calcutta massacres and the mysterious bloody happenings of Noakhali, the elation of the League leaders and the League inspired masses on hearing them and the seeming impotence of the Interim Government, had created an explosive mentality, which was fully exploited by misguided or interested people. The bubble burst in Patna and Monghyr, Jehanabad which was so near the bloody scenes of Massaurhi and Hilsa could not remain untouched. The rioters were joined on the way by a section of the local population. Many kept on joining and abandoning when they felt that they had looted as much as they could carry. The horrible scenes of Noakhali were repeated. There were more murders, but unlike Noakhali hardly any rape or conversion.

## DID NOT GO MAD

One misunderstanding, however, needs to be cleared. There are so many instances where the Hindus saved the Muslims and made a large scale evacuation of Muslims possible that one cannot resist the conclusion that the masses did not go mad. There were two gangs, one in Ghosi P. S.

and the other in Makhdumpur P. S., who wrought most of the havoc. The other conclusion is, however, equally obvious that due to some silent sympathy with the rioters and lack of organization, the saner section of the population did not offer any resistance worth the name in most places.

## A BEACON LIGHT

Though there was no organized mass resistance to the notorious mobs, the Congress on the whole rose to the occasion. Apart from the Ministers and Government servants, the Congress big guns toured the affected districts. Many small unknown workers saved the lives of Muslims at the risk of their own.

One such was Sakaloabu, a simple saint-like, but tough Headmaster of the Hati English High School. With his students and some other workers he personally patrolled day and night the villages of Daulatpur, Nagama and Rasalpur until the entire Muslim population had been evacuated to Jehanabad. Inspired by his example the Hindus of Daulatpur were, up to the day of my visit, guarding the Muslim houses. One of the Muslims who met me, very touchingly said that even the radish that he had left behind had dried up undisturbed in its own place. And yet many Muslims were not returning to the place because it was unsafe!

## A TRIUMPH OF NON-VIOLENCE

Another glorious chapter was written in Kako. In the morning a small mob advanced on Kako. The Muslims fired killing two Hindus. They also set fire to a Hindu house. The Hindus also killed one Muslim. The Hindus were maddened. They spread like wild fire through the surrounding villages and brought back a mob with them ten thousand strong. But the Congress workers persuaded them to go back. Force at the disposal of the officers would have been entirely insufficient for the purpose. A part of the returning mob attacked Belai. But it is believed that they were the stragglers, who came a little too late to listen to and understand the persuasions of Congressmen. It is believed that if the mob of ten thousand had been allowed to go out of control at Kako, the loss to life and property, would have been incalculable. Apart from Congress workers, the S. D. O. Jehanabad also came out well through the test.

Patna, 4-11-47

DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

(To be continued)

## GANDHI'S CHALLENGE

TO

CHRISTIANITY

By

S. K. George

With Forewords

By

Prof. S. Radhakrishnan

and

Mr. Horace Alexander

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AHMEDABAD

# HARIJAN

January 4

1948

## TO SIKH FRIENDS

Seven centuries had elapsed since the advent of Islam in this country. The first phase of its propagation had finished. It had lost much of its original purity and simplicity. As has happened with all other religions of the world, fanaticism, bigotry and superstitions had gathered round it. So too, in Hinduism true religion had become covered up with senseless caste distinctions, untouchability and a myriad superstitious beliefs and wrong practices. The Hindus and the Muslims mainly debated with each other over their respective forms and dogmas, ignoring the true spirit of their own faiths. Kabir has tersely described the religious condition of the times in the following lines:

The Hindus say they love Rama,  
The Muslims say they worship Rahman.  
Both fight with each other over words,  
None sees the common spirit.

A number of great souls were born in this country to remove the crusts of useless forms and superstitions from both the great faiths, to exhibit their fundamental unity and to bring them nearer to each other. Among those great souls Guru Nanak's name is one of the most honoured. Guru Nanak is rightly regarded as one of the greatest exponents of the Religion of Humanity which is also the Religion of Love.

Guru Nanak went on pilgrimage, both to Mecca and Rameshwari. His entire way of life could be styled neither Hindu nor Muslim, or rather was a mixture of both. The *Granth Sahib*, the sacred book of the Sikhs, gives a true picture of the religion preached and practised by Guru Nanak. His religion was the religion of unity, the religion of love, a complete synthesis of both Hinduism and Islam. For centuries after him the saying was common among the Muslims of the Frontier and even beyond—"Nanak was a *Paighambar*, i.e. a Messenger of God." If Hinduism of that day could be compared to the Ganga and Islam to the Jamna, then the religion of Guru Nanak could be likened to the confluence of the two at Prayag. Talking of the equality of man and man he says:

At first God created Light,  
Then from God's prowess proceeded all creatures,  
The whole world is born of His effulgence.  
How can you call one good and another bad?

In pathetic words he has described the dissensions of the Hindus and Muslims of his day, and, on account of those very dissensions, he bluntly refused to call himself a Hindu or a Muslim. He says:

The Hindu has not found the way,  
Nor has the Muslim found the way.

Devoid of true faith

They both fight over the names Rama and Rahman,  
We are neither Hindu nor Muslim,  
Both are possessed by the spirit of Satan

The language of the *Granth Sahib* is from beginning to end a mixed language. In the very name of the book, *Granth* is a Sanskrit word and *Sahib* an Arabic word. Looked at in this light the language of the *Granth Sahib* is true Hindustani. Among the names of God mentioned in the *Granth Sahib* the name *Allah* occurs over and over again. The book is full of various other Persian and Arabic names of the Almighty. Besides compositions by the Sikh Gurus, the *Granth Sahib* also includes those by a number of other saints and devotees, at least four of whom were Muslims. When Guru Arjundev needed somebody to lay the foundation stone of the Golden Temple at Amritsar, he selected for the task a Muslim *fakir* named Sain Mian Mir who performed the sacred function. Sikhism fully maintained this noble and beautiful character up to the end. A study of the *Dasham Granth*, which contains the compositions of the tenth Guru, Guru Govindsingh, reveals that in this matter there was no difference between the views of Guru Govindsingh and those of the previous nine gurus. At one place the tenth Guru says:

One styles himself a *murid*, the other a *sannyasi* and the third a *yogi*

One calls himself a *brahmachari*, and the other calls himself a *yogi*.

One says he is Hindu the other says he is a Muslim.

One declares he is a member of the *Rafai* sect and the other professes to be a follower of Imam Shafi

But if you look carefully, they all belong to the same Man race.

People call the same God by various names.

Some call Him *Karta*, others *Karim*, some *Rasik* and others *Rahim*.

Yet He is all one, let none be deceived by the multiplicity of names.

All are servants of the same God. He is the guide of all.

All are created in His image; His light shines through all eyes.

The temple and the mosque are one, the Hindu *puja* and the Muslim *namaz* mean the same thing.

Mankind is one; differences are but a delusion.

Gods, demigods, demons, *paniharvas*, Hindus, Muslims are but differences due to different countries and climates.

All have the same eyes, the same ears, the same bodies and the same organs of speech.

All are created out of the same elements—earth, air, fire and water.

*Atah* and *Alhuda* are both names of the same God.

The *Puran* and the *Quran* teach the same truths.

All are created in the same way and all serve the same purpose.

Yet today some of the followers of the same *Granth Sahib* and of the same Sikh Gurus raise objections to the taking of the name *Allah* or to the recitations from the *Quran*.

The Sikh Gurus did not alter this all embracing character of their faith on account of any wrong act committed by any one else. They could not possibly do so. If they had done so, Sikhism would not have been what it is today. The *Granth Sahib* could not be altered. The *Granth*, which occupies a place of honour among the sacred books of the world, and which is a true and immortal guide for all time, could not be altered.

Almost all the Sikh Gurus were scholars of Persian and have left excellent poetical compositions of their own in that language. The *Granth Sahib* itself is a treasure house of compositions in various languages then spoken in this land. Steady and unmoved, it is an ocean of love, unity and harmony. Even so, many Sikh friends today try to shun the Urdu language and the Persian script.

At the gate of a Sikh *gurudwara* called *Bangla Sahib* in Delhi I was painfully astonished to find the Urdu words *qayam kiya* translated as *pravesh kiya* in Hindi. Any visitor who reads only the Hindi rendering and not the Urdu or English may easily misunderstand the real significance. *qayam kiya* or *aram kiya* or *thakre* are universally intelligible, while *pravesh kiya* is obviously misleading. The boycott of the Urdu language, the Urdu script or words of common use pertaining to any language and all such prejudice in the matter of language is contrary to the spirit of the *Granth Sahib*, of the Sikh tradition and of the noble Sikh *Panth*.

The Sikh religion lays far greater emphasis on justice, goodness, forgiveness, generosity and other moral qualities than on mere form of worship. But today we have to confess with shame and sorrow that the followers of Sikhism have in no way lagged behind the Hindus or Muslims in committing the darkest crimes which have disgraced and humiliated us in the eyes of the whole world. Throwing out helpless victims from running trains has been a frequent occurrence up to the beginning of the current month. Sikhs have been no less guilty in this ignoble traffic, nor have they been free from the vices of drink and its attendants. We are writing all this with great reluctance and pain. We appeal to the leaders of the Sikh community, in all humility, to raise their voice against the evils. It is altogether a different matter to use arms against an armed opponent. There is bravery even in deeds of violence. But it is cowardice to butcher women, children, old and helpless people or minority groups who are not in a position to offer any resistance. Sin and crime cannot raise a nation.

"Have the critic and the fault-finder 'as your next door neighbour, have his hut in your own yard," is a well-known Sikh adage. But today some of the over enthusiastic followers of that noble cult send threatening messages even to those who as friends try to point out to them their error.

There is no room for doubt that even now, if the Sikh community makes up its mind, it can become the medium of establishing real and abiding unity between the Hindus and the Muslims. It can irrigate with pure and flowing currents of love, brotherliness and harmony the whole field of our mutual relationships. We have repeatedly said that if people in general and especially those of the Punjab, would really follow the teachings of Guru Nanak, they would need no other guide, because there, could be none higher or nobler. In the present crisis the Sikh community, if it so chooses, can act as an Army of Peace. But it can only be possible if the leaders lead truly.

New Delhi, 22-12-'47

SUNDARLAL

## INERT THAKUR BECAME A LIVING PRESENCE

We started spinning just in fun as a recreation and a sport in which I and my chums could join. There were about fifty boys and girls and women with a sprinkling of men from three villages of Bhatnagar, Karakhal, and Mogarpara to begin with. They were all more or less destitutes and constantly living under a pall of fear which threatened to shatter their nerves. The charm which saved them was provided by collective *Ramanama kirtan* and spinning.

The story of the former I must reserve for some future occasion. Suffice it to say that it sprang from an experience of intense inner anguish and suffering which is of too personal and sacred a nature to be set down here. The effect was nothing short of miraculous.

Spinning used to be done in front of a riot-torn *Thakurghar* on bamboo *takhs*, which the spinners had made with their own hands. Carding was done by *tunai*, i.e. with the fingers without a carding bow. When seed cotton was used, ginning too was done by hand without any appliance. Nobody had an idea at that time as to how the yarn would be utilized. It was just a labour of love and, therefore, its own reward — a joy for ever.

An opportunity, however, soon presented itself when the people of Mogarpara decided to install the *Thakur* in their *Thakurghar*. They wanted a note from me to enable them to obtain a piece of cloth from the Government Relief Officer for an *asana* (altar cloth). Their request made me feel very sad. "Have we come to this," I said to myself, "that even our *Thakur* has to live on the sufferance of the ration office?" "No, we shall do better. I shall show you the way," I told them. I asked them to collect all the *takh* yarn that we had spun. It was turned into a piece of cloth — 4 cubits long by 26' wide overnight by a *nath* (scheduled caste) weaver of Karakhal who is a devotee himself. Weaving at such short notice was made possible by doubling the yarn and turning it into *dosuti*. Not a thread was wasted of the very first yarn spun by these novices.

In the same way, not a pie was spent on *prasad*. *Thakur's* favour cannot be purchased for money, I

told them. It is not a thing to be bought and sold, it is obtained by our "sweat, blood and tears". For some time past we had started cocoa-nut oil production as a supplementary home craft. Necessity was the mother of invention. With rice selling at Rs. 28 per maund, the little boys and girls, who used to go to school with me and play with me and sleep with me, began to complain of empty stomachs. Their cry of distress in spite of their willingness to work wrung one's heart. Cocoa-nut oil provided the answer. It put into the pockets of every man, woman and child, who worked, from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 10/- per day I suggested it to them that while daily they expressed oil for themselves, for one day they should do it for their *Thakur*. They agreed. Two hundred and fifty cocoa-nuts were accordingly purchased and distributed among various homes that evening and men and women and children set to work with a joy and an enthusiasm which had only to be seen to be believed. Kitchen fires kept burning in most homes till 11 and 12 o'clock that night. The net income from the operation came to Rs. 16 and odd, out of which Rs. 4 went to the purchase of jaggedy.

The by-products of oil — *machha* and *chhoba* (butter and oil cake) were converted into delicious *sandesh* by the addition of *gur* and provided *prasad* at the evening ceremony in such abundance as hardly to leave room, in the case of many, for the evening meal. That left a net saving of Rs. 12 and odd — *Dattatrayanarayan's* gift to be enjoyed by his devotees *Tena tyaktena bhujyatha तेन त्यक्तन भुज्यथा*: (Enjoy by abandoning it).

The *Thakurghar* itself was erected mostly by voluntary labour. The earth for the plinth was dug out of the adjoining tank, thus deepening and improving it; the mats on which the congregation sat were woven by a widowed refugee sister from the village out of cane grown in her *badi*. As an offering and mark of homage to the deity, the people of the village cleared their tank of water hyacinth and repaired its dilapidated embankment by working till late in the night although several of them were suffering from malarial fever.

In the place of the image of the *Thakur* was installed the *Gita*. After the *harikirtana*, I explained to the gathering how through their labour of love they had converted the inert *Thakur* into a living presence which would keep them, if they kept their covenant with Him. Their *Thakur* had not deserted them as some of them had complained. It was they who had betrayed their *Thakur* by bartering Him for their miserable belongings and existence. They had lost Him, but He would come back to them and protect them if they pledged themselves never to let that happen again even if it cost them their life. They had weathered out the dark days of lawlessness and terror by enveloping themselves in the protecting mantle of *Ramanama* which they recited daily. By what they had done then, they had given body to their prayer. They were faced by a precarious future. When East

Bengal was constituted into a separate sovereign State they would have to live there as a permanent minority, entirely dependent for its safety and integrity on its inner resources. But a minority of one can convert itself into a majority by alliance with God. What they had done that evening indicated the way how to do it. "Your *Thakur* will not only fill you with faith which dispels all fear, but also provide you with food and clothing so that you will never go naked or hungry if you continue to serve Him as you have done on this occasion."

The pledge was accordingly taken by all by observing two minutes' absolute silence. Cocoa-nut oil production during that season brought them nearly Rs. 1600 net income in addition to the share capital deposit of Rs. 905 and odd, kept on their behalf with their centre.

In front of their *Thakurghar*, according to the latest report received by air mail today, 11 *charkhas* and 22 *takhs* are now plying daily. The total quantity of yarn spun so far by our spinners in five villages is over one maund and in a month or so, every one of them will have at least one piece of cloth prepared out of self-spun yarn.

New Delhi, 22-12-'47

PIYARELAL

### Matter well Placed

Compost is matter well placed, whereas rubbish and excreta, solid and liquid, are matter misplaced when they are allowed to lie anyhow to the discomfort of the public and detriment to their health. It is a criminal waste depriving mother earth of her precious food. Thus says Shrimati Mirabehn in her leaflet reproduced in full in the *Harjan* of 23-11-'47, pp. 428-429

"We do not treat our Mother Earth properly. She does her best to feed us and we do not feed her in return. How can she sustain us, her children, if we do not serve her as dutiful children should serve a revered Mother? Year after year we plough, sow and reap harvests from the fields, but very rarely do we give any manure to the soil and even what we give is usually half *kachcha* rubbish. Just as we need well-cooked food, so does the soil need well-prepared manure."

The curious may get a copy of the leaflet from her at the Kisan Ashram, Risukesh, near Haradwar.

New Delhi, 29-12-'47

M. K. G.

### NOTICE

Files of Volume X of the three *Harjan* weeklies — the *Harjan* (English), the *Harjanbandhu* (Gujarati) and the *Harjansevak* (Hindustani) of the year beginning with 10-2-'46, and ending with 26-1-'47, bound in cardboard cover and *khadi* back are available at this office

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MANAGER

## GANDHIJI'S ADDRESS TO DELHI BUSINESSMEN

### FORCE OF PUBLIC OPINION

Addressing a meeting of businessmen at Hardinge Library this afternoon Gandhiji said that he agreed that control of prices was unsuitable for India, whatever might be the case elsewhere, least on food or cloth. The Ministers were their servants. They could do nothing against the express wishes of the people. They would not stay in office a day longer than the people wished. In the course of their struggle against the British for the last thirty-two years they had shown what public opinion could achieve. The British had the force of arms to back them up. The present Government had no such thing to back them. But now they had much more if they had the force of enlightened public opinion.

### REASON FOR CONTROL

The reason for control was the fear of dishonesty and profiteering. Why should a businessman get more for his labours than a labourer for his? In Gandhiji's opinion the truest control came from the honesty of growers, manufacturers and middlemen. It was up to the trading class and mill-owners to dispel suspicion. The businessmen wanted removal of control for the sake of the people and not for the sake of profiteering. Therefore, they were bound to be cent per cent honest. The various associations of businessmen and mill-owners and the general public could strengthen each other's hands for the removal of control. They would then be the more real arm of the Government than the Civil Service. The Gita said, 'please the gods and they would please you.' The *devas* there did not live up in the sky. They were the *devas* as women were and were called *devis*. Only men's modesty prevented them from addressing themselves as *devas*. The men whom the Gita described as the *devas* were honest and pure of heart. Then would disappear all shortages.

### SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN CLOTH

As for cloth particularly, Gandhiji was convinced that the people could and should prepare their own cloth in their villages. Then and only then, crores spent on cloth would go in the pockets of the millions of villagers. That was real business. It did not consist in merely making money anyhow. He saw in the hall a placard saying that the prosperity of India lay in decontrol. He agreed heartily because of his belief in the fundamental honesty of businessmen. Let them not belie his faith.

Gandhiji said that he had heard that foreign cloth was on the increase and also that our cloth was being exported from India. In his opinion both things were wrong. India needed no cloth from outside and so long as there was cloth shortage in India, there should be no export of mill cloth. He would welcome the export of all Indian mill cloth if the masses would be good and wise enough to spin and weave in their villages.

Another placard said, "Beware of mill-owners' tricks." Gandhiji said that he went further and said, "Beware of all strictly." The caution applied to himself, the other public men and to the businessmen before him.

New Delhi, 28-12-'47

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

*Birla House, New Delhi, 22-12-'47*

### NO DESECRATION

Not perhaps eight miles from here is the mausoleum of Kutubuddin Bakhtiyarkazi Chishtisahab which is reputed to be second in sanctity to the one in Ajmer. Both are visited not only by Muslims but by thousands of Hindus and other non-Muslims in equal veneration. Hindu wrath visited the sacred place in early September last. The Muslims in the surroundings felt compelled to vacate their favourite home which had been such for close on four centuries. It would be unnecessary to mention this tragic occurrence but for the fact that the place is still deserted by the Muslims, however much they may be devoted to the mausoleum. It behoves the Hindus, the Sikhs, the officials immediately in charge and the Ministers to wipe out the disgrace and restate the place in all its original glory. What I have said here is equally applicable to all the Muslim places of worship in and around Delhi and elsewhere in the Union. It is high time that both the Governments by their firm action made it clear to their respective majorities that they could no longer tolerate desecration of the places of worship, big or insignificant. All damage done to them should be repaired without delay.

### DUTY OF THE UNION MUSLIMS

In view of the decision recently arrived at by the Muslim League meeting held in Karachi and in view of the meeting to be held in Lucknow at the instance of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Muslim friends have been asking me whether if they were members of the Muslim League, they should attend the Lucknow meeting, whether they should also attend the meeting of the League members to be held in Madras and in any event what the attitude of the members of the Muslim League in the Union should be. I have no doubt that if they are invited specially or publicly, they should attend the Lucknow meeting as also the later meeting at Madras. At each meeting they should express their views fearlessly and frankly. That the Muslims in India find themselves in a minority without protection from the majority in Pakistan is no disadvantage if they at all followed the technique of non-violence during the past thirty years. It was not necessary for them to have faith in non-violence to be able to appreciate the fact that a minority, however small it might be, never has any cause for fear as to the preservation of their honour and all that must be near and dear to man. He is so made that if he understood his Maker and himself as made in His image, no power on earth could rob him of self-respect except he himself. A dear English friend in Johannesburg, while I was fighting the mighty government of the Transvaal, told me that he always made common cause with minorities. For, he said, they were hardly ever in the wrong and if they were, they could be weaned from it without difficulty, whereas majorities could not be, owing to the intoxication that power gave them. The friend had uttered a great truth. If by majority we would also understand the power that exclusive possession of weapons of destruction gave an aggregate of men. We know to our cost that a handful

of Englishmen were able to be the majority, keeping under their heels millions of Indians by possession of arms which India did not have and could not know how to wield them even if she had. It is a thousand pities that neither the Hindus nor the Muslims learnt the lesson whilst the English power was in operation in our country. The Union Muslims are now free from the oppressiveness they were under, whilst they were falsely proud of the Muslim majority in the West and the East. If they would realize the virtue of being in a minority, they would know that they could now express in their own lives the best that is in Islam. Will they remember that Islam gave its best during the Prophet's ministry in Mecca? Christianity waned when Constantine came to it. But I must not here carry this argument further. My advice is based upon implicit belief in it. Therefore, if my Muslim friends do not share the belief, they will perhaps do well to reject the advice.

#### BE OF THE CONGRESS

In my opinion, while they should hold themselves in readiness to join the Congress, they should refrain from applying for admission until they are welcomed with open arms and on terms of absolute equality. In theory at least the Congress has no major and minor communities. It has no religion but the religion of humanity. For the Congress every man or woman is equal to any other. It is a purely secular, political, national organization in which Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, Jews are equal. Because the Congress has not always been able to live up to its professions, it has appeared to many Muslims as a predominantly caste Hindu organization. Any way, Muslims should have dignified aloofness so long as the tension lasts. They would be in the Congress when their services are wanted by it. In the meantime they should be of the Congress even as I am. That I have an influence without being a formal member is because I have served it faithfully ever since my return from South Africa in 1915. Every Muslim can do so from now and he will find that his services are as much valued as mine. Today, every Muslim is assumed to be a Leaguer and, therefore, to be an enemy of the Congress. Such unfortunately has been the teaching of the League. There is now not the slightest cause for enmity. Four months are too short a period to be free from the communal poison. Unfortunately for this unhappy land, the Hindus and the Sikhs mistook the poison for nectar and have, therefore, become enemies of the Muslims of India and have to their disgrace retaliated and become so even with the Muslims of Pakistan. I would, therefore, urge the Muslim minority to rise superior to the poisonous atmosphere and live down the thoughtless prejudice by proving by their exemplary conduct that the only honourable way of living in the Union is that they should be full citizens without any mental reservations. It follows then that the League cannot remain a political organization, even as the Hindu Mahasabha or the Sikh Sabha or the Parsi Sabha cannot. They may function as religious organizations for internal religious reform for the purpose of exploring the best and living the best that is in their religions. Then they will purify the

atmosphere of all poison and vie with one another in well-doing. They will be friendly to one another and thus help the State. Their political ambition can only be satisfied through the Congress, whether they are in it or not. The Congress will be a canvas when it thinks of those only who are in it. It has very few such even now. It has as yet an unrivalled position because it strives to represent the whole of India without exception. It aims to serve "even unto this last."

*Birla House, New Delhi, 23-12-'47*

#### PRAYER TIME

A friend had given a note to Gandhiji suggesting that in view of the increasing cold, prayers might be held at 5 p. m. instead of 5-30 p. m. Gandhiji said that from the 21st December the day would be gradually lengthened, but he would respect their wishes and the same. He asked those who wanted the prayers to be held earlier to raise their hands. A large number wanted the prayers earlier, there was no dissentient and it was, therefore, decided to put back the prayer time by half an hour.

#### NON MUSLIMS IN BAHAWALPUR

Some people from Bahawalpur had brought placards to the prayer ground the day before on which was written "Save the 70,000 Hindus and Sikhs of Bahawalpur." Gandhiji was silent, so he referred to the subject today. Two friends saw him during the day in the same connection. They said that they were contemplating fasting before the Governor-General's house till arrangements were made for the evacuation of the Hindus and Sikhs from Bahawalpur. Gandhiji said that such a step would help none. The Governor-General had no power today except such as he derived from his Cabinet. He had no longer the might of the British Empire at his back. Nor could he utilize his power as a fine warrior that he was. For the time being he had put it in cold storage. He nevertheless agreed that arrangements should be made to bring the Hindus and Sikhs from Bahawalpur. It was the duty of the Nawab-sahab to make arrangements to send them wherever they wanted to go outside Pakistan. Bahawalpur was, he understood, made principally by the Sikhs. Yet they and the Hindus had to suffer terribly. The Nawab-sahab could not disown responsibility in the matter. But let bygones be bygones. He appealed to the Nawab-sahab to make a declaration that not a hair of the head of any Hindu and Sikh would be touched in the State till arrangements were made for their evacuation. During the interval they should be well looked after.

#### REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN

The day's Statesman says:

"After being in the grip of a cold wave for three days, when the minimum temperature fluctuated between 34° and 36°, Lahore had its first shower on Saturday morning. Rain fell on Sunday and again today, much to the misery and harassment of thousands of undernourished and scantily clothed refugees who have no bed and no roof except the overcast sky above them. Taking a walk on the Mall yesterday, I could hear in the stillness of the night the moans and groans of these unfortunate people."

"Until a few days ago cholera was prevalent and from September 8 to date nearly 2,500 cases have occurred in the city, about a quarter proving fatal. Now smallpox of a virulent type has broken out and on an average is causing 20 deaths every day. In the last three days 125 cases have been reported to the Health Department.

"Outbreaks of epidemics are perhaps not surprising, especially when it is borne in mind that the most insanitary conditions still prevail here.

"Sweepers have been brought from Murree and other places but, as the Health Officer ruefully admitted to me today, his staff has not yet succeeded in getting the maximum work out of them. The unsightly heaps of garbage all over the city and the stench which greets visitors to streets and lanes in thickly populated parts of the city are sufficient to convince one that if sanitation does not improve soon disease is likely to take a heavy toll."

Gandhiji was of the opinion that it was wrong for the refugees to have servants rendering the necessary service. The refugees should themselves attend to them and try to do some other work on behalf of the whole camp. They must turn their misfortune to the best account. It was the duty of both the Governments to see to their food, shelter and clothing, but never to produce an army of servants for them. Whether they were Hindus or Muslims or Sikhs, they should not shirk what was miscalled menial work including latrine cleaning, nor must they become lazy. People must shed the evil habit of thinking that sanitary work was to be confined to a special class of people. The audience must excuse him for showing so much care about the Muslim refugees in Pakistan. He could not make any such unmanly distinction.

#### NEWS FROM NOAKHALI

Gandhiji then told the audience that his secretary Pyarelalji had come to see him from Noakhali. Pyarelalji and his colleagues had, in his opinion, done very good work there. They had stayed there at Gandhiji's instance even at the risk of their lives, if necessary. It had given great comfort and courage to the Hindus and it had also enabled the Muslims to realize that these volunteers were the friends of all and wanted to restore peace and goodwill. Pyarelalji had told him of one incident which he wanted to share with them in his own words:

"What may be termed the first act in restitution in Sha pur, which was the starting point and storm centre during the riots and where I have been working for the last thirteen months in pursuance of Gandhiji's "Do or Die" mission in Noakhali was performed the other day when the local Muslims with their own hands removed a mosque which they had erected on a site belonging to the Hindus out of dismantled material of the house of a local Hindu businessman. Both the dismantled material and the site have been restored to the rightful owners. In a signed declaration which the leading local Muslims have issued, they have described the act as "a gesture of goodwill towards our Hindu brethren and a step towards their rehabilitation." The step was not taken without some vigorous heart-

searching and even at the eleventh hour there was some talk of having a joint meeting of the Hindus and the Muslims of the locality to "explore means" of "amicable" settlement by "compromise". But they at once saw the point when it was pointed out to them that compromise could have no place in a matter which called for restitution on the part of the majority community, specially, when it was the offender. Even if there were no demand on the part of the minority, still the majority community would be bound to do full redress. Before the dismantling commenced I told the leading Muslims that unless they did the restitution from their heart, I would far rather that they left it alone for the time being. Physical restoration was nothing unless it symbolized a heart change and carried with it the guarantee of the goodwill of the majority community. On my part I assured them that I would not let the authorities use coercion on them, so long as I was there. They however, assured me that they really meant to do the reparation from their heart and proceeded with the dismantling with *Bismillah* on their lips. The credit for the performance was due to the commendable good sense shown by the local Muslims and the exertions of the district officers, particularly the District Magistrate, who is untiring in his efforts to promote peace and goodwill between the two communities. This is not to say as yet that "God is in His heaven" and "all is right with the world" in Noakhali. The "petty done" only lends hope and encouragement in regard to the "undone vast", which has yet to be tackled."

If all in India and Pakistan followed this example, the shape of things would be changed in no time. The key to the solution of the tangle lay in everyone following the best in his own religion and entertaining equal regard for the other religions and their followers.

Birla House, New Delhi, 24-12-'47

#### WAS IT NON-VIOLENCE?

In his post-prayer speech this evening Gandhiji said that some Sikh friends had been coming to see him. And he had seen some newspaper cuttings. There seemed to be a general impression that he had become an enemy of the Sikhs. They would not have worried much about that but for the fact that his word seemed to carry weight with the world outside India. The world thought that India had won her independence through non-violence and if it was so, it was a unique thing in history. How Gandhiji wished that it was so! But he had already said that it was not. The cowardly or the weak and the lame of heart could never practise non-violence. The physically disabled could always practise non-violence if they had the grace of God. He had blindly thought that the Indian fight was non-violent. But the events that had taken place lately had opened his eyes to the fact that there was passive resistance of the weak. If Indians had really been bravely non-violent, they could never have indulged in the acts of which they were guilty. They had before them the instance of Phulad, the twelve year old boy, who had alone stood up against the might of the king his father. He would rely on none but God.



## DISPLACED ANGER

Gandhiji said that he could not but laugh at the anger of the Sikh friends. They attributed to him many things that he had not said. He made no distinction between the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims. He had criticized the Sikhs for their drink habit and for the atrocities that they were reported to have committed. That did not mean that all the Sikhs had acted in the wrong manner. Nor did it mean that the Hindus could be absolved. As they were a virile race, he certainly expected more from them. He had freely acknowledged their many merits if he had pointed out their faults. Those who tried to minimize or overlook cruel deeds done were enemies of the Sikhs, not he who owned no enemy. Whatever he had said, he had said as a staunch friend. He was not unaware of the lofty teachings of the *Granth Sahib*. The Sikh friends should never fear that they would be misjudged by the world because of what he had said.

## CHRISTMAS GREETINGS

Gandhiji next referred to the Christmas day of the morrow. It was a festival for the Christians as *Deepavali* was for the Hindus. He did not think that either festival was meant for indulgence in drinks, dances and merry-making. These were holy days making one examine oneself and do better next year. He offered greetings to all Christian friends in India and outside and hoped that they would enforce in their own lives the teaching of Jesus Christ. He warned the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs against entertaining any ill-will towards the Christians, who were a minority in India. Nor should they entertain any wish about converting them to Hinduism, Islam or Sikhism. He did not believe in such conversions. He wanted the Christians to be good Christians, the Muslims to be good Muslims, the Sikhs to be good Sikhs and the Hindus to be good Hindus under all circumstances. That to him was real conversion.

He had seen in the newspapers that in view of the fact that State patronage to Christianity or any other religion would not be given, 75% of the Churches in India would have to be closed down. Gandhiji said that religion could never be served through money. The Christians should rejoice that an artificial prop was being removed. God was omnipresent. Our bodies were the real temples rather than buildings of stone. The best place for congregational worship for any religion in his opinion was in the open with the sky above as the canopy and mother earth below for the floor. Every individual was the protector of his own religion against the whole world.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 25-12-47*

## THE QUESTION OF KASHMIR

In his post-prayer speech this evening Gandhiji talked of Kashmir. He said that he had seen in the newspapers some reference to an arbitration over the issue of Kashmir. Were the Union and Pakistan always to depend on a third party to settle their disputes? How long would they go on quarrelling?

There was some talk about the division of Kashmir. It was fantastic. It was more than enough that India had been divided into two. One would have thought it impossible for man to divide a country which God had made one. Yet it had happened and the Congress and the

League had both decided upon it though for different reasons. But that did not mean that the process of dividing should be further extended. If Kashmir was to be divided, why not other States? Where would this process end?

It was said at first that Kashmir was attacked by raiders. But as time went on, it became clear that Pakistan was at the back of the attack. He had a passage of an Urdu daily, the *Zamindar* read out to him that day. In that the Muslims were openly invited for recruitment and join the *jihad* (crusade). Abuses were showered all round. He knew Maulana Zafar Ali Khan during the Khilafat days. In those days too he could curb his tongue with difficulty. Now evidently he seemed to have no check on his tongue or pen. Did he mean that the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs were to be perpetual enemies? Whatever the provocation, Gandhiji advised the Hindus and the Sikhs not to retaliate.

The facts seemed to be that Pakistan was at the back of the attack on Kashmir. The Union troops had gone there at the call of the people of Kashmir as well as the Maharaja to help them in defending the beautiful valley. He considered Sheikh Abdullah to be the real head of Kashmir. Everyone who had been to Kashmir had told him what an unrivalled hold the Sheikhshahab had on the Muslim masses and the few non-Muslims in Kashmir. In these days an Indian Prince could remain one only as the titular head even as the English king was.

## THE JAMMU INCIDENT

He had heard of the murders of numberless Muslims and abduction of Muslim girls in Jammu. The Maharaja must own the responsibility. The Dogra troops were under his direct control. He had not yet become the mere constitutional head and, therefore, he must be held responsible for all the acts, good or bad, of people under his rule. Sheikh Abdullah had been to Jammu and had tried to allay passions. He would advise the Maharaja to step aside along with his Minister in view of what had taken place in Jammu and give the fullest opportunity to Sheikh Abdullah and the people of Kashmir to deal with the situation. Such a graceful act would become him as the head of a very great and important State in India.

## PRIDE OF PAKISTAN

Pakistan was proud of being the biggest Islamic power in the world. But they could not be proud of themselves unless they ensured justice to every single Hindu and Sikh in that State.

If Pakistan was to become a worthy State, let them and the Union representatives sit down and thrash out the Kashmir affair as they had already done in the case of many other things. If they could not do so, why could they not choose from among themselves good, true persons who would direct their steps? The first step was an open and sincere confession of past lapses. Hearty repentance broke the edge of a guilt and led the way to proper understanding. The Congress Government could never stand for the Princes against their people. It could only deal with the Princes as trustees of their people.

## RECALLING GHAZNAVI

Gandhiji next referred to an Urdu magazine published in the Union wherein was a verse to the effect that

everyone was talking of the Somnath temple that day. But in order to avenge the happenings in Junagadh a new Ghaznavi would have to come from Ghazni. It had deeply hurt Gandhiji. How could any Muslim worth the name in the Union entertain such thoughts? Why should he not be proud to associate himself with the act of the renovation of Somnath? He hoped that no true Muslim would be proud of the acts which are imputed to Mahmood Ghaznavi. He had pledged his life to secure safety for the Muslims in the Union. He would not swerve from his pledge, because he believed in returning good for evil. He asked the Hindus and the Sikhs not to be carried away by passions. But he asked his Muslim friends not to make the task of reconciliation more difficult than it was. He would not have referred to the mischievous couplet but for the fact that it was to be found in an important publication.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 26-12-'47*

In his post-prayer speech this evening Gandhiji informed the audience that the prayer next day would be held at a village about eleven miles away from Delhi. There was a *Panchayat* established there and he was told that people from that part would gather there to take part in the prayer meeting.

#### TIBIA COLLEGE

Gandhiji then talked to them about the Tibia College at Delhi. It was an institution conceived and founded by the late Haldia Ajmal Khan. Hindu and Muslim princes as well as the people had subscribed to the funds. Unfortunately the Hindus and the Sikhs had, after the 15th of August last, come to look upon the Muslims as enemies. But it was not so in the past. Muslim and non-Muslim students received training there. There were Muslims and non-Muslims among the trustees, the late Dr. Ansari being one of them. The college gave trained students in the *Ayurvedic*, the *Unani* and the *Western* systems. Today the college had no students. It was situated in Karol Bagh and the Muslims could not enter the locality except at the risk of their lives. It was a problem to find out which locality was safe for the Muslims today. Some Hindu friends had been to see him that day. They wanted to know what was to become of this college. Gandhiji considered it a matter of sorrow and shame that the college should be in that condition. He was trying to do what he could in the matter. He pleaded with the Hindus and the Sikhs not to work for their own destruction. He who worked for the ruin of another was bound to ruin himself. That was the law of life. He begged of them not to ruin themselves and their religion.

#### ABDUCTED WOMEN

Gandhiji next talked to them of another subject which could bear repetition. Several thousand Hindu and Sikh girls had been taken away by Muslims. The whereabouts of a few were known, but there were large numbers about whom he knew nothing. When contacted some were reported to have said that they did not wish to return. They were afraid that they would not be accepted back by their society. Their husbands, parents and friends would look down upon them. Gandhiji wanted to say, with all the emphasis at his command, that society should welcome those girls back. Some of them were pregnant. It was no fault of theirs. Their children, when born, should be treated with

the same regard and respect as any other children. The religion of these children would be that of the mother. On growing up they were to change it if they wished. If any such girl came to him she would be treated by him as any other girl in his party. To castigate these girls, for having fallen a victim to the lust of some monster, was less than human. No stigma attached to them.

Gandhiji had been told that many Muslim girls had been abducted in Punjab and Kashmir and other places by Hindus and Sikhs. Some of them were girls from well known families. If his voice could reach the places where these girls were, he would strongly advise the guilty parties to restore them without delay. There was no doubt that they would be accepted back by their families.

#### NO BARGAINING

He had heard that some Hindu and Sikh girls were with a Muslim Pir, who said that they would not be ill treated in any way, but that they would not be returned till the Muslim girls were returned. Could there be a bargain in such matters? Both sides should rescue and return the abducted girls at the earliest opportunity, irrespective of what the other side was doing. Then alone could they hope to live as respectable and respected citizens. Otherwise, they would become a nation of forty crores of *goondas*. A society that tolerated such crimes would be judged according to the pattern of its *goondas*.

*Sammalka village (near New Delhi), 27-12-'47*

#### CONSISTENCY IN THOUGHT, WORD AND ACTION

Saturday evening prayer meeting was held at village Sammalka where a *Panchayatghar* had been built. He was presented with garlands at the entrance. An address was also presented. Addressing the gathering after prayers, Gandhiji said that the meeting was held for prayers. At such a meeting garlands, addresses and shouts were out of place. He would have been pleased if they had omitted them. They had mentioned truth and non-violence in their address but if they did not practise those virtues, there was no point in talking about them. On the contrary, mere mention of them was harmful. Ever since his return from South Africa he had visited thousands of villages. He knew how these addresses were prepared. Someone wrote it out and someone else read it parrotwise and that was the end of it. There must be consistency between one's thoughts, words and actions. Driving away the minority community or ill treating them did not fit in with the profession of *ahimsa*. Independence did not mean that people could act in any way they liked. Could anyone pray for and work for the freedom to commit murders and tell lies? That would be surrender to Satan instead of God.

#### DUTY OF THE PANCHAYAT

Gandhiji congratulated them on having built a *Panchayatghar*. Unless they did the work of the *Panchayat*, the effort would be a waste of time and labour. Distinguished travellers from the world came to India in the days of yore from China and other countries. They came in quest of knowledge and put up with great hardships in travelling. They had reported that in India there was no theft, people were honest and industrious. They needed no locks for their doors.

In those days there was no multiplicity of estates as at present. It was the function of the *Panchayat* to revive honesty and industry. If he asked them after one year, would they show a clean record and would they show that they had no court save their *Panchayat*? It was the function of the *Panchayat* to teach the villagers to avoid disputes, if they had to settle them. That would ensure speedy justice without any expenditure. They would need neither the police nor the military and they would not need to trouble *Shri Raghavasaheb* except as a friend.

#### CATTLE IMPROVEMENT

Then the *Panchayat* should see to cattle improvement. They should show steady increase in the milk yield. Our cattle had become a burden on the land for want of care. It was gross ignorance to blame the Muslims for cow slaughter. *Gandhiji* held that it was the Hindus who killed the cattle by inches through ill treatment. Slow death by torture was far worse than outright killing.

#### ENRICHING THE SOIL

The *Panchayat* should also see to an increase in the quantity of foodstuff grown in their village. That was to be accomplished by properly manuring the soil. The Compost Conference recently held in Delhi under the inspiration of *Shriman Mirabehn* had told them how the excreta of animals and human beings mixed with rubbish could be turned into valuable manure. This manure increased the fertility of the soil. Then they must see to the cleanliness of their village and its inhabitants. They must be clean and healthy in body and mind.

#### BE AN IDEAL

*Gandhiji* hoped that they would have no cinema house. People said that the cinema could be a potent means of education. That might come true some day, but at the moment he saw how much harm the cinema was doing. They had their indigenous games. They should banish intoxicating drinks and drugs from their midst. He hoped that they would eradicate untouchability if there was any trace of it still left in their village. The Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Parsis and the Christians should all live as brothers and sisters. If they achieved all he had mentioned, they would demonstrate real independence and people from all over India would come to see their model village and take inspiration from it. May God crown their endeavours with success.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 28-12-47*

#### MEETINGS IN THE OPEN

In his after prayer speech this evening *Gandhiji* told the audience that he had been to attend a meeting of businessmen in Delhi at the Hardinge Library. There was a very big crowd round the building. The hall was too small for the surging mass of people. When there was a noted man expected to address meetings, he would advise their being held under the canopy of the sky on a wide *maiden* so that all who cared could join. If they were noisy and would not allow the meeting to be held, the meeting would disperse without doing its business in the open. And if the people became used to outdoor life, they would be spared the headache

of finding houses for thousands and thousands. They could stay outdoor for most of the time or else build thatched houses for themselves in the open.

#### REX VAL OF CONTROLS

*Gandhiji* was duly receiving telegrams and letters congratulating him on the removal of controls. It had a marvellous effect on round and the prices had gone down. Although the control on cloth was still there the prices of towels etc., he was told, had gone down. The businessmen knew that he (*Gandhiji*) was merely voicing the opinion of the millions when he said that the controls should go. The goods of black market were, therefore, coming into the open market and selling at reasonable prices. He was told, too, that there was plenty of sugar to be had. The price was Re. 1 per seer and it was lowered to As. 15 and even As. 14 very often. He was told that the removal of the control had brought much relief to the people. He could take no credit for what was happening in the matter of controls. The real credit went to the masses whose wish he was voicing. If his personal voice had any effect, the unseemly communal trouble would have ceased long ago. In this matter they dubbed him as a visionary and a madcap. He knew that they were wrong and he was right. If he had been right and practical on many occasions in the past, why was he impractical in this matter of life and death? *Tulsidas* had said that the essence of religion was mercy and forgiveness. That was exactly what *Gandhiji* was trying to follow.

As to the matter of controls, *Gandhiji* said that the controls on cloth, fire-wood and petrol should also be removed forthwith. He had dealt with cloth control at the meeting of businessmen. As for firewood, people were not going to consume more firewood than necessary, if the control was removed. Removal of the control could not adversely affect the poor in the matter of firewood. It was the control on petrol that was hitting them hard on all sides because he understood that it hampered road transport. They did not have enough railway transport. To make new railways and wagons was a long time project. They did not need new railways. The removal of the control on petrol would make it wholly unnecessary. Swift road transport of foodgrains, cloth and salt would lower the prices of those articles. The salt tax had gone and yet salt had become more expensive than before. It was partly due to transport difficulty and partly due to some bungling about contracts. A few contractors were said to be fattening at the expense of the consumers. The evil must be rectified. The people should be taught to prepare salt wherever they could. He held that it was the easiest thing to do, now that salt was free.

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

## WANTED ACCURACY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent from Malabar writes:

"The confidence with which Shri Dev Prakash Nayyar has written on the 'Intellectual' Content of the 'Taki' in the Harijan of 21.12.47 takes one's breath away. He has made out that all knowledge is contained in the taki or can be derived from it or it is the quintessence of knowledge. I am myself a spinner of long standing and a believer in the Gandhian philosophy of life, but I got the shock of my life in the said article. To say that the taki is the "end all" of knowledge and every conceivable subject can be derived from it is just like the proverbial pot of the quack which is claimed to cure all ills. Even Gandhiji does not claim such magical powers for the taki. No doubt, the taki, charkha and spinning have a place in the proper scheme of education especially Nayee Talim but to say that the taki naturally takes you to mathematics, physics, economics etc. is but 'sentimental nonsense'. To exaggerate the virtues and usefulness of the taki in the sphere of education is as bad or worse than denying its rightful place by others. It is very amusing to read that the taki enables one to study the scientific laws of physics etc. Gandhiji brought in the taki and charkha to serve an economic cause and as a palliative for poverty which when put into use by masses of men, would result in moral uplift. Gandhiji thus claims for the taki economic and moral virtues only (which I need not discuss further). And that is enough. But why claim more for the taki? Where is the need? The taki enthusiasts need not carry their arguments in favour of spinning to a ridiculous extent. The cause of spinning cannot be advanced that way."

The correspondent evidently has not read, as carefully as necessary, Shri Dev Prakash Nayyar's contribution on the taki. As I read it, he has advanced no such claim as the correspondent imagines. The author has not said that "all knowledge is contained in" or that "it is derived from" the taki, nor has he said that it is "the quintessence of knowledge". His thesis simply is that much knowledge that we derive from books can be better given by competent teachers through crafts. The fact that the correspondent who is a practised spinner of long standing is "shocked" at Shri Dev Prakash Nayyar's claim and calls it "sentimental nonsense" proves that education does not reside in the taki, but it does in an educationist who, like

Shri Dev Prakash Nayyar, having tested the possibilities of the taki is entitled to make the claim above mentioned.

I fear I must deprive the correspondent of the smug satisfaction that not even I have attributed to the innocent looking taki more than "economic and moral virtues". Even the modest claim, I am sorry, has not found universal acceptance. I was probably the first in India to ascribe what may be termed extravagant virtue to the taki and the like. Practical teachers along the line have found many more possibilities in handicrafts than I had mentioned. All honour to them for it.

I would strongly advise the correspondent humbly to accept Shri Dev Prakash Nayyar's cautious claim and seek more information from him as to how in the course of his giving his pupils lessons in Nayee Talim he came upon his discovery. If the discovery is only imaginary, the correspondent will soon find it out to Shri Dev Prakash Nayyar's discomfort. The fall of an apple from its branch is said to have enabled Newton's rich mind to discover the law of gravitation.

New Delhi, 2-1-48

## IS IT DESERVED?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In the course of a long letter which Reverend Dr. John Haynes Holmes had written to me before leaving the hospitable shore of India, he writes:

"Of course you have been and, well nigh overborne, by the tragedies of recent months, but you must never feel that this involves any breakdown of your life work. Human nature cannot bear too much — it cracks under too great a strain — and the strain in this case was as terrific as it was sudden. But your teaching remained as true and your leadership as sound as ever. Single handed you saved the situation, and brought victory out of what seemed for the moment to be defeat. I count these last few months to be the crown and climax of your unparalleled career. You were never so great as in these dark hours."

I wonder if the claim can be proved. That much more than Dr. Holmes observed can be proved of ahimsa. I have not the slightest doubt. My difficulty is fundamental. Have I attained the requisite qualifications for exhibiting the virtues of ahimsa, even as Dr. Holmes has said? Knowing as I do the working of ahimsa, however imperfectly, I see every reason for the utmost caution in advancing claims that cannot be proved beyond doubt.

New Delhi, 3-1-48

## THE PILGRIMAGE OF PENANCE

### IV

#### REHABILITATION

As regards rehabilitation, except Nawadah where the work had been practically finished due to the initiative of local Congress workers, it had not progressed appreciably in the Sadar and Jehanabad Sub-Divisions. Roofless houses filled with debris and broken walls still disfigured beautiful landscapes with their ugly yawn. An idea of the present state of rehabilitation can be had from the official figures mentioned at Annexure A

#### CAUSES OF DELAY

In the beginning due to the League propaganda people refused to go back to their villages. Other applications when they did arrive kept on piling, thanks to red tape. Then came the rains making the villages inaccessible and delaying reconstruction by a number of months. Thus neglected, the rootless walls gave way to the depredation of the rains which immensely added to the damage already done.

#### CONTRACTORS

Some houses had been built by contractors. They were very badly built. But the Government was being bled white. If the owners had themselves built them they would have done so much more cheaply and more to the purpose. That attention to details which is so essential for the repair of a village house cannot be expected from a contractor

#### THE WAY TO BUILD

The best thing would be to explain to the house-owners how it would be in their interest to build the houses themselves. The Government should have provided materials. The ideal thing would have been to persuade the villagers to build the houses of the sufferers as a mark of penitence. Failing that the house-owners could have been given labour charges in instalments.

Another hitch was that estimates of damage and the building grant to be given were held up due to the lack of engineering staff. It is an instance how formalities create bottlenecks in Government departments. Everybody in the village knows how much the repair of a particular house would cost. So, if a member of the Peace Committee and the Relief Officer working in co-operation with the local Hindu and Muslim inhabitants had been authorized to do the job, they would have been able to do it fairly and accurately. If any loss occurred to Government on account of any error, it would have been more than made up by quicker emptying of camps.

#### THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE

The general atmosphere was not ideal but favourable to rehabilitation. There was no genuine repentance amongst the Hindus. Those who had looted property or to whom it had been sold very cheaply by the Muslims in panic, were not willing to return it. Since my visit, however, some progress has been made in this direction

They were however, no longer in a mood to be aggressive. The results of what they had done had been bad even for themselves. Many of them were rotting in jails. Their children, their crops etc. were unattended to. Some had been killed. So it seemed they would never repeat what they had done.

Some apprehension still by the Muslims may naturally be expected. But many visited their homes and their land. At such times they were entertained by the Hindus of the locality, and very often they stayed with them even singly at night. But the lure of free rations drew them back to the refugee camps.

This was beginning to embitter the Hindu masses. They felt that what had been 'procured' from them at the point of the bayonet was being used to feed these 'idlers' or 'deceivers'

But both the Hindus and the Muslims were beginning to realize their common interests. Peace was essential for both. Even before the League leaders issued an appeal regarding the withdrawal of cases, the parties were compromising cases on their own.

All this was due to the horse-sense of the masses, unaided by their leaders most of whom I found apathetic. The Congress was busy with its own decay, the League held aloof, simply critical of the Government as a face-saving device and not very willing to face the masses. It is in this final, inevitable assertion of the commonsense of the masses that the hope of humanity lies.

#### APPENDIX A

#### DAMAGE AND RECONSTRUCTION IN THE GAYA DISTRICT Figures (Official)

Name of Sub-Division	No. of villages affected	No. of persons killed	No. of houses burnt	No. of houses damaged	No. of houses ready for repair	No. of houses under repair
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Sadar	11	248	120	62	25	44
2. Jehanabad	49	232	185	561	84	—
3. Nawadah	14	74	—	202	122*	43

Name of Sub-Division	Reconstruction Grant (Rs.)	Relief Grant (Rs.)	Total Grant (Rs.)
8	9	10	11
1. Sadar	N.I. (Reconstruction charges; Rs. 14,802, 11/-)	6,600	47
2. Jehanabad	Rs. 510/ (apart from the cost of houses built by Government)	24,365 11 - 74	3,107
3. Nawadah	Rs. 56,663 2/- (apart from	30,841	188

materials received  
from the Relief  
Commissioner)

\* Of the remaining 80 houses, 15 are under construction besides 2 mosques. 1 mosque and 45 houses are pending for want of estimates by Rehabilitation Engineer. Of these 45 houses, 43 have been inspected by R. E. recently. These are only partly damaged houses. 17 house-owners have not yet turned up and their intention, whether they will go back or not, is not known.

† Houses are either built by contractors or a house grant is given to the owners, and sometimes building material is also supplied.

Note Sadar figures are correct up to 13-10-'47, Jehanabad up to 25-9-'47 and Nawadah up to 1-10-'47.

Patna, 4-11-'47

DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

### A MUCH NEEDED ADVICE

As a carry over from British Imperialism we still have an illogical demand for foreign imprimatur even in matters in which intimate knowledge of the people and their environment is called for as in economics. We can grant that in any technique that foreigners may have developed expert advice of those skilled in that special line may be indented for. It takes time to outlive inferiority complex—a child of imperialism.

The services of Mr. Colin Clark, an Australian economist, were obtained to advise on industrial planning in our country. He observed: "If I were an Indian Minister, I should say: 'Have as much of your development in the form of cottage industry as possible. Regard the factory as a necessary evil'."

This, of course, was not what was wanted. So he has been sent off with a "thank you".

BY SUFFERANCE

The Industries Conference at New Delhi was only able to think of cottage industries as deserving patronage in so far as large scale industries wanted their help in repairs etc. Cottage industries would be allowed to live by sufferance. We have yet to realize that the position is just the reverse. We may resort to large scale industries only where village industries call for them. They are allowed to exist as necessary evils to cater to the needs of the industries of the people. If the blacksmith wants steel for cart tyres, the steel mills will have to provide the material. Village industries are the staple food of the masses while large scale industries are poisons that are sometimes used as drugs. We cannot live on morphia and quinine *lodus*, but these latter may be used in strictly limited doses when the condition of the patient needs them.

WHICH POWER?

The industrialists are full of schemes to harness power, to produce more and more. To do this they want the Government to help in securing congenial circumstances and for obtaining machinery worth crores from abroad. They are thoroughly oblivious

of the fact that millions of engines are standing idle at our doors unused. These have to have fuel whether they are used or not. Every human being is an engine that demands work and has to be kept alive by being fed. Is it better economy to use this engine or to leave it idle while feeding it all the while and at the same time importing mechanical devices to do the work? It does not require much business acumen to answer this question. Yet, the best of our men are guilty of taking the wrong decision. We can understand self-centred businessmen wanting to make profit for themselves by the use of machinery while the nation has to bear the burden of supporting the lives of millions of unemployed and under-employed. Unfortunately, recent public speeches of our Ministers show that even our public men are carried away by the vociferous industrialists.

### CONSUMPTION

One of the most important functions of the Government in supporting village industries is practically forgotten. Government has to consume such articles as villagers make. The bulk of Government finance and power is derived from the masses and so it is but bare justice that these must be returned to the givers. The stores and supply department has to fall in line with the production policy of the Government.

### WANTED A POLICY

The need of the moment is not hydro-electric schemes calling for astronomical calculations to determine their cost but the production of food, clothing and shelter for the masses. Government should focus all its resources on these. Governmental powers and their finances should be hypothecated to this end. To use these powers vested in them to help the industrialist is a betrayal of trust. Shri G. D. Birla's call to the Government to definitely declare their policy is not a moment too late. The people want to know whether they are entities in themselves or are mere pawns in the game of industrialization.

Addressing the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared his policy which we hope will be implemented by the Government of which he is the head. He asked, "What opportunity for growth is there today for the vast number of Indians, whether they work in the fields or elsewhere? I entirely agree that the peasants and ryots must have their first claim on us." Our present struggle, he pointed out was for the economic wellbeing of the masses. He said, "The first thing to be considered was the good of the masses. Everything should be judged from that standard." May we hope that this criterion will rule Governmental action in all the schemes that are now before the country? These are crucial days. A government based on democracy must justify its existence by the service it renders to the people and not by the number of millionaires its policy creates.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

# HARIJAN

January 11

1948

## AHIMSA NEVER FAILS

The following correspondence between a European friend and Gandhiji is published for general information

The European friend writes:

"After carefully studying Roy Walker's thrilling story of your admirable work (*Sword of Gold*) I was satisfied that, hitherto as your struggle for non-violence had been, your unlimited devotion had met with success, at least as far as India's leaders and masses were concerned, and the fact that Britain retired from India in apparent goodwill and friendship, seemed to bear out the hope that appreciation of non-violence was no longer restricted to your own country. The first breach into the thick walls of violence seemed made, and the prospects for humanity seemed to have grown more lucid than ever.

"All the more depressing were your recent confessions, as reported in the last edition of *Peace News* by George L. Davies. It grieves me to the heart to read that you had never experienced the Jark despair that was today within you. And though it is certainly true that God does not demand success but truth and love from a man, it is a sad sight to behold mankind as deeply entangled by violence as not to yield to the vast extent of soul-force and self-sacrifice given by you and your few friends during a long life.

"However, willingly admitting as I do that you are in a far better position to look into the heart of things than I am, I cannot believe that your heroic efforts should be lost upon mankind, that the good seed you have so untiringly sown in all your surroundings by your words as well as by your example, should be wasted.

"Be that as it may, I for one (and I am sure I speak the heart of untold millions) feel it my bounden duty to express my deepest gratitude to you for giving the whole of your life to what you felt to be the one way to salvation for mankind." Gandhiji's reply runs thus:

"I have not seen the report you refer to. In any case, whatever I have said does not refer in any way to the failure of *ahimsa*, but it refers to my failure to recognize, until it was too late, that what I had mistaken for *ahimsa* was not *ahimsa*, but passive resistance of the weak, which can never be called *ahimsa* even in the remotest sense. The internecine feud that is going on today in India is the direct outcome of the energy that was set free during the thirty years' action of the weak. Hence, the proper way to view the present outburst of violence throughout the world is to recognize that the technique of unconquerable non-violence of the strong has not been at all fully discovered as

yet. Not an ounce of non-violent strength is ever wasted. I must not, therefore, flatter myself with the belief nor allow friends like you to entertain the belief that I have exhibited any heroic and demonstrable non-violence in myself. All I can claim is that I am sailing in that direction without a moment's stop. This confession should strengthen your belief in non-violence and spur you and friends like you to action along the path."

New Delhi, 1-1-'48

## CERTIFIED AND UNCERTIFIED KHADI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The same friend, who suggests that *khadi* can remove cloth shortage, writes that India having attained independence, there is little difference now between certified and uncertified *khadi*, mill-cloth and foreign cloth. *Khadi* may have significance for him who spins and weaves to clothe himself, but people are unable to do so or even to spin the minimum quota of yarn prescribed for the purchase of *khadi* from the *bhandars*. No improvement is noticeable in the quality of pure *khadi*, while many useful varieties of uncertified *khadi* are available. Moreover, it is difficult nowadays to give what can be termed a living wage in the *khadi* industry. On these grounds the writer observes that the purchase of uncertified *khadi* should be permitted. He proceeds to argue that having regard to the acute shortage of cloth all over the country and to the fact that the Union Government itself imports foreign cloth, there should be no objection to the purchase of such cloth either.

That such questions can be raised shows the change in the times. My answer is that only "certified *khadi*" should be used. Let me indicate the meaning of this term. Even the Charkha Sangh's definition is incomplete. The term really implies that a reasonable wage is given to spinners and weavers and the price of *khadi* fixed with an eye on public good and not with a profit motive. Certification of such *khadi* by the Charkha Sangh becomes necessary, as people have as a rule, to fall back upon the purchase of *khadi* in addition to self-made (स्वतन्त्री) *khadi*. Any other *khadi* is uncertified and open to objection and should not, therefore, be used. It is open to the public to suggest improvements in the conditions presented for the certification of *khadi*, but it would be definitely wrong to abolish the distinction between certified and uncertified *khadi*.

Again, how can one shut one's eyes to the distinction between *khadi*, mill-cloth and foreign cloth, or justify the import of foreign cloth because foreign rule has ended? We must remember that we opposed foreign rule because it involved the economic ruin of the country. The first fruit of freedom should, therefore, be to put an end to this curse.

In fine it follows that pure *khadi* alone has place in *Swaraj*, in it lies the well-being of the people as well as true equality.

New Delhi 6-1-'48



## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. 1. It does not matter whether the lingua franca be called Hindi or Hindustani; in any case the common language in actual use will remain Hindustani. It cannot, however, be gainsaid that in advanced literature and science certain words will be necessary which can only be derived from Sanskrit. Where is the harm in making this clear to the public?

A. The first part of the question would be correct provided the name adopted were accepted by all in the same light. The controversy arises not over the name but what it is meant to convey. In advanced literature and science we should not draw exclusively from Sanskrit. A small committee can be appointed to prepare a dictionary of current words irrespective of their original source.

Q. 2. With regard to the script, it would be burdensome to have to use two scripts in the conduct of the affairs of the nation. Why not then adopt the Nagari script which is current in all provinces? Does the two-script proposal mean that the Central Government should use both the scripts in its correspondence and publications? Would telegraph and other offices also have to use both the scripts?

I do not subscribe to the view often put forward that the two-script proposal is meant to appease the Muslims. Our concern should be to select the script which might be advantageous to the nation as a whole without wishing any injustice. It would not be correct to hold that the adoption of the Nagari script would be harmful to Muslim interests. As far as I can see, it would be necessary to adopt both the scripts but only as a temporary measure—ultimately one script should be acceptable to all. How can this be disputed?

A. With the adoption of the two scripts the easier one will ultimately survive. All that is wanted is that the Urdu script should not be boycotted, as such boycott would imply discrimination. A controversy arose over such discrimination and this has now been accentuated. With this background, we who believe in unity and are opposed to civil strife are bound to adopt both the scripts. Again we cannot forget that many Hindus and Sikhs are ignorant of the Nagari script. There is no question of all people having to learn both the scripts, but only of those liable to serve outside their province. Nor is it suggested that all notices should be issued by the Central Government in both the scripts—but only those meant for all.

Having regard to the present communal antagonism, the boycott of the Urdu script would be regarded as an anti-democratic measure.

The question whether telegraph and other offices would also have to use both the scripts is a minor one. When we get rid of the incubus of the English language and the Roman script, our minds will be clearer and we shall realize the futility of such controversies.

While we must always refrain from an improper course with the object of appeasing others, there is no harm in conciliating when the course itself is intrinsically proper. If all accepted our script willingly, it would be so good, but even to achieve this end it is necessary to retain both the scripts at present.

New Delhi, 4-1-'48

## KHADI CAN REMOVE CLOTH SHORTAGE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writes that *khadi* can help to remove the shortage of cloth is a matter of six months. For this two conditions will be necessary, viz (1) that the Central and Provincial Governments should adopt the policy of encouraging spinning and weaving in every village, and (2) that provincial and all-India leaders should put forth greater efforts to popularize *khadi*.

In my opinion it should be worth while and it is the duty of the Congress to fulfil these conditions for the sake of remedying cloth shortage. Our undoubted indifference in this respect shows that we have failed in our duty. The price of cloth having risen so high, the present is the most opportune time to get over this indifference. This can be done by the example and conduct as well as the wisdom of those who have unshakable faith in *khadi*. When the Government adopts the policy of promoting the cause of *khadi*, control over cloth and other commodities will automatically go. Meanwhile also, cloth should be decontrolled in the interests of the poor.

New Delhi 6-1-'48

## Harijans in Hostels

Apropos the recent legislation enacted by the Government of Bombay extending to the Harijans the right of admission to temples, wells, *dharamshalas*, schools, hostels etc. Shri Parikshitlal writes that though this automatically covers undenominational hostels as well school and college hostels have not in actual practice been thrown open to the Harijan students. His experience has been that the school and college authorities have not adapted themselves to the spirit of the times to the extent the hostel students have. As the academic year will soon be over and fresh admissions will be made shortly he has advised the authorities to do the needful before the Harijan students are forced to assert their legal right in the matter and has also suggested to me to recommend the throwing open of the hostels in Bhavnagar and other Kathiawad States to the Harijan students.

I endorse his suggestion and would add that if the students in the hostels are sincere, they are sure to succeed in the matter. In the present age the autocratic will of the managing committees cannot prevail, particularly when, as in this case they are in the wrong and the students are in the right. Be that as it may, the Harijan students should unquestionably be admitted to hostels with honour.

New Delhi, 6-1-'48

M. K. G.

## GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

*Birla House, New Delhi, 29-12-47*

### HARIMASABH'S MEMORIAL

Yesterday was the anniversary of the late Harim sahib Ajmal Khan, the beloved of all the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and Jews of India. A staunch Muslim, he served equally all the inhabitants of this fair land. The best monument of his labours he left was the famous Tibia College and Hospital which catered for all classes of students and provided for tuition in the *Unani*, *Ayurvedic* and Western systems of medicine. Communal frenzy has suspended even this non-communal activity, I suppose, simply because the originator and founder of the college was a Muslim, however great, good and universally respected he was. How I wish the late lamented patriot's memory could at least give a new life to the college if it could not bury the present Hindu-Muslim feud.

### OPEN AIR MEETINGS

I thought yesterday upon the desirability of having our public meetings and functions in the open under the canopy of the heavens. If this were to become an ordinary custom, it would require a well thought out lay-out. There would be open squares in big cities and small, designed for such uses. It must radically change our habit. Noises and disorder would give place to stillness and order. Under the new habit we would talk when we must and then in a low enough voice never beyond the pitch required for a given moment. We would respect our neighbours' rights and model individual or group behaviour so as not to encroach on others. This would mean, at times, exercise of great self-restraint. Under such social behaviour we would not have the disgraceful noises and dirt in the busiest parts of Delhi. Large crowds would then move without jostle or jar. Let us not consider this to be impossible of achievement. Some group has to make a beginning in right earnest. Think of the saving of time, energy and expense under this rule of life!

### KASHMIR AGAIN

I have been taken to task for daring to say what I have said about Kashmir and the Maharajahsahab. Those who have done so have evidently failed to read my statement carefully. I have simply tendered advice which, I suppose, the lowliest can do. To do so sometimes becomes a duty as was the case with me. What was it for? It was, if accepted, designed to raise the Maharajahsahab in his own and the world's esteem. His and his State's is today a most unenviable position. He is a Hindu prince having under his sway a very large majority of Muslims. The invaders have called their invasion a holy war for the defense of Muslims reported to be ground down under Hindu misrule! Sheikh Abdullasahab has been called by the ruler to his task at a most critical period. He is now to the task and deserves every encouragement if he is considered fit by His Highness. It must be evident to the outsider as it is to me that Kashmir must be lost to the invaders, otherwise called raiders. If the Sheikh-sahab's effort to hold together the Muslims and the minority fails. It would be a mistake to think that the Union army could do it. It was sent in answer to the combined importunity of the Maharajahsahab and

the Sheikh-sahab in order to help ward off the attack. Is it any wonder that I have advised the ruling authority to rise to the occasion and become like the King of England and therefore, use his rule and his Dogra palace in strict accord with the advice of the Sheikh-sahab and his emergency Cabinet? The instrument of accession stands as it is. It confers or reserves certain rights on or for the ruler. I, as a private individual, have ventured to advise that he should waive or diminish the rights and perform the duty pertaining to the office of a Hindu prince. If I am wrong as to my facts, I should be corrected. If I err in my conception of Hinduism and of the duty of a Hindu prince, I am out of court. If Sheikh Abdullasahab is erring in the discharge of his duty as the chief of the Cabinet or as a devout Muslim, he should certainly step aside and give place to a better man. It is on the Kashmir soil that Islam and Hinduism are being weighed. If both pull their weight correctly and in the same direction, the chief actors will cover themselves with glory and nothing can move them from their joint credit. My sole hope and prayer is that Kashmir should become a beacon light to this benighted sub-continent.

So much for the Maharajahsahab and the Sheikh-sahab. Will not the Pakistan Government and the Union Government close ranks and come to an amicable settlement with the assistance of impartial Indians? Or, has impartiality fled from India? I am sure it has not.

### AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I have a money order for Rs. 50 from a sister in Mathura for blankets for the refugees. She does not wish to disclose her name, not even to me. She will be satisfied if I acknowledge the receipt in a prayer speech. Thus I thankfully do now.

### STRANGE PROTESTS

It is strange that I receive telegrams from the ryots of the States, whose chiefs have declared their wish to merge in the Union. If a prince or a semi-prince feels too isolated to carry on a feebly, who can compel him to do so? Those who waste money on telegrams are advised not to do so. There seems to me to be something wrong about the senders of such telegrams. Let them approach the Home Minister for light and guidance.

### ADVICE TO UNION MUSLIMS

Many Muslims, principally from the Postal and Railway Departments say that they had opted for the sake of propaganda. Therefore, they would now like to reconsider their view. There are Muslims who have been discharged from their posts, I presume, on the ground of suspected anti-Hindu bias. My sympathy goes out to all such men. But I feel that the right course is not to resent probable suspicion, although it may be unjustified in individual cases. I can only prescribe my old, well tried remedy. Only very few can be accommodated in the various government departments. To get a government job should never be the aim of life. Honest living is the only worthy aim. This is always assured when and if one is ready to do any labour that comes to hand. Until the dominating and corroding communal poison is eliminated, I think it is necessary and dignified for Muslims not to aim at the leaves and fishes in government employ. Power comes from sincere service. Actual attainment often debases the holder. To fight for

it is unseemly. At the same time it is surely the duty of a government to ensure bread labour for all unemployed men and women, no matter how many they are. To do so intelligently pays the State instead of costing it, assuming of course that the unemployed are physically fit and are not shirkers but willing workers.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 30-12-47*

#### MASS DISCIPLINE

Gandhiji in post-prayer address this evening began with an admonition to those who crowd round him at the end of the prayer and make it impossible for him even to have his evening walk in peace. Mass discipline was an essential condition for a people who aspired to be a great nation. If the people learnt to behave in a disciplined manner, there would be no noise or confusion even in a gathering of lakhs. He wanted all to inculcate the virtue of 'military discipline'.

#### HINDUS AND SIKHS IN BAHAWALPUR

Gandhiji then referred to a letter which he had received and in which he had been requested to reiterate and re-emphasize what he had already said, namely that such Hindus and Sikhs or any other non-Muslims as wanted to go out of the Bahawalpur State should be freely permitted to do so. The Nawabshah of Bahawalpur had declared that he made no distinction between his Muslim and non-Muslim subjects, but held them all in equal regard. He welcomed that declaration. He hoped that the Nawabshah would insure safe passage to them to leave his territory. They should be free to carry their belongings with them and in fact the State ought to provide them railway facilities for the purpose. What was done was done and could not be undone, remarked Gandhiji, but if the Nawabshah did that much, he would deserve the congratulations of all.

#### NON MUSLIMS IN SIND

And what he had said about Bahawalpur, proceeded Gandhiji, applied equally to Sind too. From the reports which he had received, it seemed clear that no Hindu or for that matter any non-Muslim could today remain in Sind, and feel safe. Even educational institutions were being requisitioned and respectable, well-to-do people were being asked to vacate their premises to make room for incoming "refugees" from the Union. Members of the so-called depressed classes were not permitted to leave Sind. He would appeal to Quid-e-Azam Jinnah and the Prime Minister of Sind and his Cabinet to remedy this state of affairs. All those who wanted to go out of Sind should be free to do so. That was the only way of retaining or regaining the confidence of the minorities. With the return of normal conditions in Sind, even those who had gone away might feel like returning to their homes. Compulsion, on the other hand, would have just the opposite effect and defeat its purpose. It would not redound to the credit of Pakistan if it was made impossible for non-Muslims to remain in it as free citizens and they could remain there only as serfs and helots.

#### THE VITHOBA TEMPLE

A telegram to Gandhiji stated that although the trustees of the Vithoba temple of Pandharpur in Maharashtra had decided to throw it open to the Harijans, some members of the priestly class — whose number was by no means small — had taken exception and had even

started a hunger strike in protest. He would tell these "members of the priestly class" that theirs was a very unbecoming attitude. It was un-Hindu. The Vithoba temple was one of the most sacred shrines in Maharashtra. The decision to throw it open had been taken by the trustees after due deliberation. Nobody had opposed it then. If his voice could reach the hunger strikers, he would tell them in all humility but with firmness that by what they were doing they were ill-serving Hinduism. In the all-embracing shrine of Vishnu there was room for all. Even the impure became pure in His sacred presence. How could the admission of the Harijans defile it? In his opinion it was a blasphemy to regard the Harijans as impure. There were black sheep and white in all communities and it was just the same with the Harijans. So long as a single Hindu, irrespective of his caste or creed, was excluded from the Vithoba temple, it was an inert, lifeless shrine. The real *pran pratishtha* was performed only when the temple was thrown open to all — including the Harijans. The present hunger strike by the priestly class, therefore, said Gandhiji, was not a pious act, but an impious one — it was a sin. Gandhiji hoped that they would realize their mistake and give up their hunger strike.

#### RATIONING IN BOMBAY

Lastly, Gandhiji referred to a complaint which he had received in connection with some rationing order that was said to be in force in Bombay. Under it, it was alleged that one could get only one pound of rice in a week. This entailed great hardship on the Madras and the Maharashtra communities residing in Bombay. If, driven by desperation, they obtained the necessary supply of rice for themselves from outside, they came in for heavy fines and even imprisonment. Gandhiji was of opinion that food rationing in the cities ought to be abolished forthwith. He was sure that if they did that, stringency in the matter of foodgrains would disappear and food prices come down, as had happened in the case of other articles that had been decontrolled. That would put an end to the black market in food which had become one of the biggest headaches of the administration.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 31-12-47*

#### NO RETURN WITHOUT CHANGE OF HEARTS

Gandhiji began his post-prayer address this evening by answering a few questions. In reply to the question as to how he could advise the refugees from the West Punjab to return when even in Sind the Hindus and Sikhs could not live in peace and honour, Gandhiji observed that the question did not arise since he had already made it clear at a recent meeting that he was unable at present to advise the refugees to return to the West Punjab, though some Muslim friends had brought this suggestion. He had been informed that there were 251 persons awaiting evacuation from Chitral and the surrounding parts as in Sind thousands were awaiting it. The Union Government could not rest content until those who wished to do so were enabled to migrate. He agreed with the questioner that there could be no return without change of hearts. Unless the Dominions turned a new leaf, both were doomed. The trouble and no doubt started in West Pakistan,

but some parts of the Indian Union had resorted to retaliation. The question, therefore, of time and extent was now beside the point. If either Dominion behaved correctly, the other would follow suit and both would be saved.

#### NO REAL PEACE WITHOUT RETURN OF THE REFUGEES

Gandhiji could never bring himself to accept the proposition of a permanent exchange of population. Even if the refugees were well settled, they would hark back to their old homes. Therefore, he could not envisage real peace without the parties returning to their homes.

#### REFUGEES AND HONEST LABOUR

The same questioner had suggested that the refugees should be provided with work so that they might not become beggars. Gandhiji would welcome such a demand from all the refugees. The Government could doare nothing better, if only to save the crores spent on feeding and clothing the refugees. Gandhiji invited the questioner to propagate his view. 'If the refugees took to honest labour, there would be a decided improvement in the present disturbed condition.

Here the speaker gave an instance of a sister who had complained that during her absence during the day her house had been broken open and occupied by some Sikhs. All the culprits but one were taken into custody. Gandhiji advised all to live by the sweat of their brow, as honourable citizens, even if this involved a degree of discomfort.

#### BROADCASTING THE WHOLE PRAYER

Proceeding Gandhiji read from a letter suggesting that not only his speech but the prayer songs too be recorded for the benefit of the wider public. The Broadcasting Department had offered to record his speech in the public interest, but he would be pleased if it were found possible to record the verses and songs as well, though these might not be as melodious as cinema songs. He selected only such persons to recite and sing who, he thought, were imbued with a prayerful spirit. Gandhiji, however, wanted his speech itself to be regarded and listened to as an integral part of the prayer.

#### EXAGGERATION DEFEATS PURPOSE

In conclusion Gandhiji referred to the exaggerated accounts sent to him of the atrocities perpetrated in Ajmer and Junagadh. He had already dealt with the Junagadh exaggerations. It was true that there had been murder, loot and arson in Ajmer but the *Durgah Sharif* was regarded as quite safe. No harm had been done to it. Exaggeration defeated its own object. They hurt the Muslim cause and made amity much more difficult than it was.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 1-1-'48*

#### SPIRITUAL FOOD

In his post-prayer address on the New Year's day, Gandhiji expressed pleasure at the large size of the gathering, but regretted that seven minutes had to be lost in making seating arrangements for women. Even one minute lost by a meeting meant so many minutes lost to the nation. Men should learn to give place to women and a community or country in which women were not honoured could not be considered civilized. Having attained independence, all of us should from

now on behave as citizens of a free and proud country. Gandhiji hoped that the gathering would be even larger in future, if all who attended would come in a prayerful mood, for prayer was the food of the spirit. He hoped that those present would not only maintain silence, but would carry *shanti* with them to their homes.

#### HARIJANS AND LIQUOR

Gandhiji next referred to a Harijan Conference recently held in the U. P., where a Minister is said to have counselled the Harijans to give up dirty clothes and liquor. Upon this came a spontaneous retort from a Harijan that the Government could burn all dirty clothes, if they would cut off the toddy tree root and branch, and close all liquor dens. Gandhiji admired the courage of this Harijan brother, but he would advise the Harijans and the general public that the remedy lay in their own hands and that even if liquor were being sold, they should avoid it as poison. Indeed, liquor was worse than poison. While the latter killed the body, the former destroyed the awareness of the spirit and all that was noble in man including the sovereign quality of self-control. At the same time Gandhiji advised the Government to convert liquor dens into restaurants for the supply of clean and wholesome refreshments and to provide instructive literature and other recreation to wean the addicts from the lure of intoxicants. From experience gained in many a country reinforced by his own observation in India and earlier in South Africa, Gandhiji was confident that abstinence from intoxicants would materially enhance the physical and moral strength of the workers as well as their earning capacity. Prohibition was therefore included in the Congress programme since 1920 and now that freedom has been won, the Government should proceed to implement that pledge and be prepared to renounce the tainted revenue. In the end, in fact, there would be no loss of revenue, and the gain to individuals would be very great. That way lay the path of progress for our nation.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 2-1-'48*

#### THE NOAKHALI HAT

It was raining on Friday evening when Gandhiji arrived at the prayer ground, wearing his now famous Noakhali hat to the amusement of the audience. So he began his post-prayer talk with a humorous reference to his straw hat — of the type worn by the *kisans* in Noakhali as shelter against the sun — which he valued both as a present from a Muslim *kisan* and as a cheap substitute for an umbrella, all made of local material.

#### THE BHAJAN

Gandhiji next commended the melodious tune of the song sung at the prayer. This song was, however, more appropriate to the morning time, being an appeal to the Lord to wake and grant *darshan* to the waiting devotees. God of course never slept but the song voiced a devotee's feelings.

#### DISTRUST DENOTES COWARDICE

Proceeding Gandhiji referred to a letter recently received from Allahabad. According to the writer, barring a few honourable exceptions, no Muslim could be trusted to remain loyal to the Indian Union, more specially in the event of an inter-dominion war and

the majority of Muslims, with the exception of a few nationalists should, therefore, be turned out. Gandhi observed that it behoved man to trust the word of his fellow men in the absence of any evidence to the contrary. Only last week, nearly a lakh of Muslims had met in Lucknow and made an unequivocal declaration of their nationalism. If a man was demonstrably disloyal or dishonest, he could even be shot though that was not his way. But needless distrust was a sign of ignorance and cowardice and it had led to communal hatred and bloodshed and migration on a colossal scale. Its continuance would only result in perpetuation of the division of India and the eventual destruction of the Dominions. If war broke out, which God forbid, he would not like to live but if the people shared his faith in *ahimsa*, there would be no war and all would yet be well.

Wavell Canteen, New Delhi, 3-1-'48

#### TRUE PEACE RESIDES WITHIN

On Saturday evening Gandhi held the prayer at the Wavell Canteen where a large crowd had assembled to listen to his post-prayer address. Gandhi expressed pleasure at being able to fulfil an old engagement and address the refugees at this Camp. He was happy that the audience included as many women as men and invited all his hearers to join him in the prayer that peace and amity may return to our land and the universe. Peace does not come from outer possession such as wealth or power but from within. All religions have proclaimed this truth. When a man attains such peace, his eyes, words and actions bear witness to it. Such a man is content to live in a cottage and does not care for the morrow. God alone knows what tomorrow will bring. As a man, like us, Sri Ramachandra had no knowledge that he would be exiled just when it was expected that he would ascend the *gadi*. But he knew that true peace was independent of externals and was supremely unaffected by the prospect of his exile. If the Hindus and Sikhs had known this truth, this wave of madness would not have swept over them and they would have remained in peace, irrespective of what the Muslims had done. If these words went home to the Hindus and Sikhs, the Muslims would assuredly make an automatic response.

#### IDEAL OF CAMP LIFE

Proceeding Gandhi observed that he had heard that this Camp was run satisfactorily, but he could not quite endorse this claim until and unless the refugees co-operated to maintain better order and sanitation in the Camp than one noticed in the streets of Delhi. He was aware of the sufferings they had undergone. Some of them belonged to the higher strata of society but for them to hope for the same standard of comfort here would be futile. They should all learn to adapt themselves to the new conditions and to improve them as far as possible. Gandhi recalled the migration of Englishmen from the Transvaal to Natal on the eve of the Boer War in 1899. They knew how to make the best of the situation and all lived as equals. One—an engineer—died and laboured as a carpenter with him. We lack such training, having remained subject to alien rule for centuries. Now that we are free—and want a priceless gift is freedom!—Gandhi

expected the refugees to turn their misfortune to good account and to transform the Camp into an ideal one—such that visitors from all over India, if not the world, would be proud of it. The *mantra* recited in the course of the prayer called upon us to dedicate all we had to God and to draw only what we really needed. If we translated this *mantra* into our lives, not only this Camp but Delhi, which had of late acquired a bad name, would be renovated and our lives would be filled with inner happiness.

Birla House, New Delhi, 4-1-'48

#### IMPLICATIONS OF WAR

In his post-prayer address on Sunday evening Gandhi expressed pleasure at the fair attendance despite the rain and hoped that so many had come with a sincere desire to join the prayers and not through idle curiosity. Unhappy people were talking everywhere about the possibility of a war between the two Dominions. Gandhi was amazed to see that the Government of Pakistan disputed the veracity of the Union's representation to the U. N. O. and the charge that Pakistan had a hand in the invasion of Kashmir by the raiders. More demands out no ice. It was incumbent upon the Indian Union to go to the rescue of Kashmir when the latter sought its help in expelling the raiders and it was the duty of Pakistan to co-operate with the Union. But while Pakistan professed its willingness to co-operate, it took no concrete steps in that direction. Gandhi would like to impress on the leaders of Pakistan that partition having been conceded, there was no justification for animosity. Partition was demanded on religious-communal grounds and it was therefore the duty of Pakistan, in its name implied, to remain clean in all its dealings. Both Hindus and Muslims had resorted to cruel acts and made grievous blunders but that did not mean that this mad race should go on, culminating in war. A war would bring both the Dominions under the sway of a third power and nothing could be worse. Gandhi, therefore, pleaded for amity and goodwill which could enable the Union's representation to the U. N. O. to be withdrawn with dignity. This the U. N. O. itself would welcome. He invited all to join in this prayer. The understanding should however be genuine. To harbour internal hatred might be even worse than war.

#### WORSE THAN COWARDICE

The speaker next referred to an incident which had occurred in Delhi the previous night. A party of refugees had tried to effect unauthorized entry into vacant Muslim houses. The police arrived on the scene and had to disperse the crowd with tear gas. Today we had our own Government. How could it function satisfactorily if the public behaved lawlessly? What was worse, women and children were placed in front of the party to evade remedial action by the police. This amounted to an affront to womanhood and cowardice on the part of men possibly worse than a similar use of cows by the Muslims in bygone times in their fight with the Hindus. Gandhi again appealed to the refugees to maintain peace and order, particularly at the present time when the relations between the two Dominions were strained and thus help in the preservation of our new-born freedom.

## NOTES

**The Aligarh Urdu Magazine**

In an article published elsewhere, under the caption *Mahmood Ghaznavi* we have referred to a couplet printed in the *Aligarh Urdu Magazine*. Under Gandhiji's advice the attention of Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan the Vice-Chancellor of the University was drawn to the couplet in question. We give below the English translation of the relevant portion of the reply received from the Nawabsaheb. He writes:

"I am sorry that the rhyme, which grieved Mahatmaji and patriots like you, appeared in the magazine. With God's help we shall be careful in future. Please convey my sorrow to Mahatmaji and assure him, on my behalf, that we do not in the least sympathize with such views, nor do we in any way regard them as justifiable. I hope you know that Rasheed Ahmad Siddiquisaheb is himself a staunch nationalist and can never tolerate a thing of this type. It appears there has been some oversight or mistake."

Gandhiji was pleased when he heard Nawab Mohammadsaheb's reply. Any of us can be guilty of oversight or even mistakes, especially in the present atmosphere. We believe that with a little care, the *Aligarh Urdu Magazine* should be able to render useful service to the country. In the present atmosphere, such mistakes are unpardonable.

New Delhi, 4-1-'48

SUNDARLAL

**Public Conveyances**

A news item states that the Madras Government desire to ban rickshaw pulling on humanitarian grounds. We have come to such straits that man has had to compete with beasts of burden to eke out a living. We hope the other provinces will follow suit.

Local transport is one of the occupations that should be open to the masses. Replacing *tungas* and *jukas* by buses is a bad economy. *Tanga* building is a flourishing industry in Lahore, Peshawar and many such cities. Every bit of the money spent on these circulates in the country bringing food and clothing to thousands of homes. Similarly, the maintenance of horses also helps to bring employment to thousands of persons including women and children. The running of buses on the other hand exports employment abroad. Lakhs of rupees are spent on the vehicles, the fuel and accessories and only a few drivers and cleaners find occupation. Petrol being a commodity in demand internationally, it forms the main bone of contention between nations and forms the focal point of global wars. Hence, we would do well to take note before we plunge headlong into mechanized means of transport.

Even in this short time a great many transport services have developed into monopolies. This is a danger to be guarded against before it overwhelms us.

J. C. K.

## MAHAMOOD GHAZNAVI

In an Urdu quarterly published from the Aligarh University a poem has appeared under the caption *Farzandan-e-Qaum Se*, i. e. 'To the Sons of the Community'. The following is the English rendering of one of the lines in that poem.

The voice of Somnath is again resounding in the air. Therefore, produce another Mahmood of Ghazni from some modern Ghazni.

Evidently the poet is referring to the news that appeared in the Press that it is proposed to resuscitate the temple of Somnath. Whether Mahmood ever reached Somnath or not is a separate question, but we must confess we were pained to read this line.

Our questioning the history of Mahmood's invasion of Somnath may astonish some of our readers. But who could suspect fifty years back that the story of the Black Hole of Calcutta was a pure myth? How many will suspect even now that the story of the massacre of Bibighar in 1857 and of the 'well' in Cawnpore may after all be a 'shameful fabrication'. The words in commas are from the statement of a responsible Englishman in the *Times* dated 25th August, 1858. So-called recorded history may yet give us many such occasions for astonishment. We quote the following from Shri C. V. Vaidya's well-known *History of Medieval Hindu India*. Referring to Mahmood's invasion of Somnath he says:

"Unfortunately, we have no mention of this expedition, the highest achievement of Mahmood, in the work of Utbi though he lived up to 420H (1029 A. D.) as stated before, i. e. four years after this event. Nor does Rashiduddin, who wrote more than two centuries later, mention the Somnath expedition. Hemidullah Mustafi who followed him twenty years later (E. II. p. 430-434). The first description is found in Ibn Asir, and later writers have only embellished his account (*ditto* p. 468). And there is no mention whatever of this great calamity which overtook Gujarat in the palm days of the Solanki rulers whose account is fully given by many Gujarat Jain and Hindu chroniclers from the time of the founder Mulraj who came to the throne of Anhilwad as will be shown later on, in 961, sixteen years before Subuktigin. We do not also find the slightest hint about this calamity in any inscription found up to this time. Under these circumstances one is disposed to doubt whether this expedition was actually undertaken by Mahmood in distant Gujarat where he must have arrived after traversing a wide desert." (p. 87)

Even after this Shri Vaidya is of the opinion that there must be some truth in Mahmood's invasion of Somnath. His argument is as follows:

"Hindu writers would be loath to mention this disaster to one of their greatest gods and kings and that writers though writing centuries after the event had certain Muslim accounts before them and are not likely to invent a wholly imaginary story." After this Shri Vaidya gives a brief English rendering of the account by Ibn Asir. But before

doing so Shri Vaidya again says concerning Ibn Asir's account:

"We may at this outset state that this account, exaggerated as it must be, still more increased in the marvellous element in later writers who added imaginary stories to it, chiefly from a desire to heighten the religious greatness of Mahmood. The story, for instance, a story told by even Gibbon — that immense treasure was concealed within the idol of Somnath, that *brahmanas* offered as ransom several acres of rupees to Mahmood which his generals advised him to accept and that Mahmood refused saying that he would like to be known on the Judgment Day as an idol breaker and not as an idol-worshipper — is a fabrication of some one, if not of Farishta himself. Wilson, as quoted by Elliot, (II. p. 476) commenting on this embellishment of the story of Somnath, observed 'The earlier Mohammedan writers say nothing of the mutilation of the features of the idol, for in fact it had none, nor of treasures it contained, which, . . . could not have been within it. Farishta invents the hidden treasures of rubies and pearls with quite as little warrant.' This story is plainly absurd, as the *linga* of Somnath must have been a solid block of stone. Similarly the story that Mahmood was led into a waterless desert by a treacherous Hindu guide and that Mahmood eventually by prayer was able to find water, as also the story that Mahmood wished to remain in Gujarat as it was a fertile country possessing gold mines, but was induced to give up this idea on the representation of ministers that Khorasan was the country longed for by his father and the best for him to live in, are incredible."

Similarly, Shri Vaidya questions the truth of some other anecdotes current in connection with this expedition. Most of these are embellishments of the story given by Ibn Asir, and Shri Vaidya regards Ibn Asir's account also as exaggerated. Every student of the history of medieval India knows that most Muslim writers of the period, whenever they describe the exploits of Muslim kings, greatly exaggerate stories of the demolition of temples, of the breaking of idols and of forcible conversions by their heroes, in order to demonstrate their zeal for the spread of Islam. Even if the story of Mahmood's invasion of Somnath be true and there are valid reasons to doubt it — there can be no doubt that most of the incidents mentioned in that connection are not historical.

We would now like to describe the character of Mahmood as depicted by Shri Vaidya in his own words. He says:

"We, indeed, think that Mahmood was one of those great men whom nature produces at intervals, men of exceptional qualities and unparalleled capacities, men who like Akbar or Shiva, Napoleon or Peter the Great create new epochs in the history of the world and change the destinies of nations. As a man Mahmood was a person of strict discipline and stern conduct. In all his expeditions we do not read, along with the plunder of towns and temples and even slaughter and enslavement of fighters, the slaying or ravishing of women.

And he loved justice and hated oppression so thoroughly that he was ready to destroy his own son if caught in the act of adultery. He was a good ruler and administrator and laboured to promote the well-being of his people in every way, protected commerce by the suppression of robbery and kept the communications between distant provinces free of danger so that caravans passed freely between Khorasan and Lahore' (Uthi). He appointed good governors to the provinces and exercised strict supervision over them so that they did not oppress the people. Uthi is not a flatterer when he praises Mahmood as 'the glorious lord of the poor who displayed the face of level equity between the widow and the wealthy so that the door of boasting and oppression was closed', 'And he charged an examiner of weights and measures to go among the market people and guard the standard of weights and measures . . . formerly the streets of the bazars were not covered and the market people were vexed by dust and rain. He ordered the roofs of the bazars to be connected, . . . the city was entirely covered with roofs, with light-affording devices inter-woven, so that all may be gladdened by the penetrating of the rays of the sun' (p. 486). 'He expended yearly nearly one-hundred thousand *dinars* in promoting justice and gladness for the people and in honourable and pious liberalities.' . . . Mahmood did not perpetrate those inhuman massacres of innocent and helpless human beings which Chingis and Timur perpetrated . . . He spent every year vast sums on the encouragement of letters and had founded a well-endowed college with salaried professors where students were fed at State expense . . . The story told about Firdausi . . . shows the great encouragement which Mahmood gave to literature and the preservation of the ancient history of Persia. The fact that Firdausi, though a *Shia* and perhaps a heretic, was entrusted with the work of immortalizing the history of fire-worshipping Persian kings, brings out Mahmood's unalloyed love of letters. 'Mahmood, himself a *Sunni*, still extended patronage to Persian literature and learning and developed it even at the expense of Arabic institutions' . . . Mahmood's patronage of Alberuni shows that he did not object even to the study of Sanskrit literature, philosophy and science. At any rate, the galaxy of learned men, poets, and philosophers of unique ability, like Firdausi and Alberuni which illumined the court of Mahmood should make him as renowned as Akbar of modern and Vikramaditya of ancient fame . . . Mahmood himself, like Babar, wrote memoirs in the midst of his wars and sent them home . . . Mahmood's civil and military administration was well-ordered and strong . . . To sum up, we think that Gibbon is right when he says that Mahmood was one of the greatest kings of the world. He was an intrepid soldier and a consummate commander, a lover of justice and a patron of learned men, a sovereign who laboured for the peace and prosperity of his people and strove to extend education and commerce. As a man, Mahmood was a person of strict disci-



pline and was not by nature cruel or avaricious but was temperate and generous."

Shri. C. V. Vaidya also says:

"The story that Mahmood removed the Sandal gates of the temple of Somnath to Ghazni has not been credited by modern scholars and the gates which were brought by the English in 1843 after their conquest of Afghanistan are lying unnoticed in the Fort at Agra (Sardesai).

Mahmood's army included a good number of Hindus who followed their own religion. One of his Hindu generals was Tilak by name. With the help of Tilak and his Hindu soldiers Mahmood defeated several of his Muslim opponents outside India. In his invasions of India whenever he could get a good amount as tribute from the worshippers of a temple, he protected the temple instead of demolishing it. In trying to extend his empire he did in India mostly what he did in Tatar, Khorasan, Balkh and Isfahan.

Yet it has to be admitted that in his invasions of Hindustan Mahmood demolished temples and forcibly converted people, specially prisoners of war. Neither Akbar nor Shivaji was ever guilty of such behaviour towards people of other faiths. This makes no small difference in their character. All that we have said above is intended to bring out two things. Firstly, that we may not give credit to every story that may be found in so-called recorded history. Secondly, that in the character of so many individuals their vices conceal many virtues and vice versa. History should be studied with a good amount of circumspection, sympathy, patience and freedom from bias. Thus alone can we reach truth and derive real benefit from such study.

Again, any form of compulsion in the matter of religion is against the precepts of the *Quran* and the life and example of the great Prophet. The *Quran* unequivocally lays down: "There should be no compulsion in religion" (2-256). As for those who worship besides the one God the *Quran* expressly lays down the following for the guidance of the Musalmans:

"Do not speak ill of those (gods, goddesses or idols) whom they worship besides the one God" (6-107). How can the *Quran* permit the breaking of the objects of another's worship when it does not permit even speaking ill of such objects? No sentence from the *Quran* can be quoted against this clear injunction. The *Quran* enjoins upon its followers the duty of propagating its religion, but, as for the method of propagating it, it again clearly says: "Explain to those of other faiths with good sense and in a sweet manner and whenever you discuss things with them do it in all sweetness" (16-125). The whole life of the Prophet of Islam was an example to those who want to live up to these principles. During the first thirteen years of his career as the propagator of Islam, the Prophet lived in Mecca and during all that period whenever it was possible for him to do so he said his prayers within the precincts of the Kaba, which was then full of idols. The Prophet was against idol worship

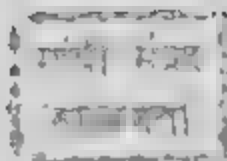
and preached accordingly. Yet not once during those thirteen years did he in any way insult any of those idols nor did he ever lay his hands upon any of them, nor did he permit any Musalman to do so. Even long after these thirteen years, when he performed his second pilgrimage to Mecca, all the three hundred and sixty idols were present inside the Kaba. Neither the Prophet nor any of his two thousand followers did anything derogatory to the honour or respect of any of those idols, or anything which could injure the feelings of any of the worshippers of those idols. It was just this tolerance and this consideration for the feelings of others which within the next few years brought the whole people of Mecca within the fold of Islam. No doubt, Islam permits the breaking of idols. The Prophet himself got all the idols of the Kaba uprooted and thrown away. But it was done only when not one person was left who still believed in the worship of those idols. Only those who had become converts to Islam could throw away after conversion their erstwhile objects of worship. Whenever the Prophet sent out missionaries to preach the worship of one God to other people, he gave them the same instructions with regard to the objects of those people's worship. Similarly, instructions were given to Ayash when he was sent out to preach Islam to people of Yaman. We need not add other illustrations.

In spite of his other great and good qualities, Mahmood's use of compulsion in the matter of religion, while dealing with peoples of other faiths whatever its extent, could be justified neither by the principles of Islam nor by the code of ordinary human morals. It would be good if we concentrate our attention on the good points in the character of all great leaders of humanity, to whatever period or country they might have belonged. We can well ignore the failings of others, great or small, with profit to ourselves. The editor of the Urdu magazine while publishing this little poem, has ignored his responsibility as a journalist, nor has he taken into consideration the present atmosphere in the country. We must all be much more cautious, more rational and much more regardful of each other's feelings if we want to solve our country's difficulties.

New Delhi, 29-12-'47

SUNDARLAL

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# HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

16 Pages

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TWO ANNAS

## AN ALL-IN FAST

Two prominent Muslim Leaguers were relating to Gandhiji how the Indian Union Muslims were eager to join the Congress. Gandhiji felt hurt, "I do not like this stampede to join the Congress," he told them. "They should—it is their right to join the Congress. But the time for it in my opinion is not yet. I would rather that they waited till the Congress was ready to welcome them with open arms. Today, that warmth is lacking. Under the circumstances, it would be best for them to serve the Congress from outside—even as I am doing." To another Muslim friend he remarked that he would stand up for Hindustani as the national language in spite of the decision of the Constituent Assembly to the contrary, even if he stood alone. Nor can I forget the moral indignation with which, talking about the accession of an Indian State, he told another Muslim leader that if it involved the sacrifice of any moral principle he would not care if,—leave alone that State—the whole of the Princely order acceded to Pakistan in preference to the Indian Union.

An India reduced in size but purged in spirit might still be the nursery of the non-violence of the brave and take up the moral leadership of the world, bringing a message of hope and deliverance to the oppressed and exploited races. But an unwieldy, soulless India would merely be an imitation, and a third rate imitation at that, of the Western military States, utterly powerless to stand up against their onslaught. He had no desire to outlive the India of his dreams. "We are steadily losing hold on Delhi," he remarked to still another friend, expressing his concern about the communal situation in Delhi. "If Delhi goes, India goes and with that the last hope of world peace." It was intolerable to him that a person like Dr. Zakir Hussain, for instance, or for that matter Shaheed Suhrawardy should not be able to move about in Delhi as freely and with as much safety as himself. When a deputation of the Muslims of Delhi waited upon him setting forth to him their grievances, he immediately arranged a meeting between them and important Cabinet members in his presence and later the police chief saw them and promised them the fullest redress. But his agony continued.

That did not mean that he was indifferent to the sufferings of the minority community in the other Dominion. On the contrary, their sufferings only accentuated his impatience. He would have liked to be able to go to their succour—in Sind, in

the Western Punjab, in the N. W. F. P. But with what tact, with what confidence could he go there when he could not guarantee full redress to the Delhi Muslims? He felt helpless and helplessness he has never put up with in all his life.

And so from the depths of his anguish came his decision to fast. Unlike some of his previous fasts, it is an all-in fast. As he has already stated it came to him in a flash. It left no room for argument, so much so that he gave no inkling of what was passing in his mind to Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru who saw him only a couple of hours before the announcement of the fast yesterday.

"I have a lot to say against your undertaking the present fast," wrote a correspondent in a note addressed to him on getting the news of his decision to fast, "but I have had no previous warning.... My main concern and my argument against your fast is that you have at last surrendered to impatience, whereas the mission which you have undertaken is essentially one of infinite patience. You do not seem to have realized what a tremendous success you have achieved by your inexhaustible and patient labour. It has already saved lakhs upon lakhs of lives and could save many more still. But your patience seems to have suddenly snapped. By dying you will not be able to realize what you would have realized by conserving your life. I would, therefore, beseech you to pay heed to my entreaty and give up your fast."

To this Gandhiji replied: "I am not prepared to concede that my decision to undertake the fast was hasty. It was quick no doubt.... The statement was of the nature of heartsearching and prayer. Therefore, it cannot be dubbed as "hasty" in any sense of the term.

"I did not need to hear any arguments as to the propriety of the fast. The fact that I did listen to arguments only bespeaks my patience and humility....

"Your worry as well as your argument are of no use. You are, of course, my friend and a high-minded friend at that. Your concern is natural and I esteem it, but your argument only betrays impatience and superficial thinking. I regard this step of mine as the last word on patience. Would you regard patience that kills its very object, as patience or folly?

"I cannot take credit for the results that have been achieved since my coming to Delhi. It would be self-delusion on my part to do so. Mere man cannot judge as to how many lives were really

saved by my labours. Only the Omniscient and All-Seeing God can do that. Does it not betray sheer ignorance to attribute sudden loss of patience to one who has been as patience personified right from the beginning of September last?

"It was only when in terms of human effort, I had exhausted all resources and realized my utter helplessness that I put my head on God's lap. That is the inner meaning and significance of my fast. If you read and ponder in your mind the epic of *Gajendra Moksha*, you might be able properly to appraise my step.

"The last sentence of your note is a charming token of your affection. But your affection is rooted in ignorance or infatuation. Ignorance does not cease to be ignorance because of its repetition among persons, no matter how numerous they are.

"So long as we hug life and death it is idle to claim that it must be preserved for a certain cause. 'Strive while you live' is a beautiful saying, but there is a hiatus in it. Striving has to be in a spirit of detachment.

"Now you will understand why I cannot accept your counsel. God sent me the fast. He alone will end it if and when He wills. In the meantime it behoves us all to believe that whether He preserves my life or ends it, it is equally to the good and we should act accordingly. Let our sole prayer be that God may vouchsafe me strength of spirit during the fast so that the temptation to live may not lead me into a hasty or premature termination of the fast."

On a previous occasion when the late Ah brothers had complained and asked him if it was not a breach of loyalty to his colleagues not to have consulted them before deciding to go on a twentyone days' fast, his reply was that it was not, for had not he and his colleagues pledged their loyalty to God? How could he be guilty of disloyalty to them while keeping his covenant with God? But both the Sardar and Pandit Nehru in the present case were far more understanding and full of sympathetic insight. Neither they, nor the Maulanasahab and other friends and colleagues who saw him later, tried to strive with him but set about to tackle the problem constructively.

"Brave deeds and not vain laments - should be our motto," remarked Gandhiji to a sister who came to seek guidance. Equally characteristic was his reply to a Sikh friend, who saw him soon after the commencement of the fast yesterday. "My fast is against no one party, group or individual exclusively and yet it excludes nobody. It is addressed to the conscience of all, even the majority community in the other Dominion. If all or any one of the groups respond fully, I know the miracle will be achieved. For instance, if the Sikhs respond to my appeal as one man, I shall be wholly satisfied. I shall go and live in their midst in the Punjab for they are a brave people and I know they can set an example in non-violence of the brave which will serve as an object lesson to all the rest."

New Delhi, 14-1-'48

PYARELAL

## REFLECTIONS ON SIND

Sind is known to be the land of Sufis. Shah Abdul Latif and Sami, Bekas and Bedil, Bhagat Kanwar and Dalpat have flourished in Sind and left in immortal verse their message of unity in diversity, of love and harmony exemplified in their own lives. The current of Sufi thought has trickled down to the mass mind and until recently, Hindus and Muslims were found worshipping in the same shrines and participating in a fraternal spirit in the same festivals. In almost every home, the Hindus worship Guru Nanak who taught fellowship of faiths. They are not caste-ridden and are known for their culture and catholicity all over the country. Untouchability as such hardly exists. Unhappily they lack cohesion and organized unity, but even this failing seems to have a sort of a causal connection with their cosmopolitan outlook and their comparative freedom from narrow communalism and provincialism.

Since 1937, however, with the introduction of provincial autonomy, the province has been drawn into the vortex of power politics. Communal electorates - that deadly gift of Britain to India

not only widened the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims but drove a wedge into the ranks of each community. Extremists on either side, in their lust for power, began to woo the ignorant masses and inflame their minds against the forces of nationalism. After the general election of 1946 the Congress entered into a coalition with a sprinkling of Nationalist Muslims and though this coalition commanded a small majority, the pro-League British Governor invited the leader of his favourite party to form the Government. The position of the League Government was, however, precarious and it, therefore, moved cautiously. At the same time the League leaders used their power to consolidate their influence with Muslim masses and when a fresh appeal was made to the electorate early in 1947, the League party was returned with an absolute majority. It then threw off its mask and adopted a blatantly communal policy in all spheres - legislative, administrative and executive. With the announcement of the partition plan, the middle and upper class Muslims began to feel and behave as if they were members of the ruling race and the Hindus their subjects. Sind became the first citadel of Pakistan and Karachi received the dubious honour of being selected as the capital of the new State. The earlier pronouncements of Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah following his appointment as Governor-General, stirred new hopes - not unmingled with doubts and fears - in the minds of the Hindus. The situation, however, soon changed for the worse and the holocaust in the Punjab and Quetta brought matters to a head. Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah and his lieutenants now began to speak of an Islamic State and the hopes of the minorities for just and honourable treatment, based on common citizenship, were dashed to the ground. There was an outbreak of

communal frenzy in September, the target of attack being the Sikhs of the Nawabshah District. This had its inevitable repercussions on the Hindus and the exodus of the Hindus and the Sikhs began. The position was aggravated by wanton attacks on innocent passengers in trains, humiliating searches of evacuees and unlawful seizure of houses in the capital of Pakistan. So far out of a total of thirteen lakhs, over three lakhs of Hindus and Sikhs have migrated, the majority of these being original residents of adjacent provinces and States who had settled in the hospitable regions of Sind. The stream of migration continues, but it is hindered by lack of transport facilities. The Sind Government has also begun to realize that the wholesale evacuation of the Hindus will upset the economy of the province, but unlike the Government of the Indian Union, it does precious little to protect the minorities beyond issuing a spate of verbal assurances. Instead of putting down the lawless elements, it threatens to dismiss Government servants who send away their families on the charge of disloyalty! Without creating peaceful conditions it bans the migration of sweepers and washermen under the Essential Services Ordinance and issues warrants of arrest against the Harijan workers! On the top of all this have come the recent attacks, without any provocation, on innocent Hindus and Sikhs in Hyderabad and Karachi, attended by large scale killing and extensive loot. It must be confessed to our shame that the plight of our Muslim brethren in several parts of the Indian Union is equally sad and our hearts go out to them no less in the inhuman suffering inflicted on them by our co-religionists. This note, is however, confined to Sind and it cannot be gainsaid that Hindus and Sikhs can no longer live in peace and honour in that province.

No wonder, therefore, that even Gandhi who is devoting every ounce of his energy to the restoration of normal conditions in both the Dominions has been forced by the compulsion of events to take a realistic view of the situation and has in his recent post-prayer talks underlined the urgency of evacuating the Hindus and Sikhs from Sind. The Government of India should, before it gets too late, take energetic measures, with what co-operation it can get from the sister Dominion, to provide full facilities for the immediate evacuation — on a voluntary basis though — of the Hindus and the Sikhs from Sind, special attention being paid to the poorer classes including the Harijans who are exposed to the danger of forcible conversions. We have the right to demand this. We have made no mean contribution to the winning of Indian freedom. We now feel, not without reason, that we have been left in the lurch as a result of the acceptance of partition by the Congress. Hence we demand, not as charity but as a right, that the Congress Government should rise to the occasion and accept courageously the logical consequences of the division. It should immediately proceed

to arrange on a planned basis not only for the evacuation but for the relief and rehabilitation of members of the minority communities who wish to migrate to the Indian Union. As visualized in the recent A. I. C. C. resolution such plans should take into account the social and cultural affinities of Sind to the province of Bombay and the adjoining States for be it remembered, Sind was not long ago an integral part of Bombay and until yesterday, its educational institutions were affiliated to the Bombay University.

To the people of the Indian Union also, who had the good fortune to be born on this side of the border, we have a friendly appeal to make. We love Sind and love Mother India as well. It would be a wrench to us to be uprooted from our homes but our honour and safety leave us no other alternative. We now ask that all displaced Indians from Pakistan be welcomed as equal citizens with the same rights and responsibilities as the original residents of the Union — and not treated as unwanted intruders. All of us must get rid of narrow provincialism which, like communalism, threatens to disrupt the unity of the Union.

At the same time the Sindhi Hindu must learn to adapt himself to the new conditions and to merge his life in the life of the province or State in which he is placed. He cannot both eat the cake and have it. Above all, he must strive to preserve intact the rich heritage of Sufi culture and refuse to lose his balance in the prevailing turmoil, as unhappily he did in Ajmer. The upper class Hindu must once for all shed snobbery and superiority complex and scrupulously refrain from offering *pagree* to monopolize housing accommodation to the prejudice of the just rights of the poor. He may not expect anything like the degree of comfort to which he was used. And all of us must prove our mettle and work hard in co-operation with our neighbours to contribute to the prosperity of the motherland and thus help to lighten the colossal burdens so suddenly thrown on her in the infancy of her freedom.

New Delhi, 11-1-48

P. B. CHANDWANI

### Racing and Betting

A correspondent from Madras writes a pathetic letter on the subject of betting on the race-course and holds that the two go together. If betting went, horse racing probably would fall flat. It is wholly unnecessary for the sake of the love of horse flesh to have horse races and all their attendant excitement. They pander to the vices of humanity and mean a waste of good cultivable soil and good money. Who has not witnessed as I have, the ruin of fine men caused by the gamble on the race-courses? It is time to leave alone the vices of the West and to strive to adopt the best that it has to give.

New Delhi, 12-1-48

M. K. G.

# HARIJAN

January 18;

1948

## HOW DEMOCRACY WORKS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A valued correspondent has written to me two letters, one issuing a timely warning about the ill effects of hasty decontrol and the other about the possibility of an outbreak of Hindu-Muslim riots. I have dealt with both the letters in a letter which has become unexpectedly argumentative and gives my view of democracy which can only come out of non-violent mass action. I, therefore, reproduce the letter below without giving at the same time the letters to which it is in answer. There is enough in the answer to enable the reader to know the purport of the two letters. I have purposely refrained from giving the name of my correspondent and the scene of action, not because the letters are confidential, but because nothing is to be gained from disclosing either :

"You still write as if you had the slave mind, though the slavery of us all is abolished. If decontrol has produced the effect you attribute to it, you should raise your voice, even though you may be alone in doing so and your voice may be feeble. As a matter of fact you have many companions and your voice is by no means feeble unless intoxication of power has enfeebled it. Personally, the bogey of the shooting up of prices by reason of decontrol does not frighten me. If we have many sharks and we do not know how to combat them, we shall deserve to be eaten up by them. Then we shall know how to carry ourselves in the teeth of adversity. Real democracy people learn not from books, not from the government who are in name and in reality their servants. Hard experience is the most efficient teacher in democracy. The days of appeals to me are gone. The cloak of non-violence which we had put on during the British regime is no longer now necessary. Therefore, violence faces us in its terrible nakedness. Have you also succumbed or you too never had non-violence? This letter is not to warn you against writing to me and giving me your view of the picture, but it is intended to tell you why I would swear by decontrol even if mine was a solitary voice.

"Your second letter about Hindu-Muslim tension is more to the point than the first. Here too you should raise your voice openly against any soft handling of the situation or smug satisfaction. I shall do my part but I am painfully conscious of my limitations. Formerly I could afford to be monarch of all I surveyed. Today I have many fellow monarchs, if I may still count myself as such. If I can, I am the

least among them. The first days of democracy are discordant notes which jar on the ear and give you many headaches. If democracy is to live in spite of these killing notes, sweet concord has to rise out of this seemingly discordant necessary lesson. How I wish that you would be one of the masters who would contribute to the production of concord out of discord!

"You will not make the mistake of thinking that your duty is finished when you have apprised me of the situation in your part of the country."

New Delhi, 11-1-'48

## URDU HARIJAN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Two weeks ago I hinted in the Gujarati columns that the *Harijan* printed in the Urdu script was likely to be stopped as its sale was steadily dwindling. Apart even from financial considerations, I saw no meaning in publishing it, if there was no demand for it. The dwindle to me was a sign of resentment against its publication. I would be foolish if I failed to profit by it.

My view remains unalterable especially at this critical juncture in our history. It is wrong to ruffle Muslim or any other person's feeling when there is no question of ethics. Those who take the trouble of learning the Urdu script in addition to the Nagari, will surely lose nothing. They will gain a knowledge of the Urdu script, which many of our countrymen know. If it was not for cursedness, this proposition will be admitted without any argument. The limitations of this script in terms of perfection are many. But for elegance and grace it will equal any script in the world. It will not die so long at least as Arabic and Persian live, though it has achieved a status all its own without outside aid. With a little adaptation it can serve the purpose of shorthand. As a national script, if it is set free from the bondage of orthodoxy, it is capable of improvement so as to enable one to transcribe Sanskrit verses without the slightest difficulty.

Lastly, those who in anger boycott the Urdu script, put a wanton affront upon the Muslims of the Union who, in the eyes of many Hindus, have become aliens in their own land. This is copying the bad manners of Pakistan with a vengeance. I invite every inhabitant of India to join me in a stern refusal to copy bad manners. If they will enter the heart of what I have written, they will prevent the impending collapse of the Nagari and Urdu editions of the *Harijan*. Will Muslim friends rise to the occasion and do two things—subscribe to the Urdu edition and diligently learn the Nagari script and enrich their intellectual capital?

New Delhi, 11-1-'48

## TO THE PEOPLE OF GUJARAT

To

The Men and Women of Gujarat,

I am dictating this from my bed early on Wednesday morning. It is the second day of the fast though twentyfour hours have not been completed since the fast commenced. It is the last day of posting for this week's *Harijan*. Hence, I have decided to address a few words in Gujarati to the people of Gujarat.

I do not regard this fast as an ordinary fast. I have undertaken it after deep thought and yet it has sprung not from reasoning but God's will that rules men's reason. It is addressed to no particular section or individual and yet it is addressed equally to all. There is no trace of anger of any kind behind it nor the slightest tinge of impatience. But behind it is the realization that there is a time for everything and an opportunity, once missed, never returns. Therefore, the only thing that now remains is for every Indian to think as to what his or her duty in the present hour is. Gujaratis are Indians. So, whatever I write in Gujarati is addressed equally to all the people of India.

Delhi is the Metropolis of India. If, therefore, we really in our hearts do not subscribe to the two-nation theory, in other words, if we do not regard the Hindus and the Muslims as constituting two distinct nations, we shall have to admit that the picture that Delhi presents today is not what we have envisaged always of the capital of India. Delhi is the Eternal City, as the ruins of its fore-runners — Indraprastha and Hastinapur testify. It is the heart of India. Only a nit-wit can regard it as belonging to the Hindus or the Sikhs only. It may sound harsh but it is the literal truth. From Kanya Kumari to Kashmir and from Karachi to Dibrugarh in Assam, all Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians and Jews who people this vast sub-continent and have adopted it as their dear motherland, have an equal right to it. No one has a right to say that it belongs to the majority community only and that the minority community can only remain there as the underdog. Whoever serves it with the purest devotion must have the first claim. Therefore, anyone who wants to drive out of Delhi all Musalmans as such must be set down as its enemy No. 1 and therefore, enemy No. 1 of India. We are rushing towards that catastrophe. It is the bounden duty of every son and daughter of India to take his or her full share in averting it.

What should we do then? If we would see our dream of *Panchayat Raj*, i. e. true democracy realized, we would regard the humblest and lowest Indian as being equally the ruler of India with the tallest in the land. This presupposes that all are pure or will become pure if they are not. And purity must go hand-in-hand with wisdom. No one would then harbour any distinction between community and community, caste and out-caste. Everybody would regard all as equal with oneself and hold them together in the silken net of love. No one would regard another as untouchable. We would hold as equal the roiling labourer and the rich capitalist. Everybody would know how to

earn an honest living by the sweat of one's brow and make no distinction between intellectual and physical labour. To hasten this consummation, we would voluntarily turn ourselves into scavengers. No one who has wisdom will ever touch opium, liquor or any intoxicants. Everybody would observe *swadeshi* as the rule of life and regard every woman, not being his wife, as his mother, sister or daughter according to her age, never lust after her in his heart. He would be ready to lay down his life when occasion demands it, never want to take another's life. If he is a Sikh in terms of the commandment of the Gurus he would have the heroic courage to stand single-handed and alone without yielding an inch of ground — against the "one lakh and a quarter" enjoined by them. Needless to say, such a son of India will not want to be told what his duty in the present hour is.

New Delhi,

*Makar Sankranti*, 14-1-'48

(From the Gujarati)

Yours etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

## LUCKNOW MUSLIM CONFERENCE

The Indian Muslim Conference, held at Lucknow on the 27th and 28th of December, was a step in the right direction. In his presidential address, the first thing which Maulana Abul Kalam Azad emphasized was that all political organizations formed on communal lines should be liquidated. The Maulana was only addressing the seventy thousand Muslims who had gathered to follow his lead. But the truth of his remarks applies equally to all communal organizations — Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or any other. As the Maulana rightly pointed out, nobody can object to organizations which merely look to the religious or cultural progress of a particular community. So long as we do not regard all life and property, without regard to religion, as equally sacred, we can neither have peace in this country nor maintain the glory and dignity of our respective creeds. All communal distinctions defeat the very object of religion and spell ruin to the entire society.

While expressing his well-known views on the partition of the country and on the two-nation theory, and advising all the Musalmans of India to join the Indian National Congress, the Maulana, in a gathering held with a particular objective, wisely refrained from raking up bitter memories or straying into the field of controversial politics.

The Conference, in its resolutions, unanimously accepted the lead given by the Maulana. The resolution on communal organizations could well have been passed by any national gathering, with a few verbal changes. Maulana Ahmad Sabeed, while moving the resolution, deplored the sad consequences of the propagation of the two-nation theory. Dr. Syed Mahmood rightly warned the Hindus and Sikhs that if any one community was finished, it could inevitably mean the ruin of all. Several speakers like Syed Abdulla Brelvi, Prof. Humayun Kabir and Maulana Hifzur Rahman suggested that the Musalmans should join the Indian National Congress *en masse*, also to help that body to maintain its truly national character.

New Delhi, 11-1-'48

SUNDARLAL

# GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

Birla House, New Delhi, 5-1-'48

## RESULTS OF DECONTROL

From the numerous letters and wires giving me thanks for the decontrols and pleading for more, I pick up the following written in English from a well-known businessman. He reduced to writing his thoughts at my instance.

"As desired by you I am giving below the following data about sugar, *gur*, *shakkar* and various other foodstuffs showing their present and past prices before decontrol.

	Present Rates	Rates prevalent during the month of November before decontrol of sugar was taken up by you.
Sugar	Rs. 37-8 per maund	Rs. 80 to 85 per maund
Gur <i>Pansera</i>	Rs. 13 to 15 " "	Rs. 30 to 32 " "
Shakkar	Rs. 14 to 18 " "	Rs. 37 to 45 " "
Sugar Cubes	As. 11 per packet	Rs. 1-8 to 1-2 per packet
Sugar <i>Desi</i>	Rs. 30 to 35 per maund	Rs. 75 to 80 per maund

"Thus there is 50% fall in prices of sugar and its allied products.

## FOOD GRAINS

Wheat	Rs. 18 to 20 per maund	Rs. 40 to 50 per maund
Rice <i>Basmati</i>	Rs. 25 " "	Rs. 40 to 45 " "
Maize	Rs. 15 to 17 " "	Rs. 30 to 32 " "

## GRAMS

Grams	Rs. 16 to 18 per maund	Rs. 38 to 40 per maund
Moong	Rs. 23 " "	Rs. 35 to 38 " "
Urad	Rs. 23 " "	Rs. 34 to 37 " "
Arhar	Rs. 18 to 19 " "	Rs. 30 to 32 " "

## PULSES

Gram Pulse	Rs. 20 per maund	Rs. 30 to 32 per maund
Moong	Rs. 26 " "	Rs. 39 " "
Urad	Rs. 26 " "	Rs. 37 " "
Arhar	Rs. 22 " "	Rs. 32

## OILS

Sarson	Rs. 65 per maund	Rs. 75 per maund
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## WOOLLEN AND SILK CLOTH

"Due to decontrol of woollen and silk cloth the markets are flooded with silk and woollen cloth. The prices in silk and woollen cloth have fallen by 50% at least and even 60% in some cases.

## COTTON CLOTH AND YARN

"In anticipation of the decontrol of the cotton cloth and yarn, the prices are gradually falling. In the atmosphere created by the decontrol of sugar, the prices of cloth are also coming down. If cotton cloth is decontrolled altogether, the prices of cloth are sure to fall by at least 50% and the quality of the cotton cloth will also improve. Mill-owners will have to vie with one another. The supply will be available in abundance as is the case now with woollen and silk cloth which were decontrolled long ago. In case cotton cloth is decontrolled, its export to foreign countries may be totally prohibited for at least three years to make the decontrol of cotton cloth a thorough success.

"The jugglery of the departmental statistics should not stand in the way of the decontrol of entire food grains, cotton cloth and yarn.

## PETROL RATIONING

"The rationing of petrol was only a war measure and is no longer needed now. As a matter of fact it is only enriching enormously a few transport companies and they only want it. The toiling millions have nothing to do with it. Needless to say that the owner

of one vehicle who has got a licence for even a single route is earning ten to fifteen thousand rupees per month on a single vehicle. If there is no petrol rationing and there is no monopoly system of the plying of vehicles, one vehicle owner cannot earn more than Rs. 300 per month. So much so that a regular trade is going on for the obtaining of petrol permits for vehicles. For a petrol permit for a lorry, a man can easily obtain rupees ten thousand by simply selling his permit to the transport dealer. If petrol rationing is removed, transport, food, cloth, housing and various other problems confronting the country at present will be solved. Petrol rationing and the monopoly system of transport are only enriching the transport companies, but have upset the lives of the masses.

"Do come to the rescue of suffering humanity by getting the controls removed. The country will become worth living not only for the favoured few but for the unfavoured millions. Controls were only war measures. They should have no place in 'Free India'.

The figures seem to me to be unchallengeable. This belief may be due to my ignorance. If so, the wise ones will please remove it by producing counter-facts which can be tested. I have ventured to accept the foregoing statements because they have found general support from those who are in the know.

Surely, timidity has no place in democracy when people in general believe in and want a particular thing. Their representatives have but to give shape to their demand and make it feasible. A favourable mental attitude of the multitude has been found to go a long way in winning battles.

India is said to receive only one per cent of the whole output of petrol in the world. That is no cause for despair or despondency. Our motors run in spite of it. Does it show that not being a warlike country, we need no more and that if we did and the petrol output remained stationary the world would starve for want of petrol? Let the critic not scoff at my gross ignorance. I seek light, I cannot do it, if I hide my darkness. A pertinent question arises: if our quota of petrol is poor, how is it that the black market supply is inexhaustible and that unnecessary traffic goes on without hindrance?

The facts adduced by my correspondent are startling. If true, this control blesses the rich and curses the poor in whose behalf it is maintained. If monopolies are a fact and work in the manner stated, they have to go without a second's thought.

## CLOTH CONTROL

As for cloth control, there is not a single argument to support it, if *khadi* which has been acclaimed as the 'livery of our freedom' has not gone into oblivion. We have cotton enough and capable hands enough to ply the *charkha* and the loom in our villages. We can clothe ourselves comfortably and without fuss and without heavy transport facilities. Our railways in the dead regime were first a military necessity, then for transporting cotton bales to the ports of export and distribution of calico manufactures imported from foreign parts. All this centralisation becomes a superfluous when our hand-spun calico called *khadi* is manufactured and mostly used in our villages. Let us not swear at our villagers to conceal our laziness or ignorance or both.



*Birla House, New Delhi, 6-1-'48*

#### SQUEEZING MUST STOP

In his post-prayer speech on Tuesday evening Gandhi said that he had heard that several refugees were still trying to occupy vacant Muslim houses and the police was using tear gas to disperse the crowd. It was true that the refugees were faced with great hardship. It was hard to lie in the open in the biting cold of Delhi. When it rained, tents were not sufficient protection. He would understand the refugees clamouring for houses, if they would not make the Muslim houses their target. For instance, they could come to Birla House and turn him and the owners including a sick lady out and occupy the house. That would be open dealing, though not gentlemanly. The squeezing out of the Muslims that was going on was crooked and ungentlemanly. To scare away the already frightened Muslims and then occupy their houses would not be good for anyone. He had heard that that day the authorities had offered some housing accommodation to the refugees elsewhere, but they insisted on occupying Muslim houses. This was a clear indication that it was not necessity which was the driving force, but the wish to get Delhi cleared of the Muslims. If such was the general wish, it would be much better to tell the Muslims to go, instead of driving them away indirectly. They should understand the consequences of such a step in the capital of the Union.

#### STRIKE PLAGUE

Gandhi then referred to the news from Bombay that dock labourers and others were thinking of going on a strike. He appeared to all concerned, whether they belonged to the Congress, the Socialist Party or the Communist Party to despair apart from the Congress—or the Communist Party to despair. This was no time for strikes. Such strikes were harmful to all concerned and to the country as a whole.

#### TRUE DEMOCRACY

Proceeding Gandhi remarked that the Rajasahab of Aundh had given Responsible Government to his people several years ago. His son Appasahab also had devoted his life to the service of his people. The Rajasahab and some others had almost decided to accept the Merger Scheme. The Sardar had said that the rajah would get a pension, but Gandhi believed that the Rajasahab of Aundh would not care to be a burden on the people. He would want to earn by his service of the people what he got. The Rajasahab had written to Gandhi, asking whether the Panchayat system that he had introduced in his State could not continue to function in spite of Merger. The Rajasahab had been told that the form of Government in his State after merging must conform to that in the rest of India. In Gandhi's opinion, there was no law which could stop a Panchayat from functioning wherever the people wanted it. Aundh may cease to be a State, it would not cease to be a special group of villages named Aundh. Every such group or its member could have the panchayat system whether the rest of India had it or not. True rights come as a result of duty done. No one could snatch away such rights. The Panchayat was there to serve the people. In the true democracy of India, the unit was the village. Even if one village wanted Panchayat Raj which was called republic in

English, no one could stop it. True democracy could not be worked by twenty men sitting at the centre. It had to be worked from below by the people of every village.

#### IMPORTS AND EXPORTS MUST BALANCE

In the end Gandhi referred to a letter which a friend had written to him saying that in any happy and prosperous country, the imports and exports should balance each other. He, therefore, suggested that India should limit her imports so that they were a little less than her exports. If things went on as they were today, India would soon exhaust her resources. He, therefore, suggested cutting down toys and the like unnecessary things being imported. Again, up till now India had been exporting raw materials and importing finished products. That was bound to disturb the balance and impoverish the country in more senses than one. Gandhi agreed with the correspondent that India should become self-sufficient as far as possible and that the trade between India and other countries should be based on the principle of mutual help and never on exploitation.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 7-1-'48*

#### A WRONG FAST

In his after-prayer address on Wednesday evening Gandhi referred to a note received by him in which the writer said that he had undertaken a fast which would be continued. Gandhi said that he considered the fast to be wrong. He was of opinion that during his life time those who undertook such fasts should consult him.

#### STUDENTS' STRIKE

Gandhi had seen in the newspapers that the students in Delhi proposed to organise a strike on the 9th instant. He had told them the day before that this was no time for strikes. Strike by students, he considered generally to be wrong. He had conducted many strikes during his life, more or less successfully. But he could tell them that all strikes were not right and certainly not non-violent. If the students would listen to him, they would give up the idea of the proposed strike.

#### GRIEVANCES OF PAKISTAN REFUGEES

Next, Gandhi referred to the visit of several representatives of the refugees from Pakistan. They asked him why he did not take more interest in the removal of their grievances. Little did they realize that he was in Delhi for that very purpose. But he was not so effective today as he used to be before the advent of independence. In the past he was the leader of India's non-violent renaissance. Although everyone did not follow his advice, large numbers did so. Today he was a voice in the wilderness. The great teachers had said that one should go on proclaiming the truth as one saw it, even though no one listened to it. He was not running the Government. Those at the helm of affairs, it was true, were his friends. But he did not want anyone to accept his advice out of friendship or regard for him. They should do so only if it went home. If the Ministers and their secretaries and the lower staff including the police would listen to him, things would be very different. But that could not be. The Ministers had inherited the old machinery from the British rulers and they were making the best of it.

## DUTY OF THE REFUGEES

The refugees were, however, entitled to food, clothing and shelter. They were their own kith and kin. It was utterly unjust that they should not get what, for instance, he could. What were they to do? He had told them that the only way was for all to gratefully accept whatever accommodation was offered. A grass mattress could very well serve the purpose of a cotton mattress. For the food, clothing and shelter supplied to them, they should do such work as was entrusted to them. A labourer could not sit at the table and write, but a man who had worked at the table all his life could certainly take to physical labour. If they developed the right mentality, India could easily absorb the few lakhs that had come and more.

## HAPPENINGS IN KARACHI

They all knew of the happenings in Karachi. Although many people had said that Sind was quiet and people could continue to stay there, he had his doubts. His fears had come true. Not only the Hindus and Sikhs, but other non-Muslims also were not safe in Sind today. The Pakistan Government had said that they had been powerless to prevent the disturbances, but they were going to suppress them as fast as they could. His advice to the Pakistan Government and to the Union Government was that if they were powerless to prevent the outbreak of violence, they should resign. That might make things worse for a while, but ultimately they would improve. The only condition on which they should continue to hold the reins was that things should begin to improve, however slowly. There should be no set back.

To the refugees and the Hindus and Sikhs in general, he would say that they must curb their desire for revenge. They should be neither frightened, nor become upset and panicky by the happenings in Karachi. The only correct reply to such a thing was cent per cent correct behaviour in the Union.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 8-1-48*

Before the prayers started several slips were passed to Gandhiji by members of the audience. One of them had complained that he had sent a note the day before which had not been replied to. Gandhiji said that it was impossible for him to read all the letters that he received every day. If there was anything important, the friend should have repeated his question.

## HARIJANS AND DRINK

Another friend referred to what Gandhiji had said about the Harijans and the drink habit. The friend asked why the Harijans should be asked to give up liquor while the soldiers and the rich continued to indulge in it. Gandhiji's reply was that the question was unnecessary. If the rich would waste money on drink, that was no reason for the poor to do likewise. There was no reason why anyone should copy the evil habits of others. So far as he was concerned he was of the opinion that the upper classes had less reason to drink than the lower. The latter tried to drown their poverty and misery in drink. For the former there was no such excuse. It might be said that the soldiers could not do without drink. Gandhiji did not agree with that. He knew of soldiers, both Indians and Englishmen, who did not touch liquor. The prohibition laws would make no distinction

between the rich and the poor, the Harijans and the others. But they should not wait for the prohibition laws to be passed before giving up the evil habit. Drink wrought more havoc amongst the Harijans and the labour class than any other class of society. Hence his special appeal to the Harijans to give it up.

## WHY NOT SATYAGRAHA?

Another friend had asked him why he did not go to Pakistan. He said that he had already told them that he could not do so till things were perfectly all right in the Indian Union. As to another question Gandhiji said that it was in their hands to enable him to go to Pakistan. He would want to go there when Delhi showed a clear slate. The same friend had also contended that if *satyagraha* was a potent remedy for all ills, why it should not be tried in Pakistan. Gandhiji agreed that if the Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan could resort to *satyagraha*, it would prove efficacious for all their troubles there. But where was that *satyagraha* today? He saw no *satyagraha* anywhere in India on any appreciable scale. Everywhere people wanted the police and military for their protection. We seemed to have displaced God and preferred the military.

## NO COMMUNALISM IN THE UNION

The same friend had asked further that Pakistan was determined to drive away all the Hindus and Sikhs unless they remained there as serfs. Therefore, the writer said that unless all the Muslims or at least an even number left the Union, how could the non-Muslim newcomers be accommodated? Gandhiji said that an even number of Muslims had probably already left the Union. But there were large numbers of Muslims in the Union still. Seventy thousands had collected at the Conference called by the Maulanasahib. They were the representatives of the Union Muslims. Were these Muslims to be driven away or exterminated? Gandhiji could never be a party to that. There was no bravery in such a course of action. Whatever others might do, he did not want the Union to become communal in its outlook. One should copy the good in others, never the evil.

## PARTIES AMONG STUDENTS

Gandhiji then referred to a letter by some students saying that the proposed students' strike on the 9th was being organized by the Communist students, not Congress students. Gandhiji said that while he congratulated the Congress students who had dissociated themselves from the proposed strike, he would reiterate what he had already said about such strikes, viz. that for the students there should be no party politics. There should be no socialist, communist, Congress and other groups among students. They should be all students first and last determined to gather as much knowledge as possible and that for the sake of the service of the people not for the sake of getting jobs.

## DEPUTATION FROM BAHAWALPUR

Lastly, Gandhiji referred to a deputation from the Bahawalpur refugees. There were also some people from Mirpur. Pandit Nehru came in while the Mirpur men and women were with him. Pandit Nehru assured them that all efforts were being made to rescue the Hindus and Sikhs from Mirpur. But there were insurmountable difficulties in the way. He was, however, trying to do his best for them. The Bahawalpur deputation said that while those from the West Punjab

and the N. W. F. P. etc. could apply for employment, the applications of people from Bahawalpur were being rejected on the plea that they were State subjects. They said that Sardar Patel had issued orders that there should be no discrimination of this sort, but still it was going on. Gandhiji could not believe it. He was sure that if any such thing had happened, it must have been the result of some misunderstanding somewhere. He would gladly inquire and tell their spokesman if he called in the next day. The members of both the deputations were restrained in their statements.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 9-1-48*

#### NEED FOR BRAVERY AND PATIENCE

In his after-prayer speech on Friday evening Gandhiji said that he had met the head *pir* of the *mandir* at Bahawalpur during the day. He had narrated to Gandhiji how a large number of the Hindus took shelter in the temple when the massacre started. They were not safe in this either and so they had fled by the back door along with the *pir*. He said that he had tried to save as many men and women as he could, but he could not save all. He appealed to Gandhiji to do something for those left behind. Gandhiji assured him that he was doing all that was possible for one man. He had no power. The country having been divided into two, one dominion could not very well interfere with the working of the other. Times were such that each one of them must have utmost bravery and utmost patience. No one could dishonour men and women who were ready to lay down their lives for their honour and virtue. Death must come sooner or later. He appealed to them to shed all fear and have faith in God. He was All Powerful and not a blade of grass moved without His will.

#### PROBLEM OF HOUSING ACCOMMODATION

Some refugees had been to see him during the day. They were better off than many and had been able to bring away some money with them. Some Muslim friends of theirs had a house in Delhi. They had left Delhi and told their Hindu friends from Pakistan to occupy their house at Delhi. Now the Government had asked them to vacate it. The Government had the right to requisition any house. But they must see that the lawful occupants got some housing accommodation in its place. They could not ask them to go and sit on the road-side. The Government had to turn out those who had forcibly occupied Muslim houses. But the case he had mentioned was different and required different treatment.

#### A MISUNDERSTANDING

Gandhiji then referred to a letter in which the writer said that Gandhiji had remarked about a week ago that in Bombay people were getting one seer of rice per day in rationing. The friend said that the quantity was not one seer but one quarter per day. Gandhiji feared that the writer had made a mistake. If memory did not betray him, he had mentioned one seer per week. This was less than a quarter seer per day. How could any one get one seer of rice a day in these days of rationing?

#### WHY AT BIRLA HOUSE?

Another friend had written to him that many poor people could not come to attend his prayers on the Birla House grounds. He asked why Gandhiji

was not staying at the Bhangi Colony as before. Gandhiji had explained the reason on his arrival at Delhi. But he would repeat it. When he arrived in Delhi, Delhi was like a dead city. The riot had just broken out and the Bhangi Colony was full of refugees. The Sardar, therefore, decided to put him at the Birla House instead. Gandhiji did not know if the Bhangi Colony was vacant now. Even if it was, he did not think it would be right for him to shift there. His main object in staying in Delhi was to give to the Muslims whatever comfort and aid he could. That object was served better by his staying at the Birla House. The Muslim friends felt safer in coming here than in two poor quarters of Delhi. Moreover, it was much easier for members of the Cabinet to come to see him at the Birla House as most of them were staying close by. They were all very busy men and going to the Bhangi Colony would require much more time than coming to the Birla House.

#### GENTLEMEN THIEVES

He appealed to the people to maintain peace in the Capital of India. He had heard that there were many thieves and thugs, who went about Delhi dressed as gentlemen. Such a state of affairs should be remedied without delay.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 10-1-48*

#### NEED FOR DISCIPLINE

Prior to Gandhiji's post-prayer speech on Saturday evening, a man in *sarkis*'s clothes stood up and wanted to read a note that he had written for Gandhiji. Gandhiji asked him to deliver the note to him, but the *sarkis* insisted on being allowed to read it in front of the audience there and then. It was after some argument that he at last sat down. In his speech Gandhiji said that it was an indication of the present deterioration that men who claimed to be *sarkis*, who claimed to practise restraint in all walks of life and studied the holy scriptures, should behave in that fashion. It was good that the friend had sat down in the end, but why should he have needed any persuasion and argument?

#### TO BAHAWALPUR FRIENDS

As Gandhiji had walked to the prayer ground, the refugees from Bahawalpur had staged a demonstration and shouted slogans asking for help for the 70,000 Hindus and Sikhs left behind in Bahawalpur. They were not objecting when Gandhiji sat down for the prayers and commended their example to all. He had been told that the people from Bahawalpur would disturb the prayer meeting that day. He had not believed it and according to his expectation they had maintained perfect silence during the prayers. It pleased him to note how peaceful the prayer gathering these days were. The sufferers from Bahawalpur had given expression to their anguish in a restrained manner. He knew their sufferings. He assured them that everything possible was being done for the Hindus and the Sikhs of Bahawalpur. He had the word of the Nawabshah that though he could not bring the dead back to life, the remaining Hindus and Sikhs could live there in peace and safety. No one would interfere with their religion. The Union Government was also alive to its duty and was doing all that was possible. He wanted them to bear in mind that there was a far larger number

of the Hindus and the Sikhs in Sind including a large number of Harijans. They did not feel safe there. He had just read a telegram from Sind saying that what had taken place in Karachi was far worse than the newspaper reports led one to believe. His advice to them all was not to lose patience and courage. They should never accept defeat. The word "defeat" should be deleted from their dictionary. For that it was necessary that they should curb their anger and patiently think out their duty under the circumstances. He had been explaining it to them every day.

#### IRAN AND INDIA

Gandhiji then told the audience that the representative of Persia had been to see him that day. The Ambassador said that India and Persia had been very old friends, and that they were from the same Aryan stock. India, he added, was the biggest power in Asia and they felt great in India's greatness. The visitor wanted Persia and India to be bound in ties of genuine friendship. Gandhiji reminded the audience that Gurudev (Tagore) had been to Persia at their invitation and had been very pleased at what he saw there. He had said, "the Persians are our own people." The Persian Ambassador was anxious that the relations between India and Persia should not become strained in any manner. Gandhiji asked him what made him think of such a possibility. Then he told him that some Iranians had been molested and even killed in Bombay. People had gone mad. In the frenzy of the moment, some people might have injured some of the Iranians too as Muslims. But the Iranian Ambassador had assured him that the Bombay Government had taken prompt action to put down the trouble. He was very satisfied with the attitude of the Provincial as well as the Central Government. On behalf of his own Government, he assured India that although there were some people who wanted trouble in view of the exaggerated reports of the happenings in India, the Persian Government was watchful and did not wish to lose India's friendship on any account. He said that the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh traders in Persia were living in perfect peace and amity so far.

#### EXERCISE YOUR OWN JUDGMENT

Lastly, Gandhiji referred to a friend's letter saying that although many people had congratulated him on removal of controls, the measure was not an unmixed blessing. Gandhiji advised him to share his thoughts with the people. After all Gandhiji's eyes, ears and hands were the people. He had to rely on what they told him. Therefore, he could not ignore large numbers of letters and telegrams welcoming

him by selfish motives. However, he did want to know the other side too. He advised the people not to ask anything for granted because he advocated it. If their own experience told them otherwise, they should

Then alone will they be able to make the independence (if one could call it by that name) that had come to India.

B. H. New Delhi, 11-1-48

#### PEACE IN PRAYER MEETINGS

On Sunday, a much larger number attended the meeting. The women and children were very

noisy. Speaking after prayers Gandhiji said that it was only the day before that he had congratulated them on maintaining perfect peace during the prayer meetings. If the women must talk or if they had not trained their children to keep quiet during prayers, they should go away from the rest so as not to disturb the prayer gathering. God was omnipresent and omnipotent. He was all merciful and long suffering. It was unbecoming to abuse His generosity by creating a disturbance in the prayer meetings. There was no fun, he said, in their coming to see the old man or merely to hear his voice. If they found some sense in what he said, they should try to practise it in their own lives.

#### A LETTER FROM ANDHRA

Gandhiji then referred to a letter from Andhra. He gave the following relevant extracts from the letter.

"I hate to point out the shortcomings of an individual, but to shut one's eyes to the terrible consequences of the rot set in in the individuals of an organization like the Congress, noble in its origin and admirable in its achievements, would be heinous. This rot in the Congress is that of the peoples' representatives in the legislative bodies of the provinces who are the prototypes of the rank and file. They are vociferous about stopping the wide-spread corruption, but they themselves resort to worse corruption. They take money from the people to get licences of every description, indulge in black marketing of the worst type, trade on the ignorance of the masses, and corrupt the sources of justice, and force the administrative machinery to get transfers for the administrative personnel. The people are crushed between these two sets of people. Two hundred and fifty of these legislators let loose on the people in a province without opposition are, in my opinion, the worst plague. Is it after all for replacing the White rapacity by the Black that many noble souls who are no more with us suffered and sacrificed everything worth living for in their lives? There must be an escape out of this morass. If these legislators are not so numerous, the evils would be less. Fifty members in the lower house and half that number in the upper house for each province which is going to be smaller on the linguistic basis would reduce the nuisance. Will the constitutionalists embody this principle of less the number the better in the constitution of our country and save us from the capricious legislators and incidentally from top heavy expenditure?"

#### APPEAL TO PARTIES

He had a confirmatory letter from an old and aged Andhra friend from Andhra. Gandhiji appealed to all whether Congressmen, Socialists or Communists to live and work for the good of India. If they all ran after power, where would India be? They should think of the interests of the country rather than their own or of those of their friends.

#### SUICIDAL TENDENCY

Gandhiji then mentioned the visit from some Muslim friends. They asked how long they were to put up with pin-pricks. If the Congress could not protect them, they should say so in plain language so that the Muslims might go away and be spared the daily insults and possible physical violence. Those friends were speaking

Gandhiji is a great man

for the Deen Muslims in general. Gandhi advised them to hold their place. He wanted all Nationalists not to mix religion with politics. They were Indians first and last in all secular matters. Religion as a personal affair of the individual concerned. Times were hard. In Pakistan the Muslims had gone mad and had driven away most of the Hindus and the Sikhs. If the Hindus in the Union did likewise, they would spell their own ruin. To try to suppress another was always suicidal. All right-thinking men should work against this tendency.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 12-1-'48*

#### GOD THE SUPREME COUNSELLOR

One fasts for health's sake under laws governing health, fasts as a penance for a wrong done and felt as such. In these fasts, the fasting one need not believe in *ahimsa*. There is, however, a fast where a votary of non-violence sometimes feels impelled to undertake by way of protest against some wrong done by society and this he does when he as a votary of *ahimsa* has no other remedy left. Such an occasion has come my way.

When on September 9th I returned to Delhi from Calcutta, it was to proceed to the West Punjab. But that was not to be. Gay Delhi looked a city of the dead. As I alighted from the train I observed gloom on every face I saw. Even the Sardar, whom humour and the joy that humour gives never desert, was no exception this time. The cause of it I did not know. He was on the platform to receive me. He lost no time in giving me the sad news of the disturbances that had taken place in the Metropolis of the Union. At once I saw that I had to be in Delhi and 'do or die'. There is apparent calm brought about by prompt military and police action. But there is storm within the breast. It may burst forth any day. This I count as no fulfilment of the vow to 'do' which alone can keep me from death, the incomparable friend. I yearn for heart friendship between the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims. It subsisted between them the other day. Today it is non-existent. It is a state that no Indian patriot worthy of the name can contemplate with equanimity. Though the Voice within has been beckoning for a long time, I have been shutting my ears to It, lest it may be the voice of Satan otherwise called my weakness. I never like to feel resourceless, a *satyagrahi* never should. Fasting is his last resort in the place of the sword - his or other's. I have no answer to return to the Muslim friends who see me from day to day as to what they should do. My impotence has been gnawing at me of late. It will go immediately the fast is undertaken I have been brooding over it for the last three days. The final conclusion has flashed upon me and it makes me happy. No man, if he is pure, has anything more precious to give than his life. I hope and pray that I have that purity in me to justify the step.

#### WORTHY OF BLESSING

I ask you all to bless the effort and to pray for me and with me. The fast begins from the first moment tomorrow. The period is indefinite and I may drink water with or without salts and sour limes. It will end when and if I am satisfied that there is a reunion of hearts of all the communities brought about without any outside pressure, but from an awakened sense of duty.

The reward will be the regaining of India's dwindling prestige and her fast fading sovereignty over the heart of Asia and there through the world. I flatter myself with the belief that the loss of her soul by India will mean the loss of the hope of the aching, storm-tossed and hungry world. Let no friend or foe if there be one, be angry with me. There are friends who do not believe in the method of the fast for the reclamation of the human mind. They will bear with me and extend to me the same liberty of action that they claim for themselves. With God as my supreme and sole counsellor, I felt that I must take the decision without any other adviser. If I have made a mistake and discover it, I shall have no hesitation in proclaiming it from the housetop and retracing my faulty step. There is little chance of my making such a discovery. If there is clear indication, as I claim there is, of the Inner Voice it will not be gainsaid. I plead for all absence of argument and inevitable endorsement of the step. If the whole of India responds or at least Delhi does, the fast might be soon ended.

#### NO SOFTNESS

But whether it ends soon or late or never, let there be no softness in dealing with what may be termed as a crisis. Critics have regarded some of my previous fasts as coercive and held that on merits the verdict would have gone against my stand but for the pressure exercised by the fasts. What value can an adverse verdict have when the purpose is demonstrably sound? A pure fast like duty, is its own reward. I do not embark upon it for the sake of the result it may bring. I do so because I must. Hence, I urge everybody dispassionately to examine the purpose and let me die, if I must, in peace which I hope is ensured. Death for me would be a glorious deliverance rather than that I should be a helpless witness of the destruction of India, Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam. That destruction is certain if Pakistan ensures no equality of status and security of life and property for all professing the various faiths of the world and if India copies her. Only then Islam dies in the two Indias, not in the world. But Hinduism and Sikhism have no world outside India. Those who differ from me will be honoured by me for their resistance however implacable. Let my fast quicken conscience, not deaden it. Just contemplate the rot that has set in in beloved India and you will rejoice to think that there is an humble son of hers who is strong enough and possibly pure enough to take the happy step. If he is neither, he is a burden on earth. The sooner he disappears and clears the Indian atmosphere of the burden the better for him and all concerned.

I would beg of all friends not to rush to Birla House nor try to dissuade me or be anxious for me. I am in God's hands. Rather they should turn the searchlights inwards, for this is essentially a testing time for all of us. Those who remain at their post of duty and perform it diligently and well, now more so than hitherto, will help me and the cause in every way. The fast is a process of self-purification.

#### CALL TO SELF-PURIFICATION

I told you yesterday of two letters from Andhra. One was from the aged friend, no other than Desha-bhakt Konda Venkatsappayya Garu. I give here extracts from it.

"The one great problem, apart from many other political and economic issues of very complicated nature, is the moral degradation into which the men in Congress circles have fallen. I cannot say much about other provinces, but in my province the conditions are very deplorable. The taste of political power has turned their heads. Several of the M. L. A.s and M. L. C.s are following the policy of make hay while the sun shines. Making money by the use of influence, even to the extent of obstructing the administration of justice in the criminal courts presided over by Magistrates. Even the District Collectors and other revenue officials do not feel free in the discharge of their duties on account of the frequent interference by the M. L. A.s and M. L. C.s on behalf of their partisans. A strict and honest officer cannot hold his position for, false reports are carried against him to the Ministers who easily lend their ears to these unprincipled self-seekers.

'Swaraj was the only all absorbing passion which goaded men and women to follow your leadership. But now that the goal has been reached, all moral restrictions have lost their power on most of the fighters in the great struggle who are joining hands even with those who were sworn opponents of the national movement and who, now for their personal ends, enlist themselves as Congress members. The situation is growing intolerable every day with the result that the Congress as well as the Congress Government have come into disrepute. The recent municipal elections in Andhra had proved how far and how fast the Congress is losing its hold upon the people. The municipal elections in the town of Guntur were suddenly ordered to be stopped by an urgent message from the Minister for Local Bodies (Madras) after every preparation was made for carrying on elections. Only a nominated council was in power for, I believe, the last ten years or more and for nearly a year now the municipal administration has been in the hands of a Commissioner. Now the talk prevails that the Government would soon nominate councillors to take charge of the municipal affairs of this town. I, old, decrepit, with a broken leg, slowly limping on crutches within the walls of my house have no axe to grind. I no doubt entertain certain strong views against some of the Provincial and District Congress Committees now stand divided. And I have made no secret of my views.

The conditions in the Congress circles, the money-making activities of several of the M. L. A.s and M. L. C.s and the weakness of the Ministers have been creating a rebellious spirit amongst the people at large. The people have begun to say that the British Government was much better and they are even cursing the Congress."

Let the people of Andhra and the other Provinces measure the words of this self-sacrificing servant of India. As he rightly says that the corruption described by him is no monopoly of Andhra. He could only give first-hand evidence about Andhra. Let us beware.

My Bahawalpur friends I have asked to be patient. Sardarshahb saw me only at noon. Being silent and

preoccupied, I could say or write nothing. Shri Shankar from his office was too busy to come so that I could not place your case before him and possibly save the Sardar's precious time.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 13-1 '48*

Gandhiji attended the prayers as usual this evening. He warned the audience against being surprised that he had walked to the prayer ground as usual. A fast weakened nobody during the first twentyfour hours after a meal. It did good generally to everybody who fasted occasionally for twentyfour hours.

The day following it might be difficult for him to walk to the prayer ground. But if they were eager to attend the prayers all the same, they could come and the girls would recite the prayers with them even though he was not present.

#### BAHAWALPUR REFUGEES

Gandhiji then referred to his written message of Monday. In that he had said that Shri Shankar of Sardar Patel's department would not come to see him because Shrimati Mamubehn had said that he was busy. She informed him that there was some misunderstanding. She had only said that Shri Shankar could not come at 2 p. m. but he could at some other time. He was sorry that he did not correctly catch the message or forgot it. He had not taken it amiss that he was busy the whole day. He would not expect Government servants to go to private persons. As it was, Shri Shankar was ready to oblige him another time. He mentioned this incident only to console the Bahawalpur refugees.

#### WHO IS BLAMEWORTHY?

A question was asked as to whom Gandhiji considered blameworthy for the fast. He blamed no individual or community. He did believe, however, that if the Hindus and Sikhs insisted on turning out the Muslims from Delhi, they would be betraying India and their own faiths. And that hurt him.

Some people had taunted him that he had sympathy for the Muslims only and that he had undertaken the fast for their sake. They were right. But all his life he had stood, as everyone should stand, for minorities or those in need. Pakistan had resulted in depriving the Muslims of the Union of pride and self-confidence. It hurt him to think that this was so. It weakened a State which kept or allowed any class of people who had lost self-confidence. His fast was against the Muslims too in the sense that it should enable them to stand up to their Hindu and Sikh brethren. In terms of the fast Muslim friends had to work no less than the Hindus and the Sikhs. Thus they were in the habit of singling out Pandit Nehru and him for praise and by contrast blaming Sardar Patel. Some twitted the Sardar for his remark that Muslim Leaguers could not become friends overnight. They should not blame him, as he did not, for the remark. Most Hindus held this view. What he wanted his Muslim League friends to do was to live down the Sardar's remark and by their conduct not declarations, disprove it. Let it be remembered that Panditji though he had not the same method and manner as the Sardar claimed him as his valued colleague. If the Sardar was an enemy of the Muslims, Panditji could ask him to retire. The Sardar had

not ceased to be his (Gandhi's) esteemed friend though he was no longer his "yes man" as he was once popularly and affectionately nick-named. His friends should also know the character of the Cabinet. It was responsible for every official act of every member of the Cabinet. He expected a thorough cleansing of hearts. That being assured there would be mutual respect and trust. They were all of the Union and by right it belonged to them. He could not break the fast for less. They must dethrone Satan from their hearts and enthrono God.

#### DUTY OF THE HINDUS AND SIKHS

What was the duty of the Hindus and Sikhs? They had just heard Gurudev's favourite song, "If no one responds to your call, walk alone, walk alone." Gandhi liked it very much and it was sung almost every day during his walking pilgrimages in Noakhali. He would repeat with his last breath that the Hindus and the Sikhs should be brave enough to say that whatever happened in Pakistan, they would not raise their little finger against a single Muslim in the Union. They would never again indulge in cowardly acts, however great the provocation.

#### DELHI ON TRIAL

If Delhi became peaceful in the real sense of the term, he would then break the fast. Delhi was the capital of India. The ruin or downfall of Delhi he would regard as the ruin of India and Pakistan. He wanted Delhi to be safe for all Muslims even for one like Shabuddin Suhrawardy, who was looked upon as the chief of *goondas*. Let all proved *goondas* be rounded up. But he (Gandhi) was witness to the fact that Shabuddin had worked for peace in Calcutta in all sincerity. He had pulled out the Muslims from Hindu houses which they had forcibly occupied. He was living with him. He would willingly join the prayer but Gandhi would not expose him to the risk of being insulted. He wanted him, as he did every Muslim to feel as safe in Delhi as the tallest of them.

He did not mind how long it took for real peace to be established. Whether it took one day or one month, it was immaterial. No one should say or do anything to lure him into giving up his fast prematurely. The object should not be to save his life. It should be to save India and her honour. He would feel happy and proud when he saw that India's place was not lowered as it had become by the recent happenings which he had no wish to recall.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 14-1-48*

Gandhi had dictated a message to be read out to the prayer audience this afternoon, but later on he decided to go to the meeting and address the gathering. He said that he had come in spite of the doctor's objections. But from the next day he would probably not be able to walk to the prayer ground. He had the strength that day and he used it though the doctors had advised him to conserve it. He was in God's hands. If He wanted him to live he would not die. He did not want his faith in God to weaken.

#### SPACE OF MESSAGES

Continuing his speech without any reference to the dictated notes, Gandhi said, "Cablegrams and telegrams

are pouring in from far and near. Some, in my opinion weighty and congratulating me on my resolve and entrusting me to God. Some others in friendliest terms appealing to me to abandon the fast and assuring me that they would befriend their neighbours irrespective of caste and creed and try to carry out the spirit of my message that accompanied the fast. I am asking Shri Pyarelalji to give a few selections, from the abundance which is hourly increasing, to the Press. They are from Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and others. If those who have given me assurances—some of the senders represent associations and groups—carry them out faithfully, they will certainly have contributed largely to the hastening of the stoppage of the fast. Shrimati Mridulaben asks the following question from Lahore, where she is in touch with the Pakistan authorities as also the common Muslims. 'There are friends here who are very anxious about Gandhi's health and are eager to know what Gandhi would like them to do on this side and what he expects from his Muslim friends in Pakistan, including those who are in political parties and in Government service.' It is pleasing to think that there are Muslim friends who are anxious about my health and more so to know that they are eager for the information that Shrimati Mridulaben seeks. To all senders of the messages and to the seekers in Lahore, I wish to say that the fast is a process of self-purification and is intended to invite all who are in sympathy with the mission of the fast themselves to take part in the process of self-purification whether they are in the service of the Pakistan Government or whether they are members of political parties or others.

#### A WORD TO PAKISTAN

"You have heard of the cowardly attack on the Sikhs in Karachi. Innocent men women and children were butchered, looted and others have had to flee. Now comes the news of an attack on a refugee train at Gujarat. The train was carrying non-Muslim refugees from the Frontier Provinces. Large numbers are reported to have been killed and women abducted. It distresses me. How long can the Union put up with such things? How long can I bank upon the patience of the Hindus and Sikhs in spite of my fast? Pakistan has to put a stop to this state of affairs. They must purify their hearts and pledge themselves that they will not rest till the Hindus and Sikhs can return and live in safety in Pakistan.

'Supposing that there is a wave of self-purification throughout India, Pakistan will become *galk*. It will be a State in which past wrongs will have been forgotten, past distinctions will have been buried, the least and the smallest in Pakistan will command the same respect and the same protection of life and property that the Qaid-e-Azam enjoys. Such Pakistan can never die. Then and not till then shall I repeat that I ever called it a sin, as I am afraid I must hold today, it is. I want to live to see that Pakistan not on paper, not in the orations of Pakistani orators, but in the daily life of every Pakistani Muslim. Then the inhabitants of the Union will forget that there ever was any enmity between them and if I am not mistaken, the Union will proudly copy Pakistan and if I am alive I



shall ask her to excel Pakistan in well-doing. The last is a bid for nothing less. Be it said to the shame of those of us who are in the Union that we have readily copied Pakistan's bad manners.

#### MY DREAM

"Before I ever knew anything of politics in my early youth, I dreamt the dream of communal unity of the heart. I shall jump in the evening of my life, like a child, to feel that the dream has been realized in this life. The wish for living two full spans of life portrayed by the seers of old and which they permit us to set down at 125 years, will then revive. Who would not risk sacrificing his life for the realization of such a dream? Then we shall have real Swaraj. Then though legally and geographically we may still be two States, in daily life no one will think that we were separate States. The vista before me seems to me to be, as it must be to you, too glorious to be true. Yet like a child in a famous picture, drawn by a famous painter, I shall not be happy till I have got it. I live and want to live for no lesser goal. Let the seers from Pakistan help me to come as near the goal as it is humanly possible. A goal ceases to be one, when it is reached. The nearest approach is always possible. What I have said holds good irrespective of whether others do it or not. It is open to every individual to purify himself or herself so as to render him or her fit for that land of promise. I remember to have read, I forget whether in the Delhi Fort or the Agra Fort, when I visited them in 1896, a verse on one of the gates, whose wall translated reads: 'If there is paradise on earth, it is here, it is here, it is here.' That Fort with all its magnificence at its best, was no paradise in my estimation. But I should love to see that verse with justice inscribed on the gates of Pakistan at all the entrances. In such paradise, whether it is in the Union or in Pakistan, there will be neither paupers nor beggars, nor high nor low, neither millionaire employers nor half-starved employees, nor intoxicating drinks or drugs. There will be the same respect for women as vouchsafed to men and the chastity and purity of men and women will be jealously guarded. Where every woman except one's wife, will be treated by men of all religions, as mother, sister or daughter according to her age. Where there will be no untouchability and where there will be equal respect for all faiths. They will be all proudly, joyously and voluntarily bread labourers. I hope everyone who listens to me or reads these lines will forgive me if stretched on my bed and basking in the sun, inhaling life-giving sunshine, I allow myself to indulge in this ecstasy. Let this assure the doubters and sceptics that I have not the slightest desire that the fast should be ended as quickly as possible. It matters little if the ecstatic wishes of a fool like me are never realized and the fast is never broken. I am content to wait as long as it may be necessary, but it will hurt me to think that people have acted merely in order to save me. I claim that God has inspired this fast and it will be broken only when and if he wishes it. No human agency has ever been known to thwart, nor will it ever thwart Divine Will.

#### ISLAM AND IDOL WORSHIP

Islam is strictly a monotheistic faith. It prohibits idol worship. It enjoins upon its followers the worship only of the 'One Supreme God'. Under the conditions then prevailing in Arabia and the world around, the Prophet realized that the root cause of the people's weakness, degradation and misfortunes was the multiplicity of their gods and the many superstitious beliefs and practices. All through his life he preached against these evils and laboured to bring all men round to the simple worship of the One True God.

This preaching was by no means new in religious history. In recent times in India, Kabir Sahib, and Gura Narak, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Swami Dayananda have openly and even vehemently preached against all forms of idolatry. In his well-known Persian letter to Aurangzeb the last of the Sikh Gurus has with justifiable pride styled himself a *butshikan*, i. e. an iconoclast. Hundreds of saint-reformers, especially since the fifteenth century, have preached the same thing all over the country.

But on account of the sad doings of some over-zealous and fanatic Muslim rulers, Islam has, in the eyes of many people, become associated with a type of aggressive and offensive iconoclasm. Unfortunately a number of educated Muslims also take pride in such acts of their supposed heroes. Let us, therefore, try to find out the actual position of Islam in this matter, and the example the Prophet has set before us.

The Quran definitely enjoins upon its followers "not to speak ill of those (gods, goddesses, idols etc.) whom other people worship besides God (6-107)". Hence, offering insult to or breaking an idol, which any person adores, is against the injunctions of the Quran.

Just a few years before the birth of the Prophet, the Christian Governor of the Province of Yaman, which was then under the Emperor of Abyssinia, invaded and tried to demolish the great temple of the Kaba which contained 360 idols worshipped by the people of Mecca and adjoining territories. This act of the Governor has been referred to in the Quran as sacrilegious and the calamity which overtook the infidel invaders has been described as 'God-sent punishment'.

Let us now look to the example set by the Prophet. During the first thirteen years of his career as the Messenger of God, the Prophet always performed his *namaz*, whenever possible, within the precincts of the Kaba, and advised his followers accordingly. But never once did he offer any insult to any of the idols in the building, nor did he allow any of his followers to do so. Whenever he referred to the Kaba, he did so in language full of respect, and whenever he tried to wean the people from the worship of the idols, he did so in the sweetest manner possible.

Six years after his voluntary exile from Mecca, the Prophet again visited the sacred city at the

head of about 1400 Musalmans, all unarmed as was the custom for the pilgrims. The Prophet claimed for himself and his people the right of pilgrimage to the *Kaba*. There were negotiations with the *Quresh*. An agreement was arrived at. The Musalmans had to go back, but could return for the pilgrimage the next year and stay in the city for three days. Accordingly the Prophet again visited Mecca the next year at the head of about 2000 Muslims. For three days the Prophet and his followers stayed in the sacred city, and performed all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage including seven times going round the *Kaba*, when all the 360 idols were there. The Musalmans went round the *Kaba* all right. The idols were inside and could not be seen. But when they came to perform the ceremonies pertaining to the sacred hills of *Safa* and *Merva*, the Musalmans hesitated, because the two idols on those hills were in the open and visible. Just then a fresh revelation was added to the *Quran* "There is no blame on those who go round *Safa* and *Merva* as these two are among the signs of God."

Before his followers entered Mecca, the Prophet had instructed them not to commit an act or say a word that might wound the feelings of any of the worshippers at the sacred house (*Bukhari*). The instructions were fully carried out. It was this exemplary tolerance, this high regard for the feelings of others, which during the next few years, brought the whole of Mecca within the pale of Islam.

On the occasion of the Prophet's next visit to Mecca, each one of the 360 idols was removed from its place of honour and put aside, under the Prophet's orders. But these orders were given only when all Mecca had embraced Islam, and when hardly a man was left throughout Arabia who cared for the old worship.

Tufail, the chief of the Banu Daws tribe, was allowed to burn the 'log of wood' which his tribe used to worship, only when the entire tribe had embraced Islam and none believed any longer in the worship of the old God.

Ayash, when deputed to go and preach Islam to the three great tribes of Yaman, was definitely instructed by the Prophet to set fire to the three sticks before which the people prayed, only when they had all given up idol worship and had adopted in its stead the worship of the 'One True God'.

Examples can be multiplied. Destruction of a material object of worship is permitted in Islam only when none is left who believes in that worship, and then too with the consent of those who once worshipped it. As the ruler of Arabia, the Prophet again and again declared it the duty of the Musalmans to protect the places of worship of non-Muslims who had entered into any sort of terms with the Government of Medina, even when those places were full of idols which people worshipped.

We repeat. Islam is strictly monotheistic. It prohibits idol worship as do so many other Indian

and foreign creeds. Yet all insult to idols worshipped by others, much more breaking of them, whether by a past arrogant ruler or a present misguided fanatic, is against the injunctions of the *Quran*, against the example set by the Prophet and a disgrace to that great faith.

So far we have described the spirit of Islam proper. As for the *Sufis*, they go even a step further. The universally respected saint Muhibullah Lahabadi, when questioned by Dara as to the true meaning of 'La-Ilah-ill-Allah' said that it meant — there is no object of worship but God, i. e. that all objects of worship are God. Dara again asked if the three famous deities of pre-Islamic Arabia, viz. Lat, Uzza and Mannat were also God. Muhibullah answered in the affirmative and explained how after all it was a matter of emphasis and outlook. Similarly, the great and learned author of the well known *Sufi* book named *Mashhad-i-naz*, also called *Gulshan-i-raz*, when asked about the nature of an idol and of the sacred thread, replied as follows:

'The idol is the symbol of the love and unity of God.

"The putting on of the sacred thread is the girding up of loins for the service of God.

"All objects are but manifestations of the same One Existence,

'The idol is also one among those objects.

The worshipper of an idol was called a *kafir* in Islamic law.

"Only because he did not see in the idol anything but the outward form.

"Thou too, 'will not deserve to be called a Muslim,

"If thou dost not soon perceive the God of Truth hidden behind the idol.

New Delhi, 3-1-48

SUNDARLAL

## GANDHI'S CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANITY

By

S. K. George

With Forewords

By

Prof. S. Radhakrishnan

and

Mr Horace Alexander

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AHMEDABAD

## "A NATIONAL COMMUNITY"

Prof. Muhammad Habib is one of those men whose faith in the unity of India has survived great ordeals and even persecution. He is Professor of History at the Aligarh Muslim University. He is a man of deep scholarship. In December last he presided over the tenth session of the Indian History Congress at Bombay. In the course of his address he is reported to have said:

"The Unity of India has been one of the fundamental postulates of Indian moral consciousness, and the longing for a centralized administration one of the most visible and persistent demands of the political spirit of the Indians throughout the ages. The breaking up of India into two separate States or law-making organizations with exclusive citizenship . . . and the monstrosity of the establishment of States on purely religious and communal basis have never been known to the history of our land. He declares that

"The reunion of India should be one of our primary aims."

He also says that

"If the universal verdict of history is of any value, this reunion should be brought about by peaceful methods. . . . Force in modern times creates more problems than it solves, and the alternative to peace is death."

Prof. Habib believes that "wise, statesmanlike and patient guidance, even on one side," will inevitably lead us to this goal. He speaks of the religious and cultural tolerance of ancient India, and says that "religious persecution is totally alien to the spirit of our land." He suggests the creation of "a national culture group", or "a national community" "which may inherit all that is best in the culture groups of old", and the development of a common "Indian culture."

Prof. Habib's language all through is that of a true son of the soil, taking just pride in all its past history. With regard to the 'reunion of India', we may make it clear that non-Muslims never wanted partition. It was only the Muslims who did it, barring, of course, sections like the Nationalists, the Ahrars, the Ulemas and others. Again, partition was demanded in the interests, real or supposed, of the Muslims of India. It is, therefore, for the Muslims, if and when they may be so minded, to say that they want reunion. Any such movement among the Hindus may only increase difficulties and postpone indefinitely the fulfilment of Prof. Habib's desire. The best thing that the non-Muslims, and especially the Hindus, can do in the meantime is to find out and eliminate from their own thought and practice all that may have contributed to the birth of the two-nation theory. They must purify their hearts of all anger, all hatred, all feelings of revenge or retaliation, and untouchability in its manyfold forms. They must do their best to see that both the sister-Dominions—so long as they are separate—are happy, prosperous and friendly to each other. It is perfectly right that if the reunion is ever to come for the good of the down-trodden millions, it must be through 'peaceful means', i.e. through non-violence.

As for Prof Habib's desire for 'a national culture group', 'a national country' and a common 'Indian culture', the entire trend of Indian history is in that direction and destiny points to no other goal. For this too we should like to make a few suggestions. The boycott of the Urdu script by the Governments of the United Provinces and Behar is wrong. Equally wrong is the desire to oversanskritize the common national language of India.

These reactionary steps, taken in a spirit of anger and retaliation, conscious or unconscious, are bound to be retraced. But in the meantime why should not our Muslim brethren help by exhibiting better sense and greater toleration? If in the past an Al-Berouni or a Faizi could pride himself on his Sanskrit learning, if Khusrô, Rahim and Raskhan could be regarded as progenitors of Hindi language and literature, if even today a Nazrul Islam can compose much more sanskritized Bengalee poetry than any Hindu, and a Mirza Abul Fazal can translate all the four Vedas from original Sanskrit, again if Musalmans can take pride in their knowledge of the English language, why should not every Indian Muslim, in this critical hour of our country's life, make it a point to learn the Nagari script and try to acquire a knowledge of Hindi language and literature comparable to that of any Hindu? Surely, nobody can kill the Urdu language or literature if only those Hindus and Muslims, who know its beauty and utility, whatever their number, decide to keep it alive. The present phase of communal fanaticism and madness must pass, unless we are to perish under its dead weight. But we are confident that it is only thus that our Muslim brethren can help in that consummation.

One more point. Educated Muslims can talk appreciatively of Jalinoos and Aristotle, of Plato and Socrates, but not so of Dhanvantari and Kanada, of Gautama and Patanjali. The former were Greeks and the latter Indians, all equally honoured names in the realms of medicine, science and philosophy. All were equally non-Muslims or even equally idol worshippers. We hope that the neglect is not deliberate. It is due to lack of knowledge. We may not go into other causes at present. But the defect has to be cured. Similar things may be said of the Hindus. If all of us, Hindus, Muslims and others in this country, really develop a common Indian outlook and a common Indian culture of Prof. Habib's dream, then and only then can we contribute our due share to the development of a world culture and of human brotherhood.

New Delhi, 11-1-'48

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TWO ANNAS

## GANDHIJ'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

Birla House, New Delhi, 15-1-48

### DEATH A DELIVERANCE

Gandhiji was too weak to walk to the prayer ground this evening. He however wanted to say a few words to the audience from his bed. The radio microphone was arranged near his bed but as there was no loud-speaker, his voice could not reach the prayer audience. A Hindi translation of his dictated message was read after the prayers.

In his spoken message at the radio microphone Gandhiji expressed regret that his voice could not reach the audience. He said, "I have wanted to say a few words to the invisible audience sitting in their homes, as he knew that it would comfort them to hear his voice, although if he had known that his voice would not reach the prayer audience, he would not have spoken. He had dictated a message for the prayer gathering that day. He did not know whether he would be fit enough to do so the next day.

Gandhiji appealed to the people not to bother as to what the others were doing. Each one of them should turn the searchlight inwards and purify his or her heart as far as possible. He was convinced that if the people sufficiently purified themselves they would help India and help themselves and also shorten the period of his fast. None should be anxious for him. They should think out how best they could improve themselves and work for the good of the country. All must die some day. No one could escape death. Then why be afraid of it? In fact death was a friend which brought deliverance from sufferings.

### BILLING BY INCHES

In his dictated message Gandhiji said

"Newspaper men sent me a message two hours after my prayer speech of last evening asking to see me, as they had some doubts to be cleared. After a heavy day's work I felt disinclined out of some exhaustion to see them for discussion. I, therefore, told Shri Pyarelalji to inform them to excuse me and further tell them that they should put down the questions in writing and send them to me next morning. They did so. This is the first question:

"Why have you undertaken the fast when there was no disturbance of any kind in any part of the Indian Dominion?"

"What was it if it was not a disturbing disturbance for a crowd to make an organized and a determined effort to take forcible possession of Muslim houses? The disturbance was such that the Police had reluctantly to resort to tear gas and even to a little shooting if only overhead, before the crowd dispersed. It would

have been foolish for me to wait till the last Muslim had been turned out of Delhi by subtle undermonstrative methods, which I would describe as falling by inches."

### THE SARDAR

The second question is

You have stated that you could not give any reply to the Muslims who came to you with their tale of fear and insecurity and who have complained that Sardar Patel, who is in charge of Home Affairs, is anti-Muslim. You have also stated that Sardar Patel is no longer a "yes-man" as he used to be. These factors create the impression that the fast is more intended to bring about a change of heart in the Sardar and thereby amounts to a condemnation of the policy of the Home Ministry. It would be helpful if you can clear the position.

"As to this I feel that my reply was precise, not admitting of more interpretations than one. The suggested interpretation never crossed my mind. If I had known that my statement could bear any such interpretation, I should have dispelled the doubt in anticipation. Many Muslim friends had complained of the Sardar's so-called anti-Muslim attitude. I had, with a degree of suppressed pain, listened to them without giving any explanation. The fast freed me from this self-imposed restraint and I was able to assure the critics that they were wrong in isolating him from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and me, whom they gratuitously raise to the sky. This isolation did them no good. The Sardar had a bluntness of speech which sometimes unintentionally hurt, though his heart was expansive enough to accommodate all. Thus my statement was meant deliberately to free a life-long and faithful comrade from any unworthy reproach. Lest my hearers should go away with the idea that my compliment carried the meaning that I could treat the Sardar as my 'yes-man' as he was affectionately described, I balanced the compliment by adding the proviso that he was too masterful to be anybody's 'yes-man'. When he was my 'yes-man', he permitted himself to be so named because whatever I said instinctively appealed to him. Great as he was in his own field and a very able administrator, he was humble enough to begin his political education under me because as he explained to me he could not take to the politics in vogue at the time I began my public career in India. When power descended on him, he saw that he could no longer successfully apply the method of non-violence which he used to wield with signal success. I have made the discovery that what I and the people with me had termed non-violence was not the genuine article but a weak copy known as passive resistance. Naturally, passive resistance can

avail nothing to a ruler. Imagine a weak ruler being able to represent any people. He would only degrade his makers who, for the time being, had placed themselves under his trust. I know that the Sardar could never betray or degrade his trust.

#### OBJECT OF THE FAST

"I wonder if with a knowledge of this background to my statement, anybody would dare call my fast a condemnation of the policy of the Home Ministry. If there is any such person, I can only tell him that he would degrade and hurt himself, never the Sardar or me. Have I not before now said emphatically that no outside power can really degrade a man? He only can degrade himself. Though I know that this sentence is irrelevant here, it is such a truth that it bears repetition on all occasions. My fast, as I have stated in plain language, is undoubtedly on behalf of the Muslim minority in the Union, and therefore it is necessarily against the Hindus and the Sikhs of the Union and the Muslims of Pakistan. It is also on behalf of the minorities in Pakistan as in the case of the Muslim minority in the Union. This is a clumsy compression of the idea I have already explained. I cannot expect the fast taken by a very imperfect and weak mortal, as I truly confess I am, to have the potency to make its proteges proof against all danger. The fast is a process of self-purification for all. It would be wrong to make any insinuation against the purity of the step."

#### NO ROOM FOR DISTORTION

"The third question is

'Your fast has been undertaken on the eve of the meeting of the United Nations Security Council and soon after the Karachi riots and the Gujarat massacre. What publicity the latter incidents received in the foreign Press is not known. But undoubtedly, your fast has overshadowed all other incidents. And Pakistan representatives would not be worth their reputation if they do not seize the opportunity to declare that the Mahatma has undertaken the fast to bring sanity among his Hindu followers, who have been making the life of the Muslims in India impossible. Truth takes a long time to reach the four corners of the globe. But in the meantime your fast may have the unfortunate effect of prejudicing our case in the eyes of the United Nations.'

"This question does not demand or need any elaborate answer. From all I have known of the powers and peoples outside India, I make bold to say that the fast has created only a healthy impression. Outsiders who are able to take an impartial and unbiased view of what is happening in India cannot distort the purpose of the fast, which is meant to bring sanity to all those who inhabit both the Union and Pakistan. It is impossible to save the Muslims in the Union if the Muslim majority in Pakistan do not behave as decent men and women. Happily for the cause, the Muslims of Pakistan, as Shrimati Mridulabehn's enquiry of yesterday made clear, have become wide awake to a sense of their duty. The United Nations know that my fast aids them to come to a right decision and to give the right guidance to the newly made two Dominions.

*Birla House, New Delhi, 16-1-48*

#### GRACE OF GOD

Before Gandhiji's dictated message was read out to the prayer audience, he addressed them on the micro-

phone from his bed. He said that he had not expected that he would be able to speak to them that day but they would be pleased to learn that if anything, his voice was less feeble that day than the day before. He could not explain it except for the grace of God. He had never felt so well on the fourth day of the fast in the past. If all of them continued to participate in the process of self-purification, he would probably have the strength to speak to them till the end. He was in no hurry to break the fast. Hurry would spoil matters. He did not want anyone to come and tell him that things had been set right while the process was incomplete. If Delhi became peaceful in the real sense of the term, it would have its repercussions all over the country. He had no wish to live unless peace reigned in the two Dominions.

#### UNMIXED GOODWILL

In his message to the prayer gathering Gandhiji said

"It is never a light matter for any responsible Cabinet to alter a deliberate settled policy. Yet our Cabinet, responsible in every sense of the term, has with equal deliberation yet promptness unsettled their settled fact. They deserve the warmest thanks from the whole country, from Kashmir to Cape Canara and from Karachi to the Assam frontier. And I know that all the nations of the earth will praise this gesture as one which only a large-hearted Cabinet like ours could rise to. This is no policy of appeasement of the Muslims. This is a policy, if you like, of self-appeasement. No Cabinet worthy of being representative of a large mass of mankind can afford to take any step merely because it is likely to win the hasty applause of an unthinking public. In the midst of insanity, should not our best representatives retain sanity and bravely prevent a wreck of the ship of State under their management? What then was the actuating motive? It was my fast. It changed the whole outlook. Without the fast they could not go beyond what the law permitted and required them to do. But the present gesture on the part of the Government of India is one of unmixed goodwill. It has put the Pakistan Government on its honour. It ought to lead to an honourable settlement not only of the Kashmir question, but of all the differences between the two Dominions. Friendship should replace the present enmity. Demands of equity supersede the letter of law. There is a homely maxim of law which has been in practice for centuries in England and that what common law seems to fail, equity comes to the rescue. Not long ago there were even separate courts for the administration of law and of equity. Considered in this setting, there is no room for questioning the utter justice of this act of the Union Government. If we want a precedent, there is a striking one at our disposal in the form of what is popularly known as the MacDorald Award. That Award was really the unanimous judgment of not only the members of the British Cabinet, but also of the majority of the members of the Second Round Table Conference. It was undone overnight as a result of the fast undertaken in Yeravda prison.

#### FITTEST ANSWERS TO FAST

"I have been asked to end the fast because of this great act of the Union Government. I wish I could persuade myself to do so. I know that the medical friends who, of their own volition and at considerable

sacrifice, meticulously examine me from day to day are getting more and more anxious as the fast is prolonged. Because of defective kidney function they dread not so much my instantaneous collapse as permanent after-effects of any further prolongation. I did not embark upon the fast after consultation

with medical men, but they however aside. My sole guide, even dictator, was God, the Infalible and Omnipotent. If He has any further use for this frail body of mine, He will keep it in spite of the prognostications of medical men and women. I am in His hands. Therefore, I hope you will believe me when I say that I dread neither death nor permanent injury, even if I survive. But I do feel that this warning of medical friends should, if the country has any use for me, hurry the people up to close their ranks. And like brave men and women, that we ought to be under hard-earned freedom, we should trust even those whom we may suspect as our enemies. Brave people deserve distrust. The latter of my vow will be satisfied if the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of Delhi bring about a union, which not even a conflagration around them in all the other parts of India or Pakistan will be strong enough to break. Happily, the people in both the Dominions seem to have instinctively realized that the fittest answer to the fast should be a complete friendship between the two Dominions, such that members of all communities should be able to go to either Dominion without the slightest fear of molestation. Self-purification demands nothing less. It will be wrong for the rest of the two Dominions to put a heavy strain upon Delhi. After all, the inhabitants of the Union are not superhuman. In the name of the people, our Government have taken a logical step without counting the cost. What will be Pakistan's counter gesture? The ways are many if there is one will be it there?"

Birla House, New Delhi, 17-1-48

#### CLEANSING OF HEARTS

"I repeat what I have said before — nothing is to be done under pressure of the fast. I have observed before that things done under pressure of a fast have been undone after the fast is over. If any such thing happens, it would be a tragedy of the highest degree. There is no occasion for it at any time. What a spiritual fast does expect is cleansing of the heart. The cleansing, if it is honest, does not cease to be when the cause which induced it ceases. The cleansing of a wall soon in the form of a whitewash does not cease when the deer one has come and gone. The material cleansing is bound to require renovation after some time. Cleansing of the heart once achieved only dies with one's death. Apart from this legitimate and laudable pressure, the fast has no other function which can be described as proper.

#### A WORD TO PAKISTAN

The number of telegrams coming from Rajas, Maharajas and the lady continues to increase. There are telegrams from Pakistan too. They are good so far as they go. But as a friend and well-wisher I must say to all those who reside in Pakistan and mould its fortune that they will fail to make Pakistan permanent if

their conscience is not quickened and if they do not admit the wrongs for which Pakistan is responsible.

"This does not mean that I do not wish a voluntary re-union, but I wish to remove and resist the idea that Pakistan should be re-united by force of arms. I hope that this will not be misunderstood as a note of discord, whilst I am lying on what is truly a deathbed. I hope all Pakistanis will realize that I would be untrue to them and to myself if, out of weakness and for fear of hurting their feelings, I failed to convey to them what I truthfully feel. If I am wrong in my estimate, I should be so told and if I am convinced, I promise that I shall retract what I have said here. So far as I know, the point is not open to question.

#### HAPPY IN FASTING

"My fast should not be considered a political move in any sense of the term. It is in obedience to the peremptory call of conscience and duty. It comes out of felt agony. I call to witness all my numerous Muslim friends in Delhi. Their representatives meet me almost everyday to report the day's events. Neither the Rajas and Maharajas nor the Hindus and Sikhs or any others would sorry themselves or India as a whole, if at this, what is to me a sacred juncture, they mislead me with a view to terminating my fast. Let them know that I feel never so happy as when I am fasting for the spirit. This fast has brought me higher happiness than hitherto. No one need disturb this happy state, unless he can honestly claim that in his journey he has turned deliberately from Satan towards God."

Birla House, New Delhi, 18-1-48

#### THE TASK AHEAD

Speaking on the microphone from his bed at 5-21 p. m. on Sunday, Gandhi said that he had earlier dictated a message for the prayer audience which would be read out to them.

It was a happy day for him and for all of them. He was glad that due to their kindness he could break his fast on the auspicious day of Guru Govind Singh's birthday anniversary. He could never forget the kindness which was daily being showered on him by the inhabitants of Delhi, the Pakistan sufferers and the Government and administrative authorities, since the fast began. He had experienced the same love at Calcutta. He could not forget the help that he had received from Shaheed Sahab in restoring peace in Calcutta. But for him, he (Gandhi) would not have stopped in Calcutta. People had many suspicions about Shaheed Sahab's bonafides still. They should forget the past and learn the duty of having friendly feelings towards all and being inimical to none. The crores of Muslims were not all angels nor were all the Hindus and the Sikhs. There were good and bad specimens among all communities. Would they be less than friendly towards the so-called criminal tribes amongst them?

Muslims were a numerous community scattered all over the world. There was no reason why they, who stood for friendship with the whole world, should not be friends with the Muslims. He was not a fortune-teller, but God had given him intellect and understanding enough to know that if for some reason or other they could not be friends with the Muslims of the

(Continued on p. 534)

## HARIJAN

January 25

1948

## THE BREAKING OF THE FAST

The feverish anxiety into which the whole city of Delhi and the country at large had been plunged was terminated when Gandhiji broke his fast at Birla House, New Delhi today at 12-45 p.m. with due solemnity. Earlier in the day, representatives of all the important groups and organizations in the city, including representatives of the refugees and from the three worst affected parts of the city namely, Karol Bagh, Sabzi Mandi and Paharganj, had assembled under the chairmanship of Dr. Rajendra Prasad at the latter's residence and put their signatures to a seven-point declaration covering the conditions laid down by Gandhiji for breaking his fast. The document was recorded in both the Persian and Devanagari scripts at Gandhiji's special insistence. At the meeting were also present Maulana Azadsahab and Major General Shah Nawazkhan. Delhi Muslims were represented by Maulanas Hifzur Rahman and Ahmed Saeed of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and Maulana Habib-ur-Rahman. Goswami Shri Ganesh Datt, Shri Basantlal and Shri Naram Das represented the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha. There were too the representatives of the various Sikh organizations. They then all repaired (numbering over 100) to Birla House where they assembled in Gandhiji's room, to request him to break the fast. Majlanasahab and Pandit Jawaharlalji had arrived there already and Janab Zahid Hussainsahab, the Pakistan's High Commissioner, came in a little later.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad opened the proceedings by narrating to Gandhiji how they had all assembled on the previous night at the former's residence and after full discussion decided to sign the declaration then and there. But as representatives of some organizations were not present in that meeting, they felt that they should not go to Gandhiji immediately with the signed document but wait till the remaining signatures were obtained. They had accordingly met again in the morning when all those who were absent during the previous night's meeting came and gave their signatures. It was found in the course of the morning meeting, Dr. Rajendra Prasad reported that even those who had some lingering doubts on the previous night were now confident that they could ask Gandhiji with a full sense of their responsibility to break the fast. As the President of the Congress, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said that he had signed the document in view of the guarantee which they had all jointly and severally given. Janab Khurshid, the Chief Commissioner, and Shri Randhawa, Deputy Commissioner of Delhi, who were present, had signed the document on behalf of the administration. It had been decided to set up a number of committees to implement the pledge

Dr. Rajendra Prasad hoped that Gandhiji would now terminate his fast.

Shri Deshabandhu Gupta, speaking next, described some touching scenes of fraternization between the Hindus and Muslims which he had witnessed when a procession of about 150 Muslims was taken out that morning in Sabzi Mandi and was received with ovation and offered fruit and refreshments by the Hindu inhabitants of that locality.

Gandhiji replying said that what they had told him had touched him deeply. They had given him all that he had asked for. But if their words meant that they held themselves responsible for communal peace in Delhi only and what happened in other places was no concern of theirs, then their guarantee was nothing worth and he would feel and they too would one day realize that it was a great blunder on his part to have given up his fast. As an illustration he referred to the report of the happenings in Allahabad that had appeared in the Press. Representatives of both the R. S. S. and the Hindu Mahasabha were among the signatories to the seven-point declaration. If they were sincere in their professions, surely, they could not be indifferent to outbreaks of madness in places other than Delhi. It would be a fraud upon God if they did so. Delhi was the heart of the Indian Dominion and they (the representatives gathered there) were the cream of Delhi. If they could not make the whole of India realize that the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims were all brothers, it would bode ill for the future of both the Dominions. What would happen to Hindustan if they quarrelled with one another?

Here Gandhiji broke down owing to overwhelming feeling as he explained on resumption. What he had said was repeated aloud by me and partly by Dr. Sushila Nayyar.

Resuming his remarks after the interval, Gandhiji again appealed to them to search well their hearts so that they might not take any step which they would have to regret afterwards. The occasion demanded of them bravery of the highest order. They should clearly realize the implications of their pledge. It was nothing less than that what they had achieved in Delhi had to be realized in the whole of India. That did not mean that the ideal could be realized in a day. But it did mean that whilst in the past they had turned their face towards Satan, they had now resolved to turn it Godward. If, in their hearts, they did not accept what he had placed before them or if they had made up their minds that it was beyond them, they should plainly tell him so.

There could be nothing more wrong on their part, continued Gandhiji, than to hold that Hindustan belonged only to the Hindus and the Muslims could have no place in it or on the reverse that Pakistan belonged to the Muslims only and the Hindus and Sikhs could have no place in it. He wanted the refugees to understand that if they set things right in Delhi, as he had suggested, that was the only way to set things right in Pakistan too. He reminded them



that he was not a man to shirk another fast, should he afterwards discover that he had been deceived or had deceived himself into breaking it prematurely. They should, therefore, act with circumspection and cent per cent sincerity. He invited the representatives of Mussalmans who had been meeting him frequently to tell him whether they were satisfied that the conditions in Delhi were now such as to warrant breaking the fast on his part.

Addressing next a few words to the Muslims especially, he asked if there was any ground for the suspicion that the Muslims did not regard India as their country. They lived in it in the midst of the Hindus because they could not help it, but one day they had to part company. He hoped that that suspicion was baseless. Similarly, if there was a Hindu who regarded the Muslims as *yavanas* or *asuras* incapable of realizing God, he was guilty of the worst blasphemy, which could possibly have no room in the covenant which they had signed.

He then referred to a book which a Muslim friend had lovingly presented him at Patna. In that book the writer had propounded that according to the *Quran*, *kafirs* (i. e. Hindus) were worse than poisonous reptiles and fit only to be exterminated. Not only was there no sin in using every conceivable variety of force or fraud to compass that end, it was meritorious in the eyes of God. He was sure that no God-fearing Muslims could subscribe to or even secretly sympathize with that creed. Some dubbed Hindus as image worshippers, proceeded Gandhiji. But it was not the stone image which they worshipped but the God within, without Whom not a particle of matter existed. If a devotee saw God in an image, it was not a thing for anyone to cavil at. Granting that his belief was a delusion, it deluded nobody but himself. It required magnanimity and breadth of outlook to understand and appreciate the religious convictions and practices of others. It was the same thing if they considered the *Quran* or the *Granth Sahib* as God.

Concluding, Gandhiji remarked that if they fully accepted the implications of their pledge, they should release him from Delhi so that he might be free to go to Pakistan. In his absence they should welcome such refugees from Pakistan as might want to return to their homes. The latter were none too happy over there just as the Hindus in the Indian Dominion were none too happy to lose large numbers of Muslim artisans and craftsmen. It was not easy to reproduce in a day traditional skill that had been acquired through generations. It was a loss on both sides which no sane people would like willingly to perpetuate.

Gandhiji ended by once more asking them to turn the searchlight inward and not to deceive themselves or others by asking him to give up his fast, if what he had said did not find a responsive echo in their hearts.

Maulanasaheb Abul Kalam Azad, being next asked to say something, remarked that so far as the guarantee of communal peace was concerned

it could be given only by the representatives of the citizens of Delhi. He, however, did not want to leave unchallenged the Muslim friends' observation to which Gandhiji had referred, as it referred to the teachings of Islam. He had no hesitation in characterizing it as a libel on Islam. He quoted a verse from the *Quran* which was to the effect that all mankind are brethren, irrespective of their race or religion. The remarks to which Gandhiji had referred were abhorrent to the teachings of Islam. They were only indicative of the insanity that had of late, seized some sections of the people.

He was followed by Maulana Hifzur-Rahman-saheb, who categorically repudiated the allegation that his co-religionists did not regard India as their country which claimed their full and undivided allegiance, but only as a place where they were forced to live by expediency and by the compulsion of circumstances. Their thirty years' unbroken record of service of the nationalist cause gave the lie to that charge. They regarded it as an insult to their nationalism to be asked to reiterate their loyalty to India. He recalled how during the recent disturbances at one stage their Congress friends and colleagues had offered to provide a safe asylum to them outside Delhi as they were not sure that they would be able to give them adequate protection in Delhi. But they had declined that offer and had preferred to stay in and go about the city without any police escort, trusting to God alone. Speaking of the Jamiat, he could say that its members were staunch followers of Maulana Azadsaheb and the Congress. Those who had left for Pakistan had done so out of fear for their lives and worse. They all wanted to remain in India as citizens of India with self-respect and honour, in their own right, not on the mercy or sufferance of anybody. He asserted that if India were to be attacked they would all defend it to the last man as their country. They had plainly said on more than one occasion that those who were not prepared to do so should leave India and go to Pakistan.

Describing next the change that had come over the city as a result of Gandhiji's fast, he said that they regarded it as a happy augury and a presage of things to come. They were satisfied that the tide had definitely turned and was now fast flowing in the direction of communal harmony and peace when previously bitterness and hatred ran riot. Now that the administration had underwritten the assurance given by the representatives of the people, they were satisfied that they would be implemented, though it might take some time. He, therefore, joined Dr. Rajendra Prasad in his appeal that Gandhiji should break the fast.

After Shri Ganesh Datt had on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha and the R. S. S. reiterated that appeal Janab Zahid Hussainsaheb addressed a few words to Gandhiji. He was there, he said, to convey to Gandhiji how deeply concerned the people in Pakistan were about him and how they were daily inundating him with anxious inquiries about his (Gandhiji's) health. It was their heart's desire that

circumstances might soon prevail which would enable him to break the fast. If there was anything that he could fittingly do towards that end he was ready and so were the people of Pakistan.

Janab Zahid Hussainsahab was followed by Janab Khurshid and Shri Randhawa who on behalf of the administration reiterated the assurance that all the conditions mentioned in the citizens' pledge would be duly implemented, and no effort would be spared to restore to the Indian capital its glorious old tradition of communal harmony and peace.

Sardar Harbans Singh endorsed on behalf of the Sikhs what his predecessors had said. Gandhiji then expressed his readiness to break the fast, which was done with the usual ceremony of prayer at which texts from the Japanese, Muslim and Parsi scriptures were recited followed by the *mantra*:

"Lead me from untruth to truth,

From darkness to light,

From death to immortality."

A Hindustani hymn and the Christian hymn: "When I survey the wondrous cross", were then sung by the girl inmates of the *ashram* followed by *Ramadhun*. The glass of fruit juice was handed by Maulanasaheb and Gandhiji broke the fast after fruit was distributed to and partaken by all present.

New Delhi, 18-1-'48

PYARELAL

### An important Recommendation

The Village Oil Industry and Crushing Sub-Committee of the Oil Seeds Committee of the Government of India which met recently at Nagpur under the chairmanship of Sir Datar Singh has suggested that the mills should make use of non-edible oils for making soap so as to release land for food purposes.

It may be noted that in Berar alone there are about five lakhs of neem trees on the roadsides, the seeds from which can be crushed and made to yield about three lakhs tins of oil and about three lakhs of maunds of oilcake which will become useful as manure. This indicates the enormous possibilities in this line.

We would suggest that in addition to soap making if these non-edible oils are decolourized and deodourized, various commercial uses such as the supply of hair-oils, etc. can be undertaken. Here is a line of work which will give an acceptable alternative to the oil-mills which are today producing *nakli ghee* or *vanaspathi*.

J. C. K.

### NOTICE

Files of Volume X of the three Harijan weeklies—the *Harijan* (English), the *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati) and the *Harijansevak* (Hindustani) of the year beginning with 10-2-'46, and ending with 26-1-'47, bound in cardboard cover and *khadi* back are available at this office.

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MANAGER

### GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

(Continued from p. 531)

Union, the Muslims of the whole world would be antagonized and they would lose India. Then India, including both the Dominions, would once again pass under foreign domination.

He had received the good wishes and blessings of numberless men and women. He had been assured that the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Jews, Christians and others who lived in Delhi would all live together as brothers. They would never quarrel among themselves again and in this assurance sufferers from Pakistan had also joined. This was no small matter. If the auspicious beginning was continued, it was bound to ensure peace in India and thence in Pakistan. This was not one man's work, but all, young and old, men and women, had to co-operate sincerely in the effort. If this was not the meaning of the breaking of his fast, he had not done well in breaking it. Then they would have fulfilled the letter and killed the spirit. What was possible in Delhi was possible in the rest of the Union and if communal peace reigned in the whole of the Union, Pakistan was bound to follow suit. They should shed all fear. Every Muslim child should feel safe among the Hindus and Sikhs. Up till now our face was turned towards Satan, now he hoped it would be turned Godward. If they did so, the Union would lead the way to world peace. He did not wish to live for any other purpose. Mere lip service was no good. They must install God in their hearts. God was one, whatever the name given to Him. The realization of this truth should end all enmity and intolerance.

Let the Hindus decide once for all that they would not quarrel. He would advise the Hindus and the Sikhs to read the *Quran* as they read the *Gita* and the *Granth Sahib*. To the Muslims he would say that they should read the *Gita* and the *Granth Sahib* with the same reverence with which they read the *Quran*. They should understand the meaning of what they read and have equal regard for all religions. This was his life-long practice and ideal. He claimed to be a *sanatani* Hindu, though he was not an idolater in the accepted sense. But he could not despise those who worshipped idols. The idol worshipper saw God in the stone image. God was omnipresent. If it was wrong to seek God in a stone how was it right to seek Him in a book called the *Gita*, the *Granth Sahib* or the *Quran*? Was not that also idol worship? By cultivating tolerance and respect they would be able to learn from all. Then they would forget the communal differences and live together in peace and amity. The disgraceful incidents where men and women were thrown out of moving trains, would then cease to occur. People would freely and fearlessly move about in the Union. He would never be at peace with himself till Pakistan was just as safe for the Hindus and Sikhs and the Pakistan sufferers could return to their homes with honour and dignity, and the Muslims to theirs in the Union.

### BREAKING OF THE FAST

In his written message Gandhiji said:

"I embarked on the fast in the name of Truth whose familiar name is God. Without living Truth God is nowhere. In the name of God we have indulged

in lies, massacres of people without caring whether they were innocent or guilty, men or women, children or infants. We have indulged in abductions, forcible conversions and we have done all this shamelessly. I am not aware if anybody has done these things in the name of Truth. With that same name on my lips I have broken the fast. The agony of our people was unbearable. Rashtrapati Dr. Rajendrababu brought over hundred people representing the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha, the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and representatives of refugees from the Punjab, the Frontier Provinces and Sind. In this very representative company were present Zahid Hussain, the High Commissioner for Pakistan, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi and the Deputy Commissioner, General Shah Nawaz Khan, representing the Azad Hind Fauj (I. N. A.), Pandit Nehru, sitting like a statue, was of course there, as also Mahanabab. Dr. Rajendra Babu read a document in Hindustani signed by these representatives, asking me not to put any further strain on them and end the agony by breaking the fast. Telegrams after telegrams have come from Pakistan and the Indian Union urging me to do the same. I could not resist the counsel of all these friends. I could not disbelieve their pledge that some what way, there would be complete friendship between the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and Jews, a friendship not to be broken. To break that friendship would be to break the nation.

#### SPIRIT OF THE VOW

"As I write, comforting telegrams are deluging me. How I wish that God will keep me fit enough and sane enough to render the service of humanity that lies in front of me! If the solemn pledge made today is fulfilled, I assure you that it will revive with redoubled force my intense wish and prayer before God that I should be enabled to live the full span of life doing service of humanity till the last moment. That span according to learned opinion is at least one hundred twenty-five years, some say one hundred thirty-three. The letter of my vow has been fulfilled early beyond expectation, through the great goodwill of all the citizens of Delhi, including the Hindu Mahasabha leaders and the Rashtriya Swayam Sangh. The result could not be otherwise when I find that thousands of refugees and others have been fasting since yesterday. Signed assurances of heart friendship have been pouring in upon me from thousands. Telegraphic blessings have come from all over the world. Can there be a better sign of God's hand in this act of mine? But beyond the letter of fulfilment of my solemn vow lies its spirit without which the letter kills. The spirit of the vow is sincere friendship between the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of the Union and a similar friendship in Pakistan. If the first is assured, the second must follow, as sure as day follows night. If there is darkness in the Union, it would be folly to expect light in Pakistan. But if the night in the Union is dispelled beyond the shadow of a doubt, it cannot be otherwise in Pakistan, nor are signs wanting in that direction. Numerous messages have come from Pakistan, not one of dissent. May God, who is Truth, guide us as He has visibly guided us during all these six days."

*Birla House, New Delhi, 19-1-'48*

#### CONGRATULATIONS AND CONCERN

"My thanks go out to the senders of numerous wires from all over the world from Indians and non-Indians expressing their goodwill and anxiety. These show the correctness of the step I had taken. Not that I had the slightest doubt about it. I had none about this as I never have had about the reality that God is and that His most graphic name is Truth. Now has begun a stream of wires of congratulations heaving relief. These friends will forgive me for not sending personal acknowledgments. It is physically impossible to do so. I hope too that no such acknowledgment is expected by the senders. I feel constrained to single out two—one from the Premier of the West Punjab and the other from the Nawabshah of Bhopal. They are today labouring under grave distrust. Let the extracted passages speak for themselves. If the senders were not sincere, they would have spared themselves and me on the solemn occasion that the fast was.

Here is from the Nawabshah of Bhopal:

"Your appeal for a reunion of hearts of all communities cannot fail to find support from all people of goodwill in both Dominions as will also any appeal for an understanding and friendly relations between India and Pakistan. We in Bhopal have been able happily to face our troubles during the past year in a spirit of concord, amity and goodwill between all communities with the result that not a single untoward incident has occurred to mar the peace of the State. We assure you that we shall strive to further this friendly spirit with all our strength at our command."

I give the full text of the wire from the Premier of the West Punjab:

"The West Punjab Ministry expresses deep admiration and sincere appreciation for your great gesture for the furtherance of a noble cause. This Ministry has always stood for the principle of doing everything possible to protect the lives, honour and property of the minorities, and giving them equal rights of citizenship. We assure you that this Ministry will follow this policy with redoubled vigour. We are anxious to see an immediate improvement in the situation throughout the Indian sub-continent which may enable you to break your fast. No efforts will be spared in this province to help in saving a life as precious as yours."

#### A WARNING

"In this age of senseless imitation my warning is that it would be foolish for anybody to embark on such a fast expecting identical results in an identically short space of time. If anyone does, he will face severe disappointment and will discredit what is a hoary and infallible institution. Two severe qualifications are necessary—a living faith in God and a felt peremptory call from Him. I am tempted to add a third, but it is superfluous. A peremptory call from God within presupposes the rightness, timeliness and propriety of the cause for which the fast is taken. It follows that a long previous preparation is required. Let no one, therefore, lightly embark on such a fast.

#### TASK BEFORE THEM

"The citizens of Delhi and the refugees have a heavy task in front of them. Let them seek occasions for meeting together as often as possible in perfect mutual trust. It was a soul stirring sight for me to meet Muslim sisters in large numbers yesterday. Girls in my



party told me that the sisters were sitting in Biria House uncertain whether they could come to me. They were in purdah, most of them. I asked them to be brought in and they came. I suggested that they would not have the purdah before their fathers or brothers. Why should they think me less? And off went the purdah without exception. This is not the first time that the purdah has disappeared before me. I mention the incident to illustrate what genuine love, as I claim mine to be, is able to do. Hindu and Sikh women should go to the Muslim sisters and establish friendship with them. They should invite them on ceremonial occasions and be invited. Muslim girls and boys should be attracted to common schools, not communal. They should mix in sports. Not only should there be no boycott of Muslims but they should be induced to resume their previous occupations. Delhi is poorer for the disappearance of the exquisite workmanship of the Muslims. It is a miserable and miserly thing for the Hindus and the Sikhs to wish to take away from them their means of livelihood. On the one hand there should be no monopoly and on the other there should be no attempt at deprivation. In this great country of ours there is room for all. The Peace Committees that have been formed must not go to sleep as many committees unfortunately do in all countries. The condition of keeping me in your midst is that all the communities in India live at peace with one another, not by force of arms but that of love than which there is no better cement to be found in the world."

### DANGER SIGNALS

I have read your correspondent's strictures on my article on the *takli*.

In the famous Whistler-Ruskin controversy, the counsel for Ruskin remarked that surely Mr. Ruskin knew. He had spent his lifetime among pictures. Whistler retorted that by that standard the sentinel in the Art Gallery must be the finest critic. The fact, therefore, that even "a spinner of long standing" should have the "shock of my (his) life" at the 'arrogant' attributions to the *takli*, is no argument against what I have written. It is, however, significant. It betrays the contempt, based on prejudice and ignorance, with which crafts are regarded. And to regard crafts only as a means of putting a few coppers in the hands of the poor, having perhaps also some moral values, grudgingly accorded, appears to me as nothing less than contempt for them. As such the crafts could not be what Gandhiji would have us believe, the dynamic centres of a non-violent social order. The problem before Gandhiji was how to so utilize the common, inescapable life of the masses as to make a dynamic nation which would not only overthrow the mightiest imperialist power, but also show to the war-weary world a way of justice, peace and happiness—the way to *Rama Rajya*, as he would put it. His answer was *Nayee Talim*. *Nayee Talim* teaches us so to live the 'inescapable life' as to discover it and to discover ourselves in the process. The way to live thus is to turn the eye of wonder, investigation and

discovery on things we cannot escape from. Clothes we all must have. If we produce them ourselves, and keep a scientist's eye open while we produce them, we not only clothe ourselves more effectively, 'the why and wherefore' of things also leads us into the haloed realms of knowledge. And this also more effectively. Current education, which calls for intellectual exercise only in the study room or the laboratory, is not so effective as this constant watch on the "little common things of life" in creating that spirit of observation and inquiry which leads to discovery, invention and progress. The usual sleepiness and unawareness of everyday life of the scholar is proverbial.

The correspondent seems to be a man of education so-called. He has been plying the *takli* for a long time and yet, obviously, he has never asked himself: Why the *takli* rotates? Why does it fall? Why is the disc circular? Why is the rod circular? What is the radius of the disc? What is the diameter of the rod? and a host of simple questions which are bound to arise in any mind with even a grain of curiosity. The answers to them would have brought in all those things, which the correspondent calls 'sentimental nonsense' so naturally that they would not have taken away his breath except for wonder: how much knowledge lay before him just to be noticed! Wordsworth's lines:

"To me the meanest flower that blows can give  
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears"

show the deep penetration of a mind which had drunk deep at the fount of life. Most minds trained in contact with life develop something of this penetration. Knowledge has been derived from life and yet would imply that life directly observed could not give knowledge. *Takli* is a solid. Why should it take anybody's breath away if someone says that it has the geometry of solids, their physical and chemical properties? It rotates. Why should it be 'shocking' to hear that it obeys the laws of motion? It is a means of producing cloth which consumes, perhaps, a fair part of the income of the toiling millions who constitute the sub-continent of India. It is most natural that any mind worth the name should enter the sacred realm of economics in connection with this simple instrument.

The violent reaction of the correspondent to the most obvious fact of Basic Education should be regarded as a danger signal by the leaders of the experiment. It shows the colossal ignorance which prevails about the richest gift *Nayee Talim* has given the country. Books containing instructions in the manner suggested in my article in question should be written out in full. Things will have to be made fool proof, it seems, before we can carry the country with us.

New Delhi, 9-1-48

DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

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